

PUBLIC PAPERS
OF THE
PRESIDENTS



Richard
Nixon

1973

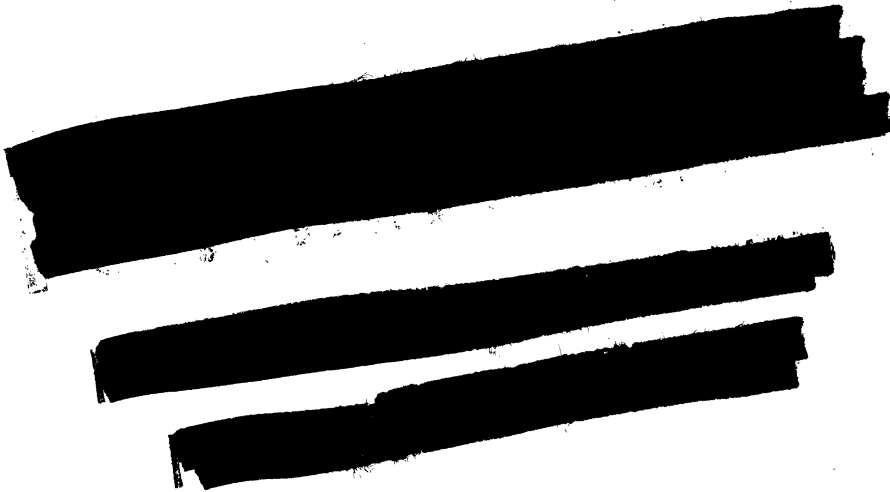
GOVT.
GS
4.113:
973/
c.2



THE GEORGE AND HELEN LADD LIBRARY

BATES COLLEGE
LEWISTON, MAINE

GOVT.
GS
4.1131
973/
C.2



WITHDRAWN
BATES COLLEGE
LIBRARY

BATES COLLEGE
LIBRARY
LEWISTON, MAINE

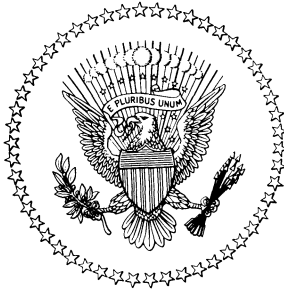


PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE UNITED STATES

Richard Nixon

*Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and
Statements of the President*

1973



BATES COLLEGE
LIBRARY
LEWISTON, MAINE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1975



PUBLISHED BY THE
OFFICE OF THE FEDERAL REGISTER
NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE
GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION



For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C., 20402 - Price \$16.50
Stock Number 022-003-00911-6

FOREWORD

THESE ARE the papers for the first year of my second term as President—a term that was not to be completed. The scholars and citizens who read these Presidential Papers for 1973 will find much insight and information in them. Here is the written record of a momentous year in the life of the Republic. Here are the words which described and defined our attempts to ensure limited government and fiscal responsibility at home, and to pursue peace through negotiation rather than confrontation around the world.

But memory, too, has a part to play in history, and I think that the story of this year especially, cannot be told without an understanding of the great tides of opinion and emotion which flowed during these twelve months. No words can convey our sadness at the death of Lyndon Johnson just three days before the end of the Vietnam War.

No words can express the excitement of the beginning of a whole new era of earth-oriented space research with the launching of the Skylab space station. And no words can contain the pride we felt when the first prisoners of war returning from North Vietnam stepped from the plane and kissed the soil of America.

In the Administration, we had looked forward to nineteen seventy-three as a year of beginnings and renewal. In my Second Inaugural Address, I described the conditions at home and abroad which more than ever called for a new application of the old principles of strength, restraint, compassion, and common sense.

On January 23rd, we were able to announce the end of America's longest and costliest and most divisive war. For the first time in more than a decade, no Americans would be serving or fighting in Vietnam, and our prisoners of war would at last be returned to us.

At home, we began the second Administration with a still more vigorous attempt to reorganize the unwieldy Federal government. We tried to make the Executive Branch more efficient and functional by the bold and, I believe, farsighted Reorganization Plan of 1973. Since the corollary of a more responsible and responsive

Foreword

Federal government is more vital and viable local government, we continued our efforts to secure the passage of Special Revenue Sharing programs which would help return the power of government to the people of this country.

The documents which tell this story best are the texts of the six separate State of the Union messages which were sent to Congress, and the corresponding radio addresses to the Nation covering each of the critical areas of Natural Resources and the Environment, the Economy, Human Resources, Community Development, and Law Enforcement and Drug Abuse Prevention.

Here, we felt, was an opportunity for the government and the people to use the three years leading to America's Bicentennial to revive and restore the principles of individual enterprise, personal responsibility, and limited government that were the legacy of the Founders to us.

After too many years of accepting massive deficits as inevitable or even desirable, we were determined in this second term to instill the Federal government in general and Congress in particular, with a new sense of budget discipline and responsibility. This important fight can be followed through several messages and radio addresses, news conferences, and finally, in various veto statements.

In June, General Secretary Brezhnev returned the Summit visit we had made to the Soviet Union a year earlier. In Washington and in San Clemente, California, we had the widest-ranging discussions with a particular emphasis on arms control.

In October, Vice President Agnew resigned his Office, and I appointed Congressman Gerald R. Ford of Michigan to succeed him.

Still in October, American diplomacy moved to play a central role in bringing the Yom Kippur War between Israel and her Arab neighbors to an however uneasy end. One consequence of this war was to dramatize for the American people the new era of international interdependence in which we now live. Within just a few weeks, an oil embargo made us realize how much we depend upon outside sources for much of our fuel and energy supplies. The Administration submitted Emergency Energy legislation to cover the crisis, and announced "Project Independence," an on-going

Foreword

program aimed at energy self-sufficiency for America by the end of the decade.

Nineteen seventy-three was also the year in which Watergate became the major focus of the nation's attention. The episode broadened and widened so quickly that each attempt on my part to deal with it led me and my Administration deeper and deeper into a tangled web of suspicion and confusion. Some of the Watergate documents in this volume raise profound and important Constitutional questions of executive privilege and the doctrine of the separation of powers. Others, however, reflect the mistakes and misjudgments of the way I dealt with Watergate. But they too are part of the record.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Richard Nixon". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

PREFACE

IN THIS VOLUME are gathered most of the public messages and statements of the 37th President of the United States that were released by the White House in 1973. Similar volumes are available covering the Administrations of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson.

The series was begun in 1957 in response to a recommendation of the National Historical Publications Commission. Until then there had been no systematic publication of Presidential papers. An extensive compilation of the messages and papers of the Presidents, covering the period 1789 to 1897, was assembled by James D. Richardson and published under Congressional authority between 1896 and 1899. Since then various private compilations have been issued, but there was no uniform publication comparable to the *Congressional Record* or the *United States Supreme Court Reports*. Many Presidential papers could be found only in mimeographed White House releases or as reported in the press. The National Historical Publications Commission therefore recommended the establishment of an official series in which Presidential writings and utterances of a public nature could be made promptly available.

The Commission's recommendation was incorporated in regulations of the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register issued under section 6 of the Federal Register Act (44 U.S.C. 1506). The Committee's regulations, establishing the series and providing for the coverage of prior years, are reprinted as Appendix E.

CONTENT AND ARRANGEMENT

The text of this book is based on Presidential materials issued during the period as White House releases and on transcripts of news conferences. Original source materials, where available, including tape recordings, have been used to protect against errors in transcription.

Preface

The dates shown at the end of item headings are White House release dates. In instances where the date of the document differs from the release date, that fact is shown in the note immediately following the item. Textnotes, footnotes, and cross references have been supplied where needed for purposes of clarity.

Remarks or addresses were delivered in Washington, D.C., unless otherwise indicated. Similarly, statements, messages, and letters were released at the White House in Washington unless otherwise indicated. All times shown are local time.

Items published in this volume are presented in chronological order, rather than being grouped in classes. Most needs for a classified arrangement are met by the subject index. For example, a reader interested in veto messages sent to Congress during 1973 will find them listed in the index under the heading "Veto messages and memorandums of disapproval."

Appendixes A through D have been provided to deal with special categories of Presidential issuances and actions, as noted below.

White House releases not included as items in this volume and not appearing in later appendixes are listed in Appendix A.

Items of general interest announced by the White House during 1973 and not noted elsewhere in the volume are listed in Appendix B.

Though not all proclamations, Executive orders, and similar documents required by law to be published in the *Federal Register* and *Code of Federal Regulations* were issued as White House releases during 1973, a complete listing of these documents by number and/or subject appears in Appendix C.

The President is required by statute to transmit numerous reports to the Congress. Those transmitted during the period covered by this volume are listed in Appendix D.

This series is under the direction of Fred J. Emery, Director, and Ernest J. Galdi, Deputy Director, of the Office of the Federal Register. Editors of the present volume were Jean T. Eisinger, Faye Q. Rosser, and Kenneth R. Payne, assisted by other members

Preface

of the Presidential Documents Division. The Government Printing Office developed the typography and design of the volume.

JAMES B. RHOADS

Archivist of the United States

ARTHUR F. SAMPSON

Administrator of General Services

September 1975

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
FOREWORD	V
PREFACE	IX
LIST OF ITEMS	XV
PUBLIC PAPERS OF RICHARD NIXON, 1973	I
<i>Appendix A</i> —Additional White House Releases	1033
This appendix lists those releases which are neither printed as items in this volume nor listed in subsequent appendixes.	
<i>Appendix B</i> —Additional White House Announcements	1064
This appendix lists those items of general interest which were announced to the press during 1973 but which are not noted elsewhere in this volume.	
<i>Appendix C</i> —Presidential Documents Published in the Federal Register	1090
<i>Appendix D</i> —Presidential Reports to the 93d Congress, First Session	1098
<i>Appendix E</i> —Rules Governing This Publication	1101
INDEX	1103

LIST OF ITEMS

	<i>Page</i>
1 Statement About the Death of Roberto Clemente. January 2, 1973	1
2 Statement About the Final Report of the National Commission on Consumer Finance. January 3, 1974	1
3 Statement About the Redirection of Executive Branch Management. January 5, 1973	2
4 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Re- port on the Trade Agreements Program for 1971. January 9, 1973	7
5 Message to the Senate Transmitting the United States-Colombian Treaty Concerning Quita Sueño, Roncador, and Serrana. January 9, 1973	8
6 Special Message to the Congress Announcing Phase III of the Economic Stabilization Program and Re- questing Extension of Authorizing Legislation. Jan- uary 11, 1973	9
7 Remarks at a Reception Honoring Members of the Shenyang Acrobatic Troupe of the People's Republic of China. January 12, 1973	11
8 Oath of Office and Second Inaugural Address. Jan- uary 20, 1973	12
9 Statement on the Death of President Lyndon Baines Johnson. January 22, 1973	16
10 Special Message to the Congress About the Death of President Lyndon Baines Johnson. January 23, 1973	16

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
11 Proclamation 4180, Announcing the Death of Lyndon Baines Johnson. January 23, 1973	17
12 Address to the Nation Announcing Conclusion of an Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam. January 23, 1973	18
13 Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 1 of 1973 Restructuring the Executive Office of the President. January 26, 1973	21
14 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the United States-Japan Cooperative Medical Science Program. January 26, 1973	25
15 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Council on the Arts. January 26, 1973	26
16 Message to the Congress Transmitting Reports on the Military Incentive Awards Program. January 26, 1973	27
17 Message to the Senate Transmitting Notes to the United States-Ethiopian Treaty of Amity and Economic Relations. January 26, 1973	28
18 Proclamation 4181, National Moment of Prayer and Thanksgiving. January 26, 1973	28
19 Remarks Introducing Members of the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia to the Bipartisan Congressional Leadership. January 26, 1973	29
20 Radio Address: "The New Budget: Charting a New Era of Progress." January 28, 1973	30
21 Annual Budget Message to the Congress, Fiscal Year 1974. January 29, 1973	32

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
22 Annual Message to the Congress: The Economic Report of the President. January 30, 1973	49
23 The President's News Conference of January 31, 1973	53
24 Remarks at the National Prayer Breakfast. February 1, 1973	63
25 Remarks of Welcome to Prime Minister Edward Heath of the United Kingdom. February 1, 1973	65
26 Statement About Proposed Establishment of an American Revolution Bicentennial Administration. February 1, 1973	67
27 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Heath of the United Kingdom. February 1, 1973	67
28 Remarks at the Swearing In of 20 Cabinet and Sub-Cabinet Officials. February 2, 1973	71
29 State of the Union Message to the Congress: Overview and Goals. February 2, 1973	74
30 Memorandum About the Annual Report on Federal Executive Boards. February 5, 1973	77
31 Toasts of the President and King Hussein of Jordan. February 6, 1973	77
32 Informal Exchange With Reporters After Visiting Senator John Stennis at the Walter Reed Army Medical Center. February 7, 1973	80
33 Letter to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House Proposing Enactment of Foreign Assistance Legislation for Fiscal Year 1973. February 7, 1973	81

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
34 Remarks at the Swearing In of John T. Dunlop as Director of the Cost of Living Council. February 7, 1973	82
35 Informal Exchange With Reporters After Visiting Alice Roosevelt Longworth. February 7, 1973	82
36 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of Activities Under the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970. February 8, 1973	84
37 Informal Exchange With Reporters About the Return of American Prisoners of War from Southeast Asia. February 11, 1973	85
38 Statement on the Return of the First Group of American Prisoners of War From Southeast Asia. February 11, 1973	87
39 Remarks at the Swearing In of Caspar W. Weinberger as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. February 12, 1973	87
40 Statement About the Death of David Lawrence. February 12, 1973	88
41 Remarks Following Announcement of a Devaluation of the Dollar. February 13, 1973	89
42 Statement About Display of the Flag in Honor of Returning Prisoners of War. February 13, 1973	90
43 Radio Address About the State of the Union Message on Natural Resources and the Environment. February 14, 1973	90
44 State of the Union Message to the Congress on Natural Resources and the Environment. February 15, 1973	94

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
45 Remarks About United States Relations With Europe. February 15, 1973	103
46 Remarks at the Mayport Naval Air Station, Florida. February 16, 1973	104
47 Remarks Following a Meeting With the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, Bal Harbour, Florida. February 19, 1973	105
48 Informal Remarks at the Jackie Gleason Inverrary Classic, Lauderhill, Florida. February 19, 1973	105
49 Informal Exchange With Reporters About a Meeting With the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. February 19, 1973	106
50 Statement About Signing a Bill Designating the Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston, Texas, as the Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center. February 19, 1973	107
51 Remarks to a Joint Session of the South Carolina General Assembly. February 20, 1973	108
52 Radio Address About the State of the Union Message on the Economy. February 21, 1973	113
53 State of the Union Message to the Congress on the Economy. February 22, 1973	117
54 Remarks on Receiving the Boy Scouts' Annual Report to the Nation. February 22, 1973	125
55 Remarks at the Swearing In of Walter E. Washington as Mayor of the District of Columbia. February 22, 1973	125
56 Statement on the Death of Winthrop Rockefeller. February 22, 1973	127

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
57 Remarks on Receiving the Report on the Jobs for Veterans Program. February 23, 1973	127
58 Radio Address About the State of the Union Message on Human Resources. February 24, 1973	128
59 Message to the Congress Transmitting the Cost of Living Council's Quarterly Report on the Economic Stabilization Program. February 26, 1973	132
60 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Convention on Ocean Dumping. February 28, 1973	133
61 State of the Union Message to the Congress on Human Resources. March 1, 1973	133
62 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Golda Meir of Israel. March 1, 1973	148
63 The President's News Conference of March 2, 1973	151
64 Remarks on Receiving the "Heart-of-the-Year" Award. March 2, 1973	161
65 Statement on the Slaying of Two American Diplomats by Terrorists in Khartoum, The Sudan. March 2, 1973	162
66 Remarks at the Swearing In of G. Bradford Cook as Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission. March 3, 1973	163
67 Memorandum Urging Support of the Red Cross. March 3, 1973	164
68 Radio Address About the State of the Union Message on Community Development. March 4, 1973	164
69 Statement on the Death of Pearl S. Buck. March 6, 1973	168

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
70 Remarks During a Meeting With District of Columbia Police Chief Jerry V. Wilson. March 6, 1973	168
71 Remarks at a Ceremony Honoring Slain Foreign Service Officers. March 6, 1973	169
72 Remarks to Recipients of the Federal Woman's Award. March 7, 1973	171
73 State of the Union Message to the Congress on Community Development. March 8, 1973	171
74 Radio Address About the State of the Union Message on Law Enforcement and Drug Abuse Prevention. March 10, 1973	180
75 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the National Science Foundation. March 12, 1973	184
76 Statement About Executive Privilege. March 12, 1973	184
77 Remarks at a Reception for the Association of American Foreign Service Women. March 13, 1973	187
78 Remarks During a Meeting With Customs Officials. March 14, 1973	191
79 State of the Union Message to the Congress on Law Enforcement and Drug Abuse Prevention. March 14, 1973	192
80 The President's News Conference of March 15, 1973	202
81 St. Patrick's Day Message. March 16, 1973	213
82 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on Aeronautics and Space Activities. March 19, 1973	213

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
83 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Man- power Report of the President. March 20, 1973	214
84 Exchange of Remarks With the Co-Chairman of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Commission on Scientific and Technical Cooperation. March 20, 1973	215
85 Statement About Summer Job and Recreation Pro- grams for Youth. March 21, 1973	216
86 Remarks During a Meeting With the U.S.S.R. Women's Gymnastic Team. March 21, 1973	217
87 Message to the Senate Transmitting Amendments to the International Convention on Load Lines, 1966. March 22, 1973	217
88 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Strasbourg Agreement Concerning the International Patent Classification. March 22, 1973	218
89 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual International Economic Report of the President. March 22, 1973	219
90 Statement About the Vietnam Veteran. March 24, 1973	220
91 Veto of the Vocational Rehabilitation Bill. March 27, 1973	223
92 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Re- port of the National Endowment for the Humanities. March 27, 1973	225
93 Message to the Congress Transmitting Summary Re- port of the Water Resources of the Delmarva Penin- sula. March 27, 1973	226

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
94 Remarks During a Meeting With Representative Corinne C. Boggs of Louisiana. March 27, 1973	227
95 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. March 28, 1973	227
96 Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 2 of 1973 Establishing the Drug Enforcement Administration. March 28, 1973	228
97 Statement About the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports for 1972. March 28, 1973	233
98 Address to the Nation About Vietnam and Domestic Problems. March 29, 1973	234
99 Letter to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House Transmitting Proposals To Authorize Reduction or Suspension of Import Barriers. March 30, 1973	239
100 Remarks to State Legislators Attending the National Legislative Conference. March 30, 1973	239
101 Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to John Ford. March 31, 1973	245
102 Remarks of Welcome to President Nguyen Van Thieu of the Republic of Vietnam at San Clemente, California. April 2, 1973	247
103 Letter to President Thieu About the "Land to the Tiller" Program in the Republic of Vietnam. April 2, 1973	248
104 Annual Message to the Congress on the District of Columbia Budget. April 2, 1973	250

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
105 Remarks at the Conclusion of Discussions With President Thieu of the Republic of Vietnam. April 3, 1973	250
106 Joint Statement Following Discussions With President Thieu of the Republic of Vietnam. April 3, 1973	251
107 Statement About Senate Action Sustaining the Vocational Rehabilitation Bill Veto. April 3, 1973	254
108 Veto of the Rural Water and Sewer Grant Program Bill. April 5, 1973	254
109 Statement About Intention To Withdraw the Nomination of L. Patrick Gray III To Be Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. April 5, 1973	257
110 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. April 9, 1973	257
111 Remarks on Transmitting a Special Message to the Congress on Proposed Trade Reform Legislation. April 10, 1973	258
112 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Trade Reform Legislation. April 10, 1973	258
113 Statement About House Action Sustaining the Veto of the Rural Water and Sewer Grant Program Bill. April 10, 1973	270
114 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore. April 10, 1973	271
115 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Pension Reform Legislation. April 11, 1973	273

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
116 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Convention for the Protection of Producers of Phonograms. April 11, 1973	279
117 Remarks on Presenting the American Cancer Society's Courage Award to Jack Pardee. April 11, 1973	280
118 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Job Security Assistance Legislation. April 12, 1973	281
119 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora. April 13, 1973	285
120 Remarks at a Reception for the Chiefs of Delegations to the General Assembly of the Organization of American States. April 13, 1973	286
121 Remarks at the Annual Dinner of the White House Correspondents Association. April 14, 1973	287
122 Remarks at the National Conference of Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO. April 16, 1973	290
123 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Stockpile Disposal Legislation. April 16, 1973	295
124 Remarks of Welcome to Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti of Italy. April 17, 1973	297
125 Remarks Announcing Procedures and Developments in Connection With the Watergate Investigations. April 17, 1973	298
126 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Andreotti of Italy. April 17, 1973	299

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
127 Remarks on Transmitting a Special Message to the Congress on Energy Policy. April 18, 1973	301
128 Special Message to the Congress on Energy Policy. April 18, 1973	302
129 Statement About the Death of Hamilton Fish Armstrong. April 25, 1973	319
130 Statement Following an Inspection Flight Over Flooded Areas in Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana. April 27, 1973	319
131 Remarks at the Dedication of the John C. Stennis Naval Technical Training Center, Meridian, Mississippi. April 27, 1973	320
132 Statement About Signing a Supplemental Appropriations Bill. April 28, 1973	324
133 Statement Announcing Resignation of the Attorney General and Members of the White House Staff, and Intention To Nominate Elliot L. Richardson To Be Attorney General. April 30, 1973	326
134 Address to the Nation About the Watergate Investigations. April 30, 1973	328
135 Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Proposed Legislation for Funding of Foreign Assistance Programs in Fiscal Year 1974. May 1, 1973	333
136 Toasts of the President and Chancellor Willy Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany. May 1, 1973	337
137 Statement About Signing a Bill Extending the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970. May 2, 1973	339

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
138 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Chancellor Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany. May 2, 1973	343
139 Radio Address About the Fourth Annual Foreign Policy Report to the Congress. May 3, 1973	345
140 Message to the Congress Transmitting Fourth Annual Report on United States Foreign Policy. May 3, 1973	347
141 Fourth Annual Report to the Congress on United States Foreign Policy. May 3, 1973	348
142 Statement About Signing the Older Americans Comprehensive Services Amendments of 1973. May 4, 1973	519
143 Statement About the Report of the Presidential Study Commission on International Radio Broadcasting. May 7, 1973	520
144 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Disaster Preparedness and Assistance Legislation. May 8, 1973	521
145 Message to the Senate Transmitting Six Amendments to the Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea. May 9, 1973	522
146 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the United States Civil Service Commission. May 9, 1973	522
147 Remarks at a Republican Fundraising Dinner. May 9, 1973	523
148 Statement Following the Swearing In of Michael P. Balzano, Jr., as Director of ACTION. May 10, 1973	526

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
149 Statement About Proposed Legislation To Establish a Legal Services Corporation. May 11, 1973	526
150 Message to the Senate Transmitting the United States-Canadian Agreement for Promotion of Safety on the Great Lakes by Means of Radio. May 11, 1973	528
151 Statement on Signing a Bill To Improve the Rural Electrification and Telephone Program. May 11, 1973	528
152 Remarks at a Ceremony Honoring Roberto Cle- mente. May 14, 1973	529
153 Toasts of the President and Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. May 15, 1973	531
154 Remarks About Proposed Legislation To Establish a Nonpartisan Commission on Federal Election Re- form. May 16, 1973	533
155 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Establish- ment of a Nonpartisan Commission on Federal Elec- tion Reform. May 16, 1973	536
156 White House Statement About Congressional Role in Indochina Peace Efforts. May 16, 1973	537
157 Message to the Senate Transmitting the United States-Uruguayan Treaty on Extradition. May 18, 1973	538
158 Message to the Senate Transmitting an Amendment to the United Nations Charter. May 18, 1973	538
159 Veto of a Bill Requiring Senate Confirmation of the Director and Deputy Director of the Office of Man- agement and Budget. May 18, 1973	539

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
160 Remarks at Armed Forces Day Ceremonies, Norfolk Naval Base, Virginia. May 19, 1973	540
161 Statement Announcing a Broadened Management Role for the General Services Administration, and Selection of Administrator and Deputy Administrator. May 22, 1973	545
162 Statements About the Watergate Investigations. May 22, 1973	547
163 Remarks at a Reception for Returned Prisoners of War. May 24, 1973	555
164 Remarks of Welcome at a Dinner Honoring Returned Prisoners of War. May 24, 1973	563
165 Toasts at a Dinner Honoring Returned Prisoners of War. May 24, 1973	564
166 Message to King Hassan of Morocco Congratulating the Organization of African Unity on Its 10th Anniversary. May 25, 1973	566
167 Remarks at the Swearing In of Elliot L. Richardson as Attorney General. May 25, 1973	566
168 Memorial Day Message. May 28, 1973	568
169 Toasts of the President, President Kristján Eldjárn of Iceland, and President Georges Pompidou of France at a Dinner in Reykjavik. May 31, 1973	569
170 Letter Accepting the Resignation of Herbert G. Klein as Director of Communications for the Executive Branch. June 5, 1973	572
171 Toasts of the President and President William R. Tolbert, Jr., of Liberia. June 5, 1973	574

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
172 Message to Captain Charles Conrad, Jr., USN, Commander of the Skylab 1 Crew. June 7, 1973	577
173 Remarks at Commencement Exercises of Florida Technological University, Orlando, Florida. June 8, 1973	577
174 Address to the Nation Announcing Price Control Measures. June 13, 1973	584
175 Remarks at the Unveiling of the Cornerstone of the Everett McKinley Dirksen Congressional Leadership Research Center, Pekin, Illinois. June 15, 1973	588
176 Telephone Conversation With the Commander of the Skylab 1 Crew. June 17, 1973	593
177 Remarks of Welcome to Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. June 18, 1973	594
178 Toasts of the President and General Secretary Brezhnev of the U.S.S.R. June 18, 1973	595
179 Statement About Signing Three Bills Providing for Health Care, Economic Development in Rural Areas, and Airport Construction. June 19, 1973	599
180 Letter to the United Nations Secretary General About West Africa Drought Relief Measures. June 21, 1973	601
181 Toasts of the President and General Secretary Brezhnev at a Dinner at the Soviet Embassy. June 21, 1973	602
182 Message to the Skylab 1 Crew Following Splash-down. June 22, 1973	606

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
183 Remarks at a Reception for General Secretary Brezhnev in San Clemente, California. June 23, 1973	607
184 Remarks at the Conclusion of Discussions With General Secretary Brezhnev. June 24, 1973	609
185 Joint Communique Following Discussions With General Secretary Brezhnev. June 25, 1973	611
186 Statement on Establishing the Federal Property Council. June 25, 1973	619
187 Message to the Senate Transmitting the United States-Italian Treaty on Extradition. June 26, 1973	620
188 Veto of the Supplemental Appropriations Bill Containing a Restriction on United States Air Operations in Cambodia. June 27, 1973	621
189 Statement About the Report of the National Tourism Resources Review Commission. June 28, 1973	622
190 Statement Announcing Additional Energy Policy Measures. June 29, 1973	623
191 Memorandum Directing Reductions in Energy Consumption by the Federal Government. June 29, 1973	630
192 Letter to Governors Urging Support for Energy Conservation Measures. June 29, 1973	630
193 Statement About "Walk a Mile for Your Health Day." June 30, 1973	631
194 Radio Address About the Nation's Economy. July 1, 1973	632
195 Statement on Signing the Second Supplemental and Continuing Appropriations Bills. July 1, 1973	635

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
196 Independence Day Statement. July 2, 1973	636
197 Letter Responding to the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities Request for Presidential Testimony and Access to Presidential Papers. July 7, 1973	636
198 Remarks at the Swearing In of Clarence M. Kelley as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. July 9, 1973	639
199 Message to the Congress Transmitting the Cost of Living Council's Quarterly Report on the Economic Stabilization Program. July 11, 1973	641
200 Statement About Signing a Bill Increasing Social Security Benefits. July 11, 1973	642
201 Statement About the Final Report of the National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control. July 12, 1973	643
202 White House Statement About the Failure To Confirm Ambassador G. McMurtrie Godley as an Assistant Secretary of State. July 12, 1973	644
203 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the Food for Peace Program. July 13, 1973	645
204 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education. July 13, 1973	645
205 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Plan for United States Participation in the World Weather Program. July 13, 1973	646
206 Letter to the Secretary of the Treasury About Secret Service Testimony Before Congressional Committees. July 17, 1973	647

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
207 Statement Announcing Measures To Be Taken Under Phase IV of the Economic Stabilization Program. July 18, 1973	647
208 Message to the Senate Transmitting a Protocol Amending the 1928 Convention Concerning International Expositions. July 19, 1973	653
209 Remarks on Departure From Bethesda Naval Hospital, Maryland. July 20, 1973	654
210 Remarks to Members of the White House Staff on Returning From Bethesda Naval Hospital. July 20, 1973	655
211 Letter Responding to the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities Request for Access to Presidential Tape Recordings. July 23, 1973	657
212 Message to the Senate Transmitting the International Coffee Agreement 1968 as Extended. July 23, 1973	659
213 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Customs Convention on the International Transit of Goods. July 23, 1973	659
214 Statement on the Death of Edward V. Rickenbacker. July 23, 1973	660
215 Remarks of Welcome to His Imperial Majesty, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, Shahanshah of Iran. July 24, 1973	660
216 Toasts of the President and the Shah of Iran. July 24, 1973	662

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
217 Toasts of the President and the Shah of Iran at a Dinner at the Iranian Embassy. July 25, 1973	664
218 Statement About the Death of Louis S. St. Laurent. July 26, 1973	667
219 Statement About Budget Results for Fiscal Year 1973. July 26, 1973	667
220 Letter Responding to Senate Committee Subpoenas Requiring Production of Presidential Tape Recordings and Documents. July 26, 1973	668
221 Letter Responding to a District Court Subpoena Requiring Production of Presidential Tape Recordings and Documents. July 26, 1973	669
222 Remarks of Welcome to Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka of Japan. July 31, 1973	671
223 Message Marking the 20th Anniversary of the United States Information Agency. July 31, 1973	672
224 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Tanaka of Japan. July 31, 1973	673
225 Joint Communique Following Discussions With Prime Minister Tanaka of Japan. August 1, 1973	677
226 Veto of the Emergency Medical Services Systems Bill. August 1, 1973	680
227 Statement on Signing the Veterans Health Care Expansion Act of 1973. August 2, 1973	681
228 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Changes in the Nation's Financial System. August 3, 1973	682

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
229 Letter to the Speaker of the House and the Majority Leader of the Senate About the End of United States Bombing in Cambodia. August 3, 1973	686
230 Memorandum About the Combined Federal Campaign. August 8, 1973	687
231 Statement on Signing the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1973. August 10, 1973	687
232 Statement on Signing a Highway and Mass Transit Bill. August 13, 1973	690
233 Address to the Nation About the Watergate Investigations. August 15, 1973	691
234 Statement About the Watergate Investigations. August 15, 1973	698
235 Remarks at the Veterans of Foreign Wars National Convention, New Orleans, Louisiana. August 20, 1973	703
236 The President's News Conference of August 22, 1973	710
237 Letter Accepting the Resignation of William P. Rogers as Secretary of State. August 22, 1973	725
238 White House Statement About a Reported Indian-Pakistani Agreement on the Return of Prisoners of War. August 28, 1973	727
239 Statement About United States Flood Relief Assistance for Pakistan. August 29, 1973	727
240 White House Statement Following a District Court Order Requiring Production of Presidential Tape Recordings and Documents. August 29, 1973	728

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
241 White House Statement About the Decision To Appeal the Court Order Requiring Production of Presidential Tape Recordings and Documents. August 30, 1973	728
242 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Deferment of Federal Pay Increases. August 31, 1973	729
243 Labor Day Message. August 31, 1973	730
244 Statement on the Death of John Ford. August 31, 1973	730
245 Remarks at the Swearing In of William E. Colby as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. September 4, 1973	731
246 The President's News Conference of September 5, 1973	732
247 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on United States Participation in the United Nations. September 6, 1973	743
248 Veto of the Minimum Wage Bill. September 6, 1973	746
249 Remarks During a Meeting With Economic Advisers. September 6, 1973	749
250 Remarks About the Nation's Energy Policy. September 8, 1973	752
251 Statement About United States Participation in International Trade Negotiation and Monetary System Meetings. September 8, 1973	755
252 Radio Address About a Special Message to the Congress on National Legislative Goals. September 9, 1973	756

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
253 Special Message to the Congress on National Legislative Goals. September 10, 1973	761
254 Message to the Annual Assembly of the Atlantic Treaty Association. September 10, 1973	786
255 Remarks at the First National Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime Conference. September 11, 1973	787
256 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Statutes of the World Tourism Organization. September 12, 1973	790
257 White House Statement on House Action Sustaining the Emergency Medical Services Bill Veto. September 12, 1973	790
258 Jewish High Holy Days Message. September 14, 1973	791
259 Statement About the National Endowment for the Arts and the Reappointment of Nancy Hanks as Chairman. September 14, 1973	791
260 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality. September 17, 1973	792
261 Remarks of Welcome to Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan. September 18, 1973	795
262 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Bhutto of Pakistan. September 18, 1973	797
263 Message to the Senate Transmitting the United States-Soviet Convention on Matters of Taxation. September 19, 1973	800

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
264 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Legislation and Outlining Administration Actions To Deal With Federal Housing Policy. September 19, 1973	800
265 White House Statement on House Action Sustaining the Minimum Wage Bill Veto. September 19, 1973	813
266 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Prime Minister Bhutto of Pakistan. September 20, 1973	814
267 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report on the Administration of the National Sickle Cell Anemia Control Act. September 21, 1973	815
268 Remarks at the Swearing In of Henry A. Kissinger as Secretary of State. September 22, 1973	815
269 Veto of the Small Business Administration Loan Ceiling and Disaster Loan Amendments. September 22, 1973	818
270 Letter to Senate Leaders About Proposed Reductions in the Defense Budget. September 22, 1973	819
271 Statement About the Report of the Advisory Panel on Timber and the Environment. September 24, 1973	821
272 Statement About the Investigation of Charges Against Vice President Agnew. September 25, 1973	822
273 Message to the Skylab 2 Crew Following Splash-down. September 25, 1973	823
274 Statement on Signing the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. September 26, 1973	823
275 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Patent Modernization and Reform Legislation. September 27, 1973	825

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
276 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Norman E. Kirk of New Zealand. September 27, 1973	829
277 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the Federal Ocean Program. September 28, 1973	832
278 Statement About Pay Increases for Federal Employees. September 28, 1973	835
279 Statement on Signing the Domestic Volunteer Service Act of 1973. October 1, 1973	835
280 Informal Remarks to a Group of Senior Citizens From Whittier, California. October 2, 1973	836
281 The President's News Conference of October 3, 1973	838
282 Message to the Congress on Federal Civilian and Military Pay Increases. October 3, 1973	846
283 Statement About Trade Reform Legislation Pending Before the Congress. October 4, 1973	847
284 Statement on the Death of James S. Copley. October 6, 1973	848
285 Remarks About United States Diplomatic Actions Following the Outbreak of Fighting in the Middle East. October 8, 1973	848
286 Remarks of Welcome to President Félix Houphouët-Boigny of the Republic of Ivory Coast. October 9, 1973	849
287 Statement Following a Meeting With Energy and Environmental Advisers on Energy Conservation. October 9, 1973	851

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
288 Toasts of the President and President Houphouët-Boigny of the Republic of Ivory Coast. October 9, 1973	852
289 Remarks on Presenting the National Medal of Science Awards for 1973. October 10, 1973	857
290 Letter to Spiro T. Agnew About His Decision To Resign as Vice President. October 10, 1973	861
291 Statement About Additional Funding for Energy Research and Development Programs in Fiscal Year 1974. October 11, 1973	862
292 Remarks at the Conclusion of a Conference on Export Expansion. October 11, 1973	863
293 Newspaper Carrier Day Message. October 12, 1973	867
294 Remarks Announcing Intention To Nominate Gerald R. Ford To Be Vice President. October 12, 1973	867
295 Remarks at a Meeting With the Vice President-Designate. October 13, 1973	869
296 Remarks on Presenting the Congressional Medal of Honor to Nine Members of the Armed Forces. October 15, 1973	870
297 Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to William P. Rogers and the Presidential Citizens Medal to Adele Rogers. October 15, 1973	877
298 Statement About the Selection of Henry A. Kissinger as Corecipient of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1973. October 16, 1973	880

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
299 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the International Educational and Cultural Exchange Program. October 16, 1973	880
300 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Report of the Advisory Council on Intergovernmental Personnel Policy. October 16, 1973	881
301 Remarks Following a Meeting With Arab Foreign Ministers. October 17, 1973	882
302 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the Trade Agreements Program for 1972. October 17, 1973	883
303 Special Message to the Congress Requesting Emergency Security Assistance Funding for Israel and Cambodia. October 19, 1973	884
304 Statement on Signing the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Amendments of 1973. October 19, 1973	886
305 Statement Announcing Procedures for Providing Information From Presidential Tape Recordings. October 19, 1973	887
306 National Film Day Message. October 20, 1973	889
307 Statement on the Death of Norman Chandler. October 20, 1973	889
308 Letter Accepting the Resignation of Elliot L. Richardson as Attorney General. October 20, 1973	890
309 Letter Directing the Acting Attorney General To Discharge the Director of the Office of Watergate Special Prosecution Force. October 20, 1973	891

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
310 Veto of the United States Information Agency Appropriations Authorization Bill. October 23, 1973	891
311 Veto of the War Powers Resolution. October 24, 1973	893
312 The President's News Conference of October 26, 1973	896
313 Statement on the Death of Representative John P. Saylor of Pennsylvania. October 28, 1973	906
314 Message to the Senate Transmitting the United States-Danish Treaty on Extradition. October 30, 1973	906
315 Message to the Congress Transmitting the Cost of Living Council's Quarterly Report on the Economic Stabilization Program. October 30, 1973	907
316 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Reports on Highway, Traffic, and Motor Vehicle Safety Programs. October 30, 1973	908
317 Special Message to the Congress Requesting Funds for the International Development Association and the Asian Development Bank. October 31, 1973	909
318 Statement on the Death of Paul Dudley White. October 31, 1973	912
319 Remarks Announcing Intention To Nominate William B. Saxbe To Be Attorney General. November 1, 1973	912
320 Statement on Signing the Amtrak Improvement Act of 1973. November 3, 1973	913

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
321 Message to the Congress Transmitting Report on the Hudson River Basin Compact Act. November 6, 1973	915
322 White House Statement About House Action Overriding the War Powers Resolution Veto. November 7, 1973	915
323 Address to the Nation About Policies To Deal With the Energy Shortages. November 7, 1973	916
324 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Emergency Energy Legislation. November 8, 1973	922
325 Remarks at an Awards Dinner of the Nevada State Society of Washington, D.C. November 8, 1973	926
326 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Convention on the International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea, 1972. November 9, 1973	928
327 Message to the Senate Transmitting a Protocol to the Convention for the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea. November 9, 1973	929
328 Statement Announcing Procedures for Providing Presidential Tape Recordings and Documents to the United States District Court. November 12, 1973	929
329 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Customs Convention on Containers, 1972, and the International Convention for Safe Containers. November 14, 1973	933
330 Remarks at the National Association of Realtors Annual Convention. November 15, 1973	934
331 Statement on the Launching of the Skylab 3 Spacecraft. November 16, 1973	941

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
332 Remarks on Signing a Bill Authorizing the Trans-Alaska Oil Pipeline. November 16, 1973	941
333 Statement About the Trans-Alaska Oil Pipeline. November 16, 1973	945
334 Question-and-Answer Session at the Annual Convention of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association, Orlando, Florida. November 17, 1973	946
335 Remarks on Arrival at Robins Air Force Base, Georgia. November 18, 1973	964
336 Remarks at Ceremonies in Macon, Georgia, Marking the 100th Anniversary of the Walter F. George School of Law and the 90th Birthday of Carl Vinson. November 18, 1973	966
337 Remarks on Arrival in Memphis, Tennessee. November 20, 1973	971
338 Remarks During a Meeting With Advisers To Discuss Energy Policy. November 24, 1973	972
339 Address to the Nation About National Energy Policy. November 25, 1973	973
340 Remarks at the Seafarers International Union Biennial Convention. November 26, 1973	976
341 Statement Following a Meeting on Drug Abuse Prevention Programs. November 27, 1973	982
342 Message to the Congress Proposing Establishment of New Wilderness Areas. November 28, 1973	983
343 Remarks at a Ball Benefiting Six Drought-Stricken West African Nations. November 30, 1973	985

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
344 Statement on the Death of David Ben-Gurion. December 1, 1973	987
345 Remarks at a Promotion Ceremony for Admiral Hyman G. Rickover. December 3, 1973	987
346 Remarks of Welcome to President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania. December 4, 1973	988
347 Remarks Announcing Establishment of the Federal Energy Office. December 4, 1973	990
348 Toasts of the President and President Ceausescu of Romania. December 4, 1973	992
349 Exchange of Remarks With President Ceausescu of Romania on Signing a Joint Statement of Principles. December 5, 1973	996
350 Joint Statement of Principles Following Discussions With President Ceausescu of Romania. December 5, 1973	997
351 Joint Statement on Economic, Industrial, and Technological Cooperation Between the United States and Romania. December 5, 1973	1000
352 Statement on Signing a Veterans Disability and Death Pension Bill. December 6, 1973	1003
353 Joint Communique Following Discussions With President Ceausescu of Romania. December 7, 1973	1004
354 Statement About Financial Affairs During Tenure as President. December 8, 1973	1005
355 Letter to the Chairman of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation Requesting Examination of the President's Tax Returns. December 8, 1973	1008

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
356 Remarks on Signing a Bill Establishing the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration. December 11, 1973	1009
357 Remarks About the Nation's Energy Shortage. December 13, 1973	1009
358 Remarks at the Lighting of the Nation's Christmas Tree. December 14, 1973	1011
359 Statement on Signing the Emergency Daylight Saving Time Energy Conservation Act of 1973. December 15, 1973	1014
360 Statement About Signing the United Nations Environment Program Participation Act of 1973. December 17, 1973	1014
361 Statement About a Bill Conferring Jurisdiction Upon the United States District Court in Civil Actions Brought by the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities. December 17, 1973	1015
362 Statement About an Arab Terrorist Attack at Leonardo da Vinci Airport, Fiumicino, Italy. December 18, 1973	1016
363 Letter Accepting the Resignation of Melvin R. Laird as Counsellor to the President for Domestic Affairs. December 19, 1973	1016
364 Statement Proposing Enactment of an Emergency Windfall Profits Tax. December 19, 1973	1018
365 Remarks About the Proposed Windfall Profits Tax. December 19, 1973	1020

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
366 Memorandum Establishing the President's Inter-agency Committee on Export Expansion. December 20, 1973	1020
367 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on Occupational Safety and Health. December 20, 1973	1021
368 Statement About the Failure of Congress to Enact Emergency Energy Legislation. December 22, 1973	1022
369 Statement on Signing the Menominee Restoration Act. December 22, 1973	1023
370 Statement on Signing the District of Columbia Self-Government and Governmental Reorganization Act. December 24, 1973	1024
371 Letter of Sympathy About the Death of Harold B. Lee. December 27, 1973	1025
372 Statement on Signing the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973. December 28, 1973	1026
373 Statement on Signing a Bill Establishing the Lyndon Baines Johnson Memorial Grove on the Potomac. December 28, 1973	1027
374 Statement on Signing the Endangered Species Act of 1973. December 28, 1973	1027
375 Statement on Signing a Bill Authorizing Insured Loans To Provide Nursing Home Fire Safety Equipment. December 28, 1973	1028
376 Statement on Signing the Health Maintenance Organization Act of 1973. December 29, 1973	1029

List of Items

	<i>Page</i>
377 Statement on Signing the Flood Disaster Protection Act of 1973. December 31, 1973	1030
378 Statement About Signing Six Bills Authorizing Disposal of National Stockpile Materials. December 31, 1973	1031

Richard Nixon

1973

1 Statement About the Death of Roberto Clemente.

January 2, 1973

EVERY sports fan admired and respected Roberto Clemente as one of the greatest baseball players of our time. In the tragedy of his untimely death, we are reminded that he deserved even greater respect and admiration for his splendid qualities as a generous and kind human being.

He sacrificed his life on a mission of mercy. The best memorial we can build to his memory is to contribute generously for the relief of those he was trying to help—the earthquake victims in Nicaragua.

NOTE: Roberto Clemente, 38, an outfielder for the Pittsburgh Pirates professional baseball team since 1955, died in the crash of a cargo plane off the coast of San Juan, P.R., on De-

cember 31, 1972. Mr. Clemente, as head of Puerto Rican efforts to aid victims of the Nicaraguan earthquake, was escorting relief supplies to Managua at the time of the crash.

On January 3, 1973, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Pittsburgh Pirates president Dan Galbreath and pitchers Dave Giusti and Steve Blass, on their meeting with the President to discuss a proposed Committee for a Roberto Clemente Memorial Fund for Nicaraguan Earthquake Victims.

On January 8, Anne L. Armstrong, Counselor to the President, while in Puerto Rico as the President's personal representative to the inauguration of Carlos Romero Barcelo as mayor of San Juan, conveyed the President's respects to Mr. Clemente's family.

See also Item 152.

2 Statement About the Final Report of the National Commission on Consumer Finance. *January 3, 1973*

PUBLICATION today of the final report of the National Commission on Consumer Finance is good news for all Americans.

I welcome this opportunity to express my personal appreciation to the members and staff of the Commission for their painstaking work over the past 3 years and to assure them that we will give the closest attention to their findings and recommendations.

In reviewing the state of consumer finance, the Commission has been studying something that lies close to the heart of our great free enterprise system. It is the wide availability of consumer credit which permits consumers to finance major purchases out of current income and thus enables our industries to develop and offer many more products than they could

otherwise.

What this has added up to, of course, is what we call the American way of life—the highest standard of living that any society has ever produced.

It is, therefore, vital to ensure that our consumer finance system continues to provide consumers with adequate credit at reasonable rates. The Commission's detailed research and comprehensive report should help us to determine whether our system is fully adequate for this purpose and how we might strengthen it in the future.

NOTE: The report is entitled "Consumer Credit in the United States—Report of the National Commission on Consumer Finance, December 1972" (Government Printing Office, 216 pp.).

3 Statement About the Redirection of Executive Branch Management. *January 5, 1973*

THE NEED to revitalize and streamline the Federal Government in preparation for America's third century is one of the most urgent imperatives confronting this Administration and the Congress as we approach the Bicentennial year that begins less than 3 years from now.

Americans can feel in their everyday lives the effects of a Federal establishment that in recent decades has become increasingly wasteful, inefficient, and expensive, more and more meddlesome in the affairs of individuals and lower levels of government, and too often unresponsive both to the people whom it exists to serve and to the Presidents whom the people elect to administer it.

NEEDED: EXECUTIVE REFORM

This is why I early proclaimed reform as a watchword of my Administration. This is why I moved to rescue the Postal Service from political pressures and bureaucratic tangles. This is why I commissioned wide-ranging studies by the President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization in 1969. This is why I followed up on those studies by establishing the Office of Management and Budget, the Domestic Council, and the Environmental Protection Agency by reorganization plans in 1970, and by proposing legislation early in 1971 to replace seven outmoded, constituency-oriented Cabinet departments and a number of independent agencies with four streamlined, goal-oriented departments fitted to the needs of the future.

During the 19 months that these reor-

ganization proposals were before the 92d Congress, valuable groundwork for their enactment was laid in hearings and staff work, and refinements to the legislation were added by the Administration. Although progress fell short of my hopes, I am determined to continue building on that progress by resubmitting similar legislation to the Congress in 1973.

I trust that the Members of the House and Senate received the same message that I did when we went to the people last fall—the message that Americans are fed up with wasteful, musclebound government in Washington and anxious for change that works—and I hope that both Houses will respond constructively to this new opportunity to work with us in producing such change.

WHAT CAN BE DONE NOW

During the past few weeks I have had extensive discussions with outgoing and incoming members of the Cabinet and with many other knowledgeable individuals about how we can do a better job of managing the affairs of government over the next 4 years. I have also had the benefit of studies prepared by all departmental executives pursuant to my request that each consider ways of improving his own operations.

The principal roadblocks to better government which we have identified in this review process are the same ones that prompted my 1971 reorganization proposals to the Congress. One problem is that most of today's major governmental goals and activities cross existing depart-

mental lines in a way that makes coherent policy formation and effective management extremely difficult. A second major problem is that the creation of several new departments and numerous other agencies and offices over the last 40 years has resulted in more officials reporting directly to the President than any one man can work with regularly on a personal basis.

This tangle must be resolved in a way that will make the advice and recommendations of all these officials available to the President for his use in forming policy and carrying out operations. Bureaucratic bottlenecks must be cleared to facilitate the flow of information and advice within the structure of the executive branch. More effective means must be devised for conveying policy guidance from the President to all operating executives and for making sure that guidance is followed.

The fundamental responsibility and prerogative for reorganizing the operating departments and agencies rests with the people's elected legislators. The President cannot relieve them of it; but the President can and should do everything within his power to apply on a smaller scale, at the staff levels closest to him, those organizational principles which he asks the Congress to apply on a giant scale across the whole Federal establishment.

Though the actual integration of fragmented departmental operations must wait on Congressional action, the broadening of policy perspectives on the part of top managers and advisers can be achieved at once. Similarly, we can and will begin now to realize, at least within the Executive Office of the President, the increased efficiency and economy which thinned-out organization charts and leaner personnel rolls would bring to the

whole executive branch under full-scale reorganization.

I am therefore today taking the first of a series of steps aimed at increasing the management effectiveness of both the Cabinet and the White House Staff, by reordering the timeworn and, in many cases, obsolete relationships among top staff and line officials to the full extent of my legal authority to do so.

NEW CABINET AND STAFF RELATIONSHIPS

As far as personalities are concerned, the plans of most key members of the White House Staff have already been announced. Though I regret the departure of a number of individuals who rendered outstanding service during the first term, I am pleased to be entering the new term with a team of men and women of the high caliber represented by Anne Armstrong, H. R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, Henry Kissinger, Roy Ash, George Shultz, Peter Flanigan, Bill Timmons, and their many capable colleagues.

From a managerial standpoint, the nucleus of this staff will be five Assistants to the President. They will work immediately under me, and at my direction, to integrate and unify policies and operations throughout the executive branch of the Government, and to oversee all of the activities for which the President is responsible. They will be charged with ensuring that full information, candid analysis, and a complete range of recommendations and options flow continuously into the Presidential decisionmaking process from all of the executives on my Administration team.

These five Assistants, with their areas of responsibility and authority, are: administration of the White House Office, Mr.

Haldeman; domestic affairs, Mr. Ehrlichman; foreign affairs, Dr. Kissinger; executive management, Mr. Ash; and economic affairs, Mr. Shultz. As previously announced, Mr. Shultz will continue to hold his line position as Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. Ash will do likewise as Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

Within the field of domestic affairs, in order to achieve some of the same benefits of goal-oriented policy formation and advice to the President which would result from creation by the Congress of unified Departments of Natural Resources, Human Resources, and Community Development, I have decided to ask the heads of three of the present departments to serve simultaneously as Counsellors to the President with coordinating responsibilities in these three broad areas of concern.

Earl L. Butz, Secretary of Agriculture, will take on the additional post of Counsellor for Natural Resources. Caspar Weinberger, Secretary-designate of Health, Education, and Welfare, will become Counsellor for Human Resources, James Lynn, Secretary-designate of Housing and Urban Development, will become Counsellor for Community Development.

To facilitate a close working relationship with the President and the Assistant in charge of domestic affairs, each of these Counsellors will have an office in the Old Executive Office Building next to the White House.

To bring about better operational coordination and more unified policy development within the three subject areas to be supervised by the Counsellors, each will chair a committee of the Domestic Council made up of those department and

agency heads having substantial responsibilities in his area. These committees will provide a mechanism for interdepartmental cooperation on the problems of natural resources, human resources, and community development in somewhat the same way as the new Council on Economic Policy (formation of which was announced last month)¹ will do in the economic affairs area under the chairmanship of the Assistant to the President in charge of economic affairs. The specific concerns and organizations falling within each of these subject areas will generally be those assigned to the proposed new departments as described in my revised reorganization proposals.

OPERATIONAL LINES AND CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONSHIPS UNCHANGED

It should be understood that the functions of all 11 executive departments and of all the independent agencies of the Federal Government will continue under these arrangements precisely as they are at present. Only the passage of legislation or the acceptance of reorganization plans by the Congress can alter those functions. It should also be understood that each department Secretary and agency head will continue to exercise full authority and to bear full responsibility in the management of his or her own organization as prescribed by law. Further, I would emphasize that existing Congressional relationships with these various organizations and with their top officials will remain unchanged.

The individual department heads and

¹ See 1972 volume, Appendix E, pp. E-4 to E-6.

the Counsellors will routinely report to me via the appropriate Assistant to the President, but will continue to work directly with me on important policy matters. Here let me state my opinion that the 11 men whom I have chosen as department heads in the new Cabinet are one of the strongest executive combinations ever put together here in Washington, in terms of management ability, personal integrity, and commitment to public service. Each has been selected and has accepted his selection on a basis of complete mutual trust, and of firm conviction that the arrangements announced today will serve every Secretary's own interest as well as the public interest, by enabling all the Secretaries to do a better job. I look forward to working closely with all of them during the next 4 years.

The Cabinet as a whole will continue to function as it has done during the past 4 years. The major Cabinet-level work will be done in constituent bodies including the National Security Council, Domestic Council, Council on Economic Policy, and Council on International Economic Policy. The non-Cabinet Council of Economic Advisers and Council on Environmental Quality will continue to carry out the advisory functions prescribed for them by statute.

The non-regulatory independent agencies and offices will, in a few cases, continue to report directly to me, but most will hereafter report to me through the appropriate Counsellor or Assistant, depending upon the degree of the President's statutory responsibility and authority for their operations. The regulatory agencies will hereafter communicate with my office through the Counsel to the President, as appropriate.

STREAMLINING THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Counsellors Butz, Weinberger, and Lynn, with the support of the committees which they will head, will be able to provide much of the advice and supervision for which Presidents in the past have had to turn to domestic policy establishments within the White House. The Counsellors will also be able to resolve with their colleagues at the Secretarial level many interdepartmental issues which have heretofore required arbitration by the President or his staff.

One consequence is that the staff of the Domestic Council can be cut back by about 55 percent—from 66 people at present to 30 people when the new Cabinet/Staff structure is in place. But the Domestic Council is only one part of a large, disparate aggregation of entities that makes up what is called the Executive Office of the President (EOP).

The EOP was created in 1939 to give the President immediate staff assistance and direct control over the management and budget functions of the Government. From an original base of four organizations and 570 people, it has mushroomed more than sevenfold in employment over the past 33 years, as successive Congresses and Presidents have created new ad hoc problemsolving entities under the Chief Executive's immediate control rather than come to grips with the more fundamental need to revitalize the bureaucracy itself as an effective problemsolving instrument.

In order to spur such a revitalization, and to disengage the Executive Office of the President from operational activity so that the President can devote his time and

attention to overall policy formation and direction, I am now taking action to cut the total personnel of the Executive Office of the President by well over half, and to reduce substantially the number of organizations which now make up the EOP.

Through a combination of Presidential directives, reorganization plans, and budgetary changes, I shall reassign or propose reassignment of most of the activities currently carried on by a number of organizations within the Executive Office of the President to appropriate line departments and agencies. Specific changes will be announced as they are effected.

THE NEED TO DECENTRALIZE

Throughout the middle third of the 20th century, power flowed to the center at every level of American government. It was a development which often seemed beneficial in the short run, indeed one which crisis rhetoric frequently insisted was "the only answer;" yet as the decades stretched out it proved to have seriously sapped the vitality of our system.

The vigor and independence of State and local government ebbed as Washington's power grew. In the Federal Government, the President's ability to manage effectively was increasingly hamstrung, and his chief lieutenants, the Cabinet Secretaries, were steadily weakened by the balkanization of the departments and agencies and the resultant ill-planned growth of the Executive Office of the President.

Now the age of centralism in American government is ending. The beginning of revenue sharing has turned the tide within the Federal system. The reorganization proposals which I have been advocating for almost 2 years now would do the same within the executive branch. The measures I am announcing today will put the principles of those proposals into practice everywhere that my administrative authority reaches.

I am confident that these measures will enhance my ability to deliver between now and 1977 what the people voted for in 1972: government that performs what it promises, and 100 cents worth of public services for every tax dollar spent. I believe they will contribute to that "energy in the executive" which Hamilton called "a leading character in the definition of good government."

And as these changes demonstrate their worth, I hope the Congress will accept this practical proof and join me in adopting throughout the executive branch the same concepts on which I am now patterning my own staff and Executive Office.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the plans for redirecting executive branch management by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs.

Earlier in the day, the President held a breakfast meeting with the bipartisan leadership of the Congress to discuss topics including the organization of the executive branch.

4 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report
on the Trade Agreements Program for 1971.
January 9, 1973

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with Section 402(a) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, I transmit herewith the Sixteenth Annual Report of the President on the Trade Agreements Program. This report covers developments during the twelve months ending December 31, 1971.

That year marked an historic turning point in international economic relations. Deepening crises in the spring and summer of 1971 dramatized the obsolescence and inequity of the rules and mechanisms developed at the end of World War II. Against this background, the Administration announced in August a series of measures designed in part to prevent further damage to the United States economic position. More fundamentally, actions were taken to open the way for reforming the world trade and monetary systems through multilateral cooperation.

Concurrently with monetary consultations which led to the Smithsonian Agreements in December of 1971, the United States opened bilateral discussions with our major trading partners. These discussions yielded valuable reductions during 1972 in a number of foreign barriers to our exports. Even more significant, however, was the conclusion reached among the United States, the European Community and Japan that permanent solutions could only be found through broad-based negotiations. The result of the discussions was an agreement to work actively for the opening in 1973 of a new round of comprehensive negotiations involving all elements of trade policy.

The nations of the world now have the opportunity to open a new era of international relations characterized by negotiation rather than confrontation across the whole range of foreign policy issues.

Our key objectives in reform of the international trading system are to reduce existing tariff and nontariff barriers affecting agricultural as well as industrial products, to establish new rules for the fairer conduct of world trade, and to open new opportunities for the poorer nations to earn the foreign exchange required for their development. Such far-reaching goals can be achieved only within a framework which provides for the equitable sharing of benefits and responsibilities and which includes a safeguard system that allows time for industries adversely affected by foreign competition to adjust to shifts in trade patterns.

Proposals which will enable the United States to negotiate effectively are now under intensive study in the executive branch. In the coming months, the Administration will be working closely with members of the Congress to determine how we can best meet the challenges and seize the opportunities which lie ahead.

I am confident we will be able to establish a new international economic framework within which trade can expand on an equitable basis for all participants—contributing to peace and prosperity for all nations of the world.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
January 9, 1973.

NOTE: The 38-page report is entitled "Sixteenth Annual Report of the President of the

United States on the Trade Agreements Program—1971."

5 Message to the Senate Transmitting the United States-Colombian Treaty Concerning Quita Sueño, Roncador, and Serrana. *January 9, 1973*

To the Senate of the United States:

I am transmitting for the Senate's advice and consent to ratification the Treaty between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Colombia, concerning the Status of Quita Sueño, Roncador and Serrana, signed at Bogotá on September 8, 1972.

Under the Treaty the United States renounces all claims to sovereignty over three uninhabited outcroppings of coral reefs in the Caribbean—Quita Sueño, Roncador and Serrana.

The Treaty assures that the fishing rights of each Government's nationals and vessels in the waters adjacent to Quita Sueño will be free from interference by the other Government or by its nationals or vessels. Colombia also agrees to guarantee to United States nationals and vessels a continuation of fishing in the waters adjacent to Roncador and Serrana, subject to reasonable conservation measures applied on a nondiscriminatory basis.

The express purpose of the Treaty is to settle long-standing questions concerning the status of the three reefs, which are located between 380 and 460 miles from the Colombian mainland. In the late nineteenth century, the United States claimed them under the terms of the Guano Islands Act of 1856, following

their discovery by an American citizen in 1869. In 1890 Colombia protested the extraction by United States nationals of guano from these reefs, claiming that Colombia had inherited sovereign title to them from Spain. In 1928 the United States and Colombia recognized the existence of their dual claims and agreed to maintain a status quo situation which has existed to the present day.

Negotiation of the Treaty signed last September was a response to Colombia's desire to enhance its claim to sovereignty. The primary interest of the United States in the area is to protect the right of American nationals and vessels to continue fishing there. Another United States interest is the continued maintenance of navigational aids on the three reefs.

The Treaty meets the practical interests of both countries. It will satisfy the long-standing desire of the Colombian people that their claim to sovereignty not be encumbered by a conflicting claim by the United States. It will protect United States interests in maintaining fishing rights in the area and, through a related arrangement, will provide for maintenance by Colombia of the navigational aids there in accordance with international regulations. The enclosed report of the Department of State more fully describes the provisions of the Treaty and its

related arrangements.

This Treaty demonstrates once again the desire and willingness of the United States to settle, in a spirit of understanding and good will, differences which may exist in our relations with other countries particularly with our Latin American neighbors. I urge that the Senate act

favorably on the Treaty in the near future.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
January 9, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the treaty and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive A (93d Cong., 1st sess.).

6 Special Message to the Congress Announcing Phase III of the Economic Stabilization Program and Requesting Extension of Authorizing Legislation. *January 11, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

During 1969, the annual rate of inflation in the United States was about six percent. During my first term in office, that rate has been cut nearly in half and today the United States has the lowest rate of inflation of any industrial country in the free world.

In the last year and a half, this decline in inflation has been accompanied by a rapid economic expansion. Civilian employment rose more rapidly during the past year than ever before in our history and unemployment substantially declined. We now have one of the highest economic growth rates in the developed world.

In short, 1972 was a very good year for the American economy. I expect 1973 and 1974 to be even better. They can, in fact, be the best years our economy has ever experienced—provided we have the will and wisdom, in both the public and private sectors, to follow appropriate economic policies.

For the past several weeks, members of my Administration have been reviewing our economic policies in an effort to keep them up to date. I deeply appreciate the generous advice and excellent suggestions

we have received in our consultations with the Congress. We are also grateful for the enormous assistance we have received from hundreds of leaders representing business, labor, farm and consumer groups, and the general public. These discussions have been extremely helpful to us in reaching several central conclusions about our economic future.

One major point which emerges as we look both at the record of the past and the prospects for the future is the central role of our Federal monetary and fiscal policies. We cannot keep inflation in check unless we keep Government spending in check. This is why I have insisted that our spending for fiscal year 1973 not exceed \$250 billion and that our proposed budget for fiscal year 1974 not exceed the revenues which the existing tax system would produce at full employment. I hope and expect that the Congress will receive this budget with a similar sense of fiscal discipline. The stability of our prices depends on the restraint of the Congress.

As we move into a new year, and into a new term for this Administration, we are also moving to a new phase of our economic stabilization program. I believe the

system of controls which has been in effect since 1971 has helped considerably in improving the health of our economy. I am today submitting to the Congress legislation which would extend for another year—until April 30 of 1974—the basic legislation on which that system is based, the Economic Stabilization Act.

But even while we recognize the need for continued Government restraints on prices and wages, we also look to the day when we can enjoy the advantages of price stability without the disadvantages of such restraints. I believe we can prepare for that day, and hasten its coming, by modifying the present system so that it relies to a greater extent on the voluntary cooperation of the private sector in making reasonable price and wage decisions.

Under Phase III, prior approval by the Federal Government will not be required for changes in wages and prices, except in special problem areas. The Federal Government, with the advice of management and labor, will develop standards to guide private conduct which will be self-administering. This means that businesses and workers will be able to determine for themselves the conduct that conforms to the standards. Initially and generally we shall rely upon the voluntary cooperation of the private sector for reasonable observance of the standards. However, the Federal Government will retain the power—and the responsibility—to step in and stop action that would be inconsistent with our anti-inflation goals. I have established as the overall goal of this program a further reduction in the inflation rate to 2½ percent or less by the end of 1973.

Under this program, much of the Federal machinery which worked so well during Phase I and Phase II can be elimi-

nated, including the Price Commission, the Pay Board, the Committee on the Health Services Industry, the Committee on State and Local Government Cooperation, and the Rent Advisory Board. Those who served so ably as members of these panels and their staffs—especially Judge George H. Boldt, Chairman of the Pay Board, and C. Jackson Grayson, Jr., Chairman of the Price Commission—have my deep appreciation and that of their countrymen for their devoted and effective contributions.

This new program will be administered by the Cost of Living Council. The Council's new Director will be John T. Dunlop. Dr. Dunlop succeeds Donald Rumsfeld who leaves this post with the Nation's deepest gratitude for a job well done.

Under our new program, special efforts will be made to combat inflation in areas where rising prices have been particularly troublesome, especially in fighting rising food prices. Our anti-inflation program will not be fully successful until its impact is felt at the local supermarket or corner grocery store.

I am therefore directing that our current mandatory wage and price control system be continued with special vigor for firms involved in food processing and food retailing. I am also establishing a new committee to review Government policies which affect food prices and a non-Government advisory group to examine other ways of achieving price stability in food markets. I will ask this advisory group to give special attention to new ways of cutting costs and improving productivity at all points along the food production, processing and distribution chain. In addition, the Department of Agriculture and the Cost of Living Council yesterday and today announced a number

of important steps to hold down food prices in the best possible way—by increasing food supply. I believe all these efforts will enable us to check effectively the rising cost of food without damaging the growing prosperity of American farmers. Other special actions which will be taken to fight inflation include continuing the present mandatory controls over the health and construction industries and continuing the present successful program for interest and dividends.

The new policies I am announcing today can mean even greater price stability with less restrictive bureaucracy. Their success, however, will now depend on a firm spirit of self-restraint both within the Federal Government and among the general public. If the Congress will receive our new budget with a high sense of fiscal responsibility and if the public will continue to demonstrate the same spirit of voluntary cooperation which was so important during Phase I and Phase II, then

we can bring the inflation rate below 2½ percent and usher in an unprecedented era of full and stable prosperity.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
January 11, 1973.

NOTE: On the same day, the President signed Executive Order 11695, continuing and modifying the Cost of Living Council, and the White House released announcements of the appointments of John T. Dunlop as Council Director and of 10 members of the Labor-Management Advisory Committee. The announcements are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 21).

Also released was the following related material: the text of the draft bill; the transcript of a news briefing on Phase III programs by George P. Shultz, Secretary of the Treasury and Chairman of the Cost of Living Council; and fact sheets on the history of the economic stabilization program and the new actions and procedures of Phase III. The fact sheet on Phase III is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 22).

7 Remarks at a Reception Honoring Members of the Shenyang Acrobatic Troupe of the People's Republic of China. *January 12, 1973*

Ladies and gentlemen:

We are very happy to welcome you officially here in the White House and to thank you for the splendid achievement that you have made in your trip in the United States. This is the first group of performing artists to come from the People's Republic of China to the United States of America in a quarter of a century. And I am sure that all of those who have had the privilege of seeing you will say the first was the best.

I can say that based on the reports that I have had from Mrs. Nixon, who was

there for the first night, and also from my daughter, who was there on the third night, you have, by coming such a great distance from your country to our country, brought us a very great gift. You have brought us the talent of great artists. But even more important, you have brought us a greater gift.

My daughter reported how impressed she was by your talent in your performance at the Kennedy Center. She reported how the audience stood and applauded after most of the acts. But she reported that the greatest applause was at the con-

clusion, when you held up a sign saying, "Chinese-American Friendship."

And friendship is the most important gift that one group can bring to another. It is a tragedy of this century that for 20 years a great wall of hostility has separated the 800 million people of the People's Republic of China and the 200 million people of the United States of America.

As a result of the meetings that I was privileged to have with Chairman Mao and Premier Chou En-lai in Peking early in 1972, that wall of hostility is now coming down. And we only hope in the future that young Americans will have the opportunity to go to your country and that they will be as fine ambassadors of friendship as you have been ambassadors of friendship from the People's Republic of China to the United States of America.

Now, since you have brought us these great gifts, your talent and your friendship, we have a small token of appreciation for you to take with you as you return

home.

This is the seal of the President of the United States which each of you can have and which will remind you of your visit to our country.

Now, Mrs. Nixon and I would like the privilege of greeting each of you personally to express our appreciation for your long journey, for your magnificent talent, but most of all for the friendship that you have brought to the American people.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:03 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. Following his remarks, the members of the troupe were presented with ashtrays and pens bearing the Presidential seal.

The troupe, consisting of 40 performers and 12 musicians, toured the United States from December 16, 1972, to January 13, 1973, visiting Chicago, Indianapolis, New York City, and Washington, D.C.

Mr. Chang Ying-wu, director of the troupe, responded to the President's remarks in Chinese. A translation of his remarks is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 26).

8 Oath of Office and Second Inaugural Address. *January 20, 1973*

I, RICHARD NIXON, do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, so help me God.

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, Senator Cook, Mrs. Eisenhower, and my fellow citizens of this great and good country we share together:

When we met here 4 years ago, America was bleak in spirit, depressed by the prospect of seemingly endless war abroad

and of destructive conflict at home.

As we meet here today, we stand on the threshold of a new era of peace in the world.

The central question before us is: How shall we use that peace?

Let us resolve that this era we are about to enter will not be what other postwar periods have so often been: a time of retreat and isolation that leads to stagnation at home and invites new danger abroad.

Let us resolve that this will be what it can become: a time of great responsibilities greatly borne, in which we renew the

spirit and the promise of America as we enter our third century as a nation.

This past year saw far-reaching results from our new policies for peace. By continuing to revitalize our traditional friendships, and by our missions to Peking and to Moscow, we were able to establish the base for a new and more durable pattern of relationships among the nations of the world. Because of America's bold initiatives, 1972 will be long remembered as the year of the greatest progress since the end of World War II toward a lasting peace in the world.

The peace we seek in the world is not the flimsy peace which is merely an interlude between wars, but a peace which can endure for generations to come.

It is important that we understand both the necessity and the limitations of America's role in maintaining that peace.

Unless we in America work to preserve the peace, there will be no peace.

Unless we in America work to preserve freedom, there will be no freedom.

But let us clearly understand the new nature of America's role, as a result of the new policies we have adopted over these past 4 years.

We shall respect our treaty commitments.

We shall support vigorously the principle that no country has the right to impose its will or rule on another by force.

We shall continue, in this era of negotiation, to work for the limitation of nuclear arms and to reduce the danger of confrontation between the great powers.

We shall do our share in defending peace and freedom in the world. But we shall expect others to do their share.

The time has passed when America will make every other nation's conflict our own, or make every other nation's future

our responsibility, or presume to tell the people of other nations how to manage their own affairs.

Just as we respect the right of each nation to determine its own future, we also recognize the responsibility of each nation to secure its own future.

Just as America's role is indispensable in preserving the world's peace, so is each nation's role indispensable in preserving its own peace.

Together with the rest of the world, let us resolve to move forward from the beginnings we have made. Let us continue to bring down the walls of hostility which have divided the world for too long, and to build in their place bridges of understanding—so that despite profound differences between systems of government, the people of the world can be friends.

Let us build a structure of peace in the world in which the weak are as safe as the strong, in which each respects the right of the other to live by a different system, in which those who would influence others will do so by the strength of their ideas and not by the force of their arms.

Let us accept that high responsibility not as a burden, but gladly—gladly because the chance to build such a peace is the noblest endeavor in which a nation can engage; gladly also because only if we act greatly in meeting our responsibilities abroad will we remain a great nation, and only if we remain a great nation will we act greatly in meeting our challenges at home.

We have the chance today to do more than ever before in our history to make life better in America—to ensure better education, better health, better housing, better transportation, a cleaner environment—to restore respect for law, to make our communities more livable—and to en-

sure the God-given right of every American to full and equal opportunity.

Because the range of our needs is so great, because the reach of our opportunities is so great, let us be bold in our determination to meet those needs in new ways.

Just as building a structure of peace abroad has required turning away from old policies that have failed, so building a new era of progress at home requires turning away from old policies that have failed.

Abroad, the shift from old policies to new has not been a retreat from our responsibilities, but a better way to peace.

And at home, the shift from old policies to new will not be a retreat from our responsibilities, but a better way to progress.

Abroad and at home, the key to those new responsibilities lies in the placing and the division of responsibility. We have lived too long with the consequences of attempting to gather all power and responsibility in Washington.

Abroad and at home, the time has come to turn away from the condescending policies of paternalism—of “Washington knows best.”

A person can be expected to act responsibly only if he has responsibility. This is human nature. So let us encourage individuals at home and nations abroad to do more for themselves, to decide more for themselves. Let us locate responsibility in more places. And let us measure what we will do for others by what they will do for themselves.

That is why today I offer no promise of a purely governmental solution for every problem. We have lived too long with that false promise. In trusting too much in government, we have asked of it

more than it can deliver. This leads only to inflated expectations, to reduced individual effort, and to a disappointment and frustration that erode confidence both in what government can do and in what people can do.

Government must learn to take less from people so that people can do more for themselves.

Let us remember that America was built not by government, but by people; not by welfare, but by work; not by shirking responsibility, but by seeking responsibility.

In our own lives, let each of us ask—not just what will government do for me, but what can I do for myself?

In the challenges we face together, let each of us ask—not just how can government help, but how can I help?

Your National Government has a great and vital role to play. And I pledge to you that where this Government should act, we will act boldly and we will lead boldly. But just as important is the role that each and every one of us must play, as an individual and as a member of his own community.

From this day forward, let each of us make a solemn commitment in his own heart: to bear his responsibility, to do his part, to live his ideals—so that together we can see the dawn of a new age of progress for America, and together, as we celebrate our 200th anniversary as a nation, we can do so proud in the fulfillment of our promise to ourselves and to the world.

As America's longest and most difficult war comes to an end, let us again learn to debate our differences with civility and decency. And let each of us reach out for that one precious quality government can-

not provide—a new level of respect for the rights and feelings of one another, a new level of respect for the individual human dignity which is the cherished birthright of every American.

Above all else, the time has come for us to renew our faith in ourselves and in America.

In recent years, that faith has been challenged.

Our children have been taught to be ashamed of their country, ashamed of their parents, ashamed of America's record at home and its role in the world.

At every turn we have been beset by those who find everything wrong with America and little that is right. But I am confident that this will not be the judgment of history on these remarkable times in which we are privileged to live.

America's record in this century has been unparalleled in the world's history for its responsibility, for its generosity, for its creativity, and for its progress.

Let us be proud that our system has produced and provided more freedom and more abundance, more widely shared, than any system in the history of the world.

Let us be proud that in each of the four wars in which we have been engaged in this century, including the one we are now bringing to an end, we have fought not for our selfish advantage, but to help others resist aggression.

And let us be proud that by our bold, new initiatives, by our steadfastness for peace with honor, we have made a breakthrough toward creating in the world what the world has not known before—a structure of peace that can last, not merely for our time, but for generations to come.

We are embarking here today on an era

that presents challenges as great as those any nation, or any generation, has ever faced.

We shall answer to God, to history, and to our conscience for the way in which we use these years.

As I stand in this place, so hallowed by history, I think of others who have stood here before me. I think of the dreams they had for America and I think of how each recognized that he needed help far beyond himself in order to make those dreams come true.

Today I ask your prayers that in the years ahead I may have God's help in making decisions that are right for America, and I pray for your help so that together we may be worthy of our challenge.

Let us pledge together to make these next 4 years the best 4 years in America's history, so that on its 200th birthday America will be as young and as vital as when it began, and as bright a beacon of hope for all the world.

Let us go forward from here confident in hope, strong in our faith in one another, sustained by our faith in God who created us, and striving always to serve His purpose.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:02 p.m. from the inaugural platform erected at the east front of the Capitol. Prior to the address, the oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, first to Vice President Spiro T. Agnew and then to President Richard Nixon.

The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television. An advance text was released on the same day.

Senator Marlow W. Cook of Kentucky was cochairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on the Inaugural Ceremonies. Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower was present on the platform for the ceremony.

9 Statement on the Death of President Lyndon Baines Johnson. *January 22, 1973*

TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON, the "American Dream" was not a catch phrase—it was a reality of his own life. He believed in America—in what America could mean to all of its citizens and what America could mean to the world. In the service of that faith, he gave himself completely.

In over 30 years of public life, he knew times of triumph and times of despair—he knew controversy and adulation. Yet, no matter what the mood of the moment, at the center of his public life—and at the center of his spirit—was an unshakable conviction in the essential rightness of the American experience.

As I said at the dedication of the Lyndon B. Johnson Library, he was a "partisan of principle." He was a dynamic leader, a unique personality, and a man of great ability and unshakable courage.

Twenty-eight days ago, America lost one of its greatest Presidents, Harry S. Truman, a man whose stature has grown enormously as we have gained more perspective on his achievements.

It is particularly heartbreaking that even as our flags fly at half-staff in President Truman's memory, another of our leaders has fallen. Yet, just as their names

are linked in death, I believe that America will come to understand that they are also joined in greatness.

At this sad hour, as we mourn the loss of two great leaders, all Americans will realize more than ever their debt to those who have gone before, and their obligation to carry on the work which they advanced with such devotion.

In my Inaugural Address just 2 days ago I spoke of how my thoughts went back to those who stood in that place before me and of the dreams they had for America. No man had greater dreams for America than Lyndon Johnson. Even as we mourn his death, we are grateful for his life, which did so much to make those dreams into realities. And we know that as long as this Nation lives, so will his dreams and his accomplishments.

NOTE: Former President Lyndon Baines Johnson, 64, died in Johnson City, Tex.

On January 24, 1973, President Nixon and his family joined the cortege bearing the body of President Johnson to the Capitol. During ceremonies in the Capitol Rotunda, the President laid a wreath at the bier of the former President.

On January 25, the President and members of his family attended funeral services for President Johnson at the National City Christian Church.

10 Special Message to the Congress About the Death of President Lyndon Baines Johnson. *January 23, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

It is my sad duty to inform you officially of the death of Lyndon Baines Johnson, the thirty-sixth President of the United States.

His loss is especially poignant for all of us who knew him and worked with him in the House and Senate. It was there that he first became a legend and there that he began to influence our destiny as a

great Nation.

Yet Lyndon Johnson's legacy extends far beyond his years in the Congress. He was a man of fierce devotion and love. He was devoted to his family. He was devoted to the cause of freedom and equality for his fellow man. And as President, he was devoted in a very special way to the land he loved.

The whole story of the Johnson years in the White House remains to be told, and history has yet to make its judgment. But millions of Americans will always remember a bitter day in November, 1963, when so many of our people doubted the very future of this Republic, when so many were stunned at the very idea that an American Chief of State could be assassinated in this age, and so many abroad were fearful about the future

course of the American democracy. And Lyndon Johnson rose above the doubt and the fear to hold this Nation on course until we rediscovered our faith in ourselves.

If he had done no more, his place in history would have been assured. But he did much more, and his role then was not a high-water mark but a hallmark. For it was his noble and difficult destiny to lead America through a long, dark night of necessity at home and abroad. He had the courage to do what many of his contemporaries condemned him for, but what will surely win warm praise in the history books of tomorrow.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
January 23, 1973.

11 Proclamation 4180, Announcing the Death of Lyndon Baines Johnson. *January 23, 1973*

*By the President of the United States of
America a Proclamation*

To the People of the United States:

It is my sad duty to announce officially the death of Lyndon Baines Johnson, the thirty-sixth President of the United States, on January 22, 1973.

President Johnson served his country for more than thirty years as Congressman, Senator, Vice President and President. Yet it can be said of Lyndon Johnson that he served his country all his life, for his was a complete and wholehearted love of our Nation. From his early days as a teacher, to his last days as a distinguished elder statesman, he did his best to make the promise and the wonder of America

become as real in the lives of all his countrymen as it was in his own.

He once said that he was a free man, an American, a United States Senator, and a Democrat, in that order. He was also a great patriot.

Although he will no longer walk among us, Lyndon Johnson's influence on our times, which often seemed so much larger than life, cannot be stolen from us by death. Not only the things that he did, but also the spirit with which he did them, will be remembered long after time heals our sorrow at his leaving.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RICHARD NIXON, President of the United States of America, in tribute to the memory of President Johnson, and as an expression of public

sorrow, do hereby direct that the flag of the United States be displayed at half-staff at the White House and on all buildings, grounds, and Naval vessels of the United States for a period of thirty days from the day of his death. I also direct that for the same length of time the representatives of the United States in foreign countries shall make similar arrangements for the display of the flag at half-staff over their Embassies, Legations, and other facilities abroad, including all military facilities and stations.

I hereby order that suitable honors be rendered by units of the Armed Forces under orders of the Secretary of Defense on the day of the funeral.

I do further appoint Thursday, January 25, 1973 to be a National Day of

Mourning throughout the United States. I recommend that the people assemble on that day in their respective places of worship, there to pay homage to the memory of President Johnson. I invite the people of the world who share our grief to join us in this solemn observance.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-third day of January in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-three and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-seventh.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: On the same day, the President signed Executive Order 11700, providing for the closing of Government departments and agencies on Thursday, January 25, 1973, as a mark of respect for President Johnson.

12 Address to the Nation Announcing Conclusion of an Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam. *January 23, 1973*

Good evening:

I have asked for this radio and television time tonight for the purpose of announcing that we today have concluded an agreement to end the war and bring peace with honor in Vietnam and in Southeast Asia.

The following statement is being issued at this moment in Washington and Hanoi:

At 12:30 Paris time today, January 23, 1973, the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam was initiated by Dr. Henry Kissinger on behalf of the United States, and Special Adviser Le Duc Tho on behalf of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The agreement will be formally signed by the parties participating in the Paris

Conference on Vietnam on January 27, 1973, at the International Conference Center in Paris.

The cease-fire will take effect at 2400 Greenwich Mean Time, January 27, 1973. The United States and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam express the hope that this agreement will insure stable peace in Vietnam and contribute to the preservation of lasting peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

That concludes the formal statement.

Throughout the years of negotiations, we have insisted on peace with honor. In my addresses to the Nation from this room of January 25 and May 8 [1972], I set forth the goals that we considered essential for peace with honor.

In the settlement that has now been

agreed to, all the conditions that I laid down then have been met:

A cease-fire, internationally supervised, will begin at 7 p.m., this Saturday, January 27, Washington time.

Within 60 days from this Saturday, all Americans held prisoners of war throughout Indochina will be released. There will be the fullest possible accounting for all of those who are missing in action.

During the same 60-day period, all American forces will be withdrawn from South Vietnam.

The people of South Vietnam have been guaranteed the right to determine their own future, without outside interference.

By joint agreement, the full text of the agreement and the protocols to carry it out will be issued tomorrow.

Throughout these negotiations we have been in the closest consultation with President Thieu and other representatives of the Republic of Vietnam. This settlement meets the goals and has the full support of President Thieu and the Government of the Republic of Vietnam, as well as that of our other allies who are affected.

The United States will continue to recognize the Government of the Republic of Vietnam as the sole legitimate government of South Vietnam.

We shall continue to aid South Vietnam within the terms of the agreement, and we shall support efforts by the people of South Vietnam to settle their problems peacefully among themselves.

We must recognize that ending the war is only the first step toward building the peace. All parties must now see to it that this is a peace that lasts, and also a peace that heals—and a peace that not only ends the war in Southeast Asia but con-

tributes to the prospects of peace in the whole world.

This will mean that the terms of the agreement must be scrupulously adhered to. We shall do everything the agreement requires of us, and we shall expect the other parties to do everything it requires of them. We shall also expect other interested nations to help insure that the agreement is carried out and peace is maintained.

As this long and very difficult war ends, I would like to address a few special words to each of those who have been parties in the conflict.

First, to the people and Government of South Vietnam: By your courage, by your sacrifice, you have won the precious right to determine your own future, and you have developed the strength to defend that right. We look forward to working with you in the future—friends in peace as we have been allies in war.

To the leaders of North Vietnam: As we have ended the war through negotiations, let us now build a peace of reconciliation. For our part, we are prepared to make a major effort to help achieve that goal. But just as reciprocity was needed to end the war, so too will it be needed to build and strengthen the peace.

To the other major powers that have been involved even indirectly: Now is the time for mutual restraint so that the peace we have achieved can last.

And finally, to all of you who are listening, the American people: Your steadfastness in supporting our insistence on peace with honor has made peace with honor possible. I know that you would not have wanted that peace jeopardized. With our secret negotiations at the sensitive stage they were in during this recent period, for me to have discussed publicly

our efforts to secure peace would not only have violated our understanding with North Vietnam, it would have seriously harmed and possibly destroyed the chances for peace. Therefore, I know that you now can understand why, during these past several weeks, I have not made any public statements about those efforts.

The important thing was not to talk about peace, but to get peace—and to get the right kind of peace. This we have done.

Now that we have achieved an honorable agreement, let us be proud that America did not settle for a peace that would have betrayed our allies, that would have abandoned our prisoners of war, or that would have ended the war for us but would have continued the war for the 50 million people of Indochina. Let us be proud of the 2½ million young Americans who served in Vietnam, who served with honor and distinction in one of the most selfless enterprises in the history of nations. And let us be proud of those who sacrificed, who gave their lives so that the people of South Vietnam might live in freedom and so that the world might live in peace.

In particular, I would like to say a word to some of the bravest people I have ever met—the wives, the children, the families of our prisoners of war and the missing in action. When others called on us to settle on any terms, you had the courage to stand for the right kind of peace so that those who died and those who suffered would not have died and suffered in vain, and so that where this generation knew war, the next generation would know peace. Nothing means more to me at this moment than the fact

that your long vigil is coming to an end.

Just yesterday, a great American, who once occupied this office, died. In his life, President Johnson endured the vilification of those who sought to portray him as a man of war. But there was nothing he cared about more deeply than achieving a lasting peace in the world.

I remember the last time I talked with him. It was just the day after New Year's. He spoke then of his concern with bringing peace, with making it the right kind of peace, and I was grateful that he once again expressed his support for my efforts to gain such a peace. No one would have welcomed this peace more than he.

And I know he would join me in asking—for those who died and for those who live—let us consecrate this moment by resolving together to make the peace we have achieved a peace that will last.

Thank you and good evening.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:01 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television. An advance text of the President's address was released on the same day.

Before delivering the address, the President met separately with members of the Cabinet and 6 members of the bipartisan leadership of the Congress.

On January 24, 1973, the President met with the expanded bipartisan leadership of the Congress to discuss the agreement. On the same day, the White House released the following related material: the texts of the agreement and protocols to the agreement; the transcript of a news briefing on the agreement by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and fact sheets on the basic elements of the agreement, the International Commission of Control and Supervision, and the Four-Party Joint Military Commission. The texts of the agreement and protocols and Dr. Kissinger's news briefing are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, pp. 45-74).

13 Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 1 of 1973 Restructuring the Executive Office of the President. *January 26, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

On January 5 I announced a three-part program to streamline the executive branch of the Federal Government. By concentrating less responsibility in the President's immediate staff and more in the hands of the departments and agencies, this program should significantly improve the services of the Government. I believe these reforms have become so urgently necessary that I intend, with the cooperation of the Congress, to pursue them with all of the resources of my office during the coming year.

The first part of this program is a renewed drive to achieve passage of my legislative proposals to overhaul the Cabinet departments. Secondly, I have appointed three Cabinet Secretaries as Counsellors to the President with coordinating responsibilities in the broad areas of human resources, natural resources, and community development, and five Assistants to the President with special responsibilities in the areas of domestic affairs, economic affairs, foreign affairs, executive management, and operations of the White House.

The third part of this program is a sharp reduction in the overall size of the Executive Office of the President and a reorientation of that office back to its original mission as a staff for top-level policy formation and monitoring of policy execution in broad functional areas. The Executive Office of the President should no longer be encumbered with the task of managing or administering programs which can be run more effectively by the

departments and agencies. I have therefore concluded that a number of specialized operational and program functions should be shifted out of the Executive Office into the line departments and agencies of the Government. Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1973, transmitted herewith, would effect such changes with respect to emergency preparedness functions and scientific and technological affairs.

STREAMLINING THE FEDERAL SCIENCE
ESTABLISHMENT

When the National Science Foundation was established by an act of the Congress in 1950, its statutory responsibilities included evaluation of the Government's scientific research programs and development of basic science policy. In the late 1950's, however, with the effectiveness of the U.S. science effort under serious scrutiny as a result of Sputnik, the post of Science Adviser to the President was established. The White House became increasingly involved in the evaluation and coordination of research and development programs and in science policy matters, and that involvement was institutionalized in 1962 when a reorganization plan established the Office of Science and Technology within the Executive Office of the President, through transfer of authorities formerly vested in the National Science Foundation.

With advice and assistance from OST during the past decade, the scientific and technological capability of the Government has been markedly strengthened.

This Administration is firmly committed to a sustained, broad-based national effort in science and technology, as I made plain last year in the first special message on the subject ever sent by a President to the Congress. The research and development capability of the various executive departments and agencies, civilian as well as defense, has been upgraded. The National Science Foundation has broadened from its earlier concentration on basic research support to take on a significant role in applied research as well. It has matured in its ability to play a coordinating and evaluative role within the Government and between the public and private sectors.

I have therefore concluded that it is timely and appropriate to transfer to the Director of the National Science Foundation all functions presently vested in the Office of Science and Technology, and to abolish that office. Reorganization Plan No. 1 would effect these changes.

The multi-disciplinary staff resources of the Foundation will provide analytic capabilities for performance of the transferred functions. In addition, the Director of the Foundation will be able to draw on expertise from all of the Federal agencies, as well as from outside the Government, for assistance in carrying out his new responsibilities.

It is also my intention, after the transfer of responsibilities is effected, to ask Dr. H. Guyford Stever, the current Director of the Foundation, to take on the additional post of Science Adviser. In this capacity, he would advise and assist the White House, Office of Management and Budget, Domestic Council, and other entities within the Executive Office of the President on matters where scientific and technological expertise is called for, and

would act as the President's representative in selected cooperative programs in international scientific affairs, including chairing such joint bodies as the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Commission on Scientific and Technical Cooperation.

In the case of national security, the Department of Defense has strong capabilities for assessing weapons needs and for undertaking new weapons development, and the President will continue to draw primarily on this source for advice regarding military technology. The President in special situations also may seek independent studies or assessments concerning military technology from within or outside the Federal establishment using the machinery of the National Security Council for this purpose, as well as the Science Adviser when appropriate.

In one special area of technology—space and aeronautics—a coordinating council has existed within the Executive Office of the President since 1958. This body, the National Aeronautics and Space Council, met a major need during the evolution of our nation's space program. Vice President Agnew has served with distinction as its chairman for the past four years. At my request, beginning in 1969, the Vice President also chaired a special Space Task Group charged with developing strategy alternatives for a balanced U.S. space program in the coming years.

As a result of this work, basic policy issues in the United States space effort have been resolved, and the necessary interagency relationships have been established. I have therefore concluded, with the Vice President's concurrence, that the Council can be discontinued. Needed policy coordination can now be achieved through the resources of the executive de-

partments and agencies, such as the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, augmented by some of the former Council staff. Accordingly, my reorganization plan proposes the abolition of the National Aeronautics and Space Council.

A NEW APPROACH TO EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS

The organization within the Executive Office of the President which has been known in recent years as the Office of Emergency Preparedness dates back, through its numerous predecessor agencies, more than 20 years. It has performed valuable functions in developing plans for emergency preparedness, in administering Federal disaster relief, and in overseeing and assisting the agencies in this area.

OEP's work as a coordinating and supervisory authority in this field has in fact been so effective—particularly under the leadership of General George A. Lincoln, its director for the past four years, who retired earlier this month after an exceptional military and public service career—that the line departments and agencies which in the past have shared in the performance of the various preparedness functions now possess the capability to assume full responsibility for those functions. In the interest of efficiency and economy, we can now further streamline the Executive Office of the President by formally relocating those responsibilities and closing the Office of Emergency Preparedness.

I propose to accomplish this reform in two steps. First, Reorganization Plan No. 1 would transfer to the President all functions previously vested by law in the Office or its Director, except the Direc-

tor's role as a member of the National Security Council, which would be abolished; and it would abolish the Office of Emergency Preparedness.

The functions to be transferred to the President from OEP are largely incidental to emergency authorities already vested in him. They include functions under the Disaster Relief Act of 1970; the function of determining whether a major disaster has occurred within the meaning of (1) Section 7 of the Act of September 30, 1950, as amended, 20 U.S.C. 241-1, or (2) Section 762 (a) of the Higher Education Act of 1965, as added by Section 161 (a) of the Education Amendments of 1972, Public Law 92-318, 86 Stat. 288 at 299 (relating to the furnishing by the Commissioner of Education of disaster relief assistance for educational purposes); and functions under Section 232 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, as amended (19 U.S.C. 1862), with respect to the conduct of investigations to determine the effects on national security of the importation of certain articles.

The Civil Defense Advisory Council within OEP would also be abolished by this plan, as changes in domestic and international conditions since its establishment in 1950 have now obviated the need for a standing council of this type. Should advice of the kind the Council has provided be required again in the future, State and local officials and experts in the field can be consulted on an ad hoc basis.

Secondly, as soon as the plan became effective, I would delegate OEP's former functions as follows:

—All OEP responsibilities having to do with preparedness for and relief of civil emergencies and disasters would be transferred to the Department of Housing and Urban Development. This

would provide greater field capabilities for coordination of Federal disaster assistance with that provided by States and local communities, and would be in keeping with the objective of creating a broad, new Department of Community Development.

—OEP's responsibilities for measures to ensure the continuity of civil government operations in the event of major military attack would be reassigned to the General Services Administration, as would responsibility for resource mobilization including the management of national security stockpiles, with policy guidance in both cases to be provided by the National Security Council, and with economic considerations relating to changes in stockpile levels to be coordinated by the Council on Economic Policy.

—Investigations of imports which might threaten the national security—assigned to OEP by Section 232 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962—would be reassigned to the Treasury Department, whose other trade studies give it a ready-made capability in this field; the National Security Council would maintain its supervisory role over strategic imports.

Those disaster relief authorities which have been reserved to the President in the past, such as the authority to declare major disasters, will continue to be exercised by him under these new arrangements. In emergency situations calling for rapid interagency coordination, the Federal response will be coordinated by the Executive Office of the President under the general supervision of the Assistant to the President in charge of executive management.

The Oil Policy Committee will con-

tinue to function as in the past, unaffected by this reorganization, except that I will designate the Deputy Secretary of the Treasury as chairman in place of the Director of OEP. The Committee will operate under the general supervision of the Assistant to the President in charge of economic affairs.

DECLARATIONS

After investigation, I have found that each action included in the accompanying reorganization plan is necessary to accomplish one or more of the purposes set forth in Section 901(a) of title 5 of the United States Code. In particular, the plan is responsive to the intention of the Congress as expressed in Section 901(a) (1), "to promote better execution of the laws, more effective management of the executive branch and of its agencies and functions, and expeditious administration of the public business;" and in Section 901(a) (3), "to increase the efficiency of the operations of the Government to the fullest extent practicable;" and in Section 901(a) (5), "to reduce the number of agencies by consolidating those having similar functions under a single head, and to abolish such agencies or functions as may not be necessary for the efficient conduct of the Government."

While it is not practicable to specify all of the expenditure reductions and other economies which will result from the actions proposed, personnel and budget savings from abolition of the National Aeronautics and Space Council and the Office of Science and Technology alone will exceed \$2 million annually, and additional savings should result from a reduction of Executive Pay Schedule positions now associated with other trans-

ferred and delegated functions.

The plan has as its one logically consistent subject matter the streamlining of the Executive Office of the President and the disposition of major responsibilities currently conducted in the Executive Office of the President, which can better be performed elsewhere or abolished.

The functions which would be abolished by this plan, and the statutory authorities for each, are:

- (1) the functions of the Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness with respect to being a member of the National Security Council (Sec. 101, National Security Act of 1947, as amended, 50 U.S.C. 402; and Sec. 4, Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1958);
- (2) the functions of the Civil Defense Advisory Council (Sec. 102(a) Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950; 50 U.S.C. App. 2272(a)); and
- (3) the functions of the National Aeronautics and Space Council (Sec. 201, National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958; 42 U.S.C. 2471).

The proposed reorganization is a necessary part of the restructuring of the Executive Office of the President. It would provide through the Director of the

National Science Foundation a strong focus for Federal efforts to encourage the development and application of science and technology to meet national needs. It would mean better preparedness for and swifter response to civil emergencies, and more reliable precautions against threats to the national security. The leaner and less diffuse Presidential staff structure which would result would enhance the President's ability to do his job and would advance the interests of the Congress as well.

I am confident that this reorganization plan would significantly increase the overall efficiency and effectiveness of the Federal Government. I urge the Congress to allow it to become effective.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
January 26, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the reorganization plan was released with the President's message and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 78).

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the reorganization plan by Roy L. Ash, Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

Reorganization Plan 1 of 1973 became effective July 1, 1973.

14 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the United States-Japan Cooperative Medical Science Program. *January 26, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to send to the Congress the Sixth Annual Report of the United States-Japan Cooperative Medical Science Program.

This joint research effort in the medical

sciences was undertaken in 1965 following a meeting between the Prime Minister of Japan and the President of the United States.

During 1972 it continued to concentrate on research in the prevention and

cure of a number of diseases which are widespread in Asia.

In addition, during the past year, the scientific scope of this program was enlarged to include studies of methods to evaluate certain types of cancer which may be related to environmental pollution. A detailed review of the program's activities in leprosy and parasitic diseases was also completed, and a decision made to continue work in these areas.

The sustained success of this biomedical research program reflects its careful management, its continuously refined scientific focus, and the strong commit-

ment to it by both of our countries. The increasingly effective research planning and communication between investigators in our two countries has intensified our scientific productivity and strengthened our determination to work together toward better health for all mankind.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
January 26, 1973.

NOTE: The 14-page report is entitled "Sixth Annual Report to Congress on the United States-Japan Cooperative Medical Science Program."

15 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Council on the Arts. *January 26, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

It gives me great pleasure to transmit to the Congress the Annual Report of the National Council on the Arts and the National Endowment for the Arts for fiscal year 1972.

This Nation's cultural heritage is a source of enormous pride. It is also a source of communication, of ideas, of joy and beauty. And increasingly—and perhaps most important—it is a source of creative self-expression for countless millions of Americans.

As this Annual Report shows, the National Endowment for the Arts has an outstanding record of accomplishment in advancing the artistic development of the Nation. Its funds during the year under review, \$29,750,000, were nearly double those of the previous year. Through its programs, the Endowment provides essential support for our famous cultural institutions—our opera, theatre, dance

companies, our orchestras, our museums. The Endowment encourages our finest artists, providing new opportunities to gifted young creators and performers to expand their talent and to develop their careers. And the Endowment makes available to all of our people the very best our artists can do.

Under the guidance of the National Council on the Arts, the Endowment has effectively used its monies not only to support a wide range of cultural activities, but also to stimulate increased private support for the arts. I view this as essential, for if the arts are to flourish, the broad authority for cultural development must remain with the people of the Nation—not with government.

As our Bicentennial approaches, the cultural activities of America will take on even greater importance. Our art expresses the ideals, the history, the life of the Nation. The cultural heritages of all

nations whose citizens came to this country are part of the American heritage. The richness and diversity that characterize the whole of art in the United States reflect both our history and the promise of our future.

I invite every Member of Congress to share my pleasure at the many fine achievements of the National Council on the Arts and the National Endowment for the Arts. And I urge the Congress to con-

tinue to make available to the Endowment the resources it needs to fulfill its hopeful task of bringing a more vital life to our Nation.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

January 26, 1973.

NOTE: The message is printed in the report entitled "National Endowment for the Arts and National Council on the Arts; Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1972" (Government Printing Office, 121 pp.).

16 Message to the Congress Transmitting Reports on the Military Incentive Awards Program. *January 26, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

Recognizing that our military forces must always maintain a high degree of preparedness, the Congress in 1965 authorized a cash incentive program to reward military personnel for imaginative suggestions, inventions and scientific achievements.

Today I am pleased to forward to the Congress the reports of the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of Transportation on cash awards made during fiscal year 1972. Tangible benefits resulting from suggestions submitted by military personnel that were adopted during that year totalled more than \$107 million, bringing the total first-year savings for taxpayers from this worthwhile program to \$661 million.

Of the 157,195 suggestions which were submitted by military personnel during the reporting period, 24,580 were adopted. Cash awards totalling \$1,822,762 were paid for these adopted suggestions. Enlisted personnel received \$1,502,660 in awards, representing 82 percent of the total cash awards paid. The remaining

18 percent was received by officer personnel and amounted to \$320,102.

The reports of the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of Transportation contain more detailed statistical information on the military awards program and also include a few brief descriptions of some of the better ideas of our military personnel during fiscal year 1972. For example, two Air Force sergeants were awarded a total of \$25,000 for suggesting a modification to the F-105 weapons control system. Their new idea improved the combat capability of the aircraft, enhanced the safety of aircrews in the Southeast Asia Theater of operations and saved more than \$25 million of the taxpayers' money in the first year.

I commend these reports to the attention of the Congress.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

January 26, 1973.

NOTE: The 3-page report of the Secretary of Defense and the 3-page report of the Secretary of Transportation cover the period July 1, 1971 to June 30, 1972.

17 Message to the Senate Transmitting Notes to the United States-Ethiopian Treaty of Amity and Economic Relations. *January 26, 1973*

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith a note of September 16, 1965 from the Government of Ethiopia and a reply note of October 20, 1972 from the Government of the United States which would terminate notes exchanged on September 7, 1951 concerning the administration of justice and constituting an integral part of the treaty of amity and economic relations between the United States and Ethiopia.

I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the proposed termination.

The notes which it is proposed be terminated set forth special provisions regard-

ing the trial of cases involving American citizens and regarding the imprisonment of American citizens. The termination of the notes would be in conformity with this Government's policy of basing international agreements in general on the principles of equality and reciprocity.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the notes submitted herewith and give its advice and consent to termination of the notes exchanged on September 7, 1951.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

January 26, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the notes and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive B (93d Cong., 1st sess.).

18 Proclamation 4181, National Moment of Prayer and Thanksgiving. *January 26, 1973*

By the President of the United States of America a Proclamation

A long and trying ordeal for America has ended. Our Nation has achieved its goal of peace with honor in Vietnam.

As a people with a deep and abiding faith, we know that no great work can be accomplished without the aid and inspiration of Almighty God. No time could be more fitting for grateful prayer and meditation than the opening moment of the peace we have achieved with His help.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RICHARD NIXON, President of the United States of America,

as requested by the Congress, do hereby designate 7:00 p.m., e.s.t., January 27, 1973 as a National Moment of Prayer and Thanksgiving, and the 24-hour period beginning then as a National Day of Prayer and Thanksgiving.

I urge all men and women of goodwill to join the prayerful hope that this moment marks not only the end of the war in Vietnam, but the beginning of a new era of world peace and understanding for all mankind. I authorize the flying of the American flag at the appointed hour, and I call on all the people of the United

States to observe this moment with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-sixth day of January, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-seventh.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: On the following day, the President and his family attended a special service marking the time for the beginning of the cease-fire in Vietnam as the National Moment of Prayer and Thanksgiving. The service was held at the Key Biscayne Presbyterian Church, Key Biscayne, Fla.

A complete listing of the proclamations issued by the President in 1973 is included in Appendix C.

19 Remarks Introducing Members of the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia to the Bipartisan Congressional Leadership. *January 26, 1973*

GENTLEMEN, if I may take just a moment of your time, I would like to introduce you to these visitors. I stepped out of the room because they were meeting in the Roosevelt Room with Dr. Kissinger.

Over the past 4 years, approximately every month we have met with the leaders of the organization of the American league of families which represents our POW's and our MIA's in all of Indochina. They have been long meetings, and we have not in times past been able to do much but to tell them we have tried hard and that we hope for the best and we are praying for the best.

Today we were able to meet in an entirely different atmosphere than had ever been the case previously.

I would like to tell you where they are from, because it should be of interest to you.

Mrs. Sadler is from the State of Texas, and her husband is a MIA.

Mrs. Knapp is from Colorado, and her husband is a MIA.

Mrs. Galanti is now the president of the group, and her husband is a POW.

PHYLLIS GALANTI. I am from Virginia.

THE PRESIDENT. And you are from Virginia.

I want you to know that when I made my brief talk to the Nation the other day, I pointed out that there were—and I understand the attitudes of those who felt this way—that we were perhaps too insistent on peace with honor. But I can say there was no group in America who had a greater stake in ending the war as quickly as possible, without regard to how it was ended.

But the reason that I said these are some of the bravest people America has ever produced is that they never wavered. They always said, "We want our men back, but we also want peace with honor for what they fought for."

That is what they are.

We thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:12 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

20. Radio Address: "The New Budget: Charting a New Era of Progress." *January 28, 1973*

Good evening:

At noon tomorrow, I will send to the Congress ~~one of the~~ most important documents I will sign ~~as~~ President—my budget proposals for ~~the~~ coming fiscal year.

This budget will not require higher taxes. It will not drive prices higher. And it will give us the chance I spoke of in my Inaugural Address—to make our new era of peace a new era of progress.

In the last few decades, the cost of government has skyrocketed. For every one dollar we were spending in 1952, we are spending ~~nearly~~ \$4 today. If the budget continues to double every 10 years, it will be ~~over a trillion~~ dollars by the 1990's—20 years from now—or as big as our entire economy is now.

We must resist this trend for several reasons. The first involves your taxes.

Since 1950, the share of personal income taken for taxes by all levels of government has doubled—to more than 20 percent of your family budget. This growing burden works to dull individual incentive and discourage individual responsibility. As government takes more from people, people can do less for themselves. The only way to restrain taxes is to restrain spending.

In the campaign last fall, I promised I would not propose any new tax increases. By keeping a tight lid on spending, my new budget keeps that promise.

The second reason for resisting bigger government is its impact on our economy. We saw in the 1960's what happens when government spends beyond its means. The result is runaway inflation, the most insidious of all taxes, which be-

gins by picking your pockets, goes on to threaten your very jobs. Not only the size of your tax bill but also the size of your grocery bill and the security of your job itself—all of these are at stake when we draw up the Federal budget.

In the past 4 years, we have put our economy back on course again. Since 1969, inflation has been cut nearly in half. Jobs increased more rapidly last year than at any time since 1947—25 years ago. Real spendable weekly earnings—that is what you have left to spend after paying your taxes and after allowing for inflation—showed their greatest improvement since 1955.

Best of all, the prospects for the coming year are very bright. Nineteen hundred seventy-three could be our best year ever, ushering in a new era of prolonged and growing prosperity.

The greatest threat to our new prosperity is excessive government spending. My budget calls for spending \$250 billion in the current fiscal year, \$269 billion next year, and \$288 billion in fiscal year 1975. These ~~are~~ large amounts but they would be \$20 billion higher for each of the next 2 years if we had just gone about spending as usual. That, in turn, would have meant either an annual budget deficit of \$30 billion a year, which would have led to higher prices, or a 15 percent increase in your income taxes.

To keep the totals even this low required a rigorous effort within the executive branch. But we cannot do the job alone.

If we are going to keep taxes and prices down, the Congress must keep spending

down. That is why it is so important for the Congress to set a firm ceiling on its overall expenditures—so that the Congress will consider not only the particular merits of individual programs but also what happens to taxes and prices when you add them all together.

The third reason my new budget tries to curb the growth of government is that relying on bigger government is the wrong way to meet our Nation's needs. Government has grown by leaps and bounds since the 1930's, but so have problems—problems like crime and blight and inflation and pollution. The bigger government became, the more clumsy it became, until its attempts to help often proved a hindrance.

The time has come to get rid of old programs that have outlived their time or that have failed. Whenever the return on our tax dollars is not worth the expenditure, we must either change that program or end it.

In the next few days, you will hear about some very sharp reductions in some very familiar programs. Some have been regarded as sacred cows in the past. No matter what their real value, no one dared to touch them. Let me give you just a few examples.

Last year we spent nearly \$200 million on the Hill-Burton program to help build more hospitals, but today the shortage of hospital beds which existed through the fifties and the sixties has been more than met. And yet, the Hill-Burton program continues to pour out funds, regardless of need.

Or take some of our urban renewal programs. They have cost us billions of dollars, with very disappointing results. And little wonder. How can a committee of Federal bureaucrats, hundreds or thou-

sands of miles away, decide intelligently where building should take place? That is a job for people you elect at the local level, people whom you know, people you can talk to.

And then there is our aid to schools near Federal facilities. There was a time when this program made sense, when Federal workers were a drain on local resources. Now most Federal workers pay full local taxes. Yet we still have been paying out more than \$500 million a year in compensation to these communities, many of which are among the richest in the country. And so I propose we change that program. Let us spend our education dollars where they are really needed.

Our search for waste has led us into every nook and cranny of the bureaucracy. And because economy must begin right at home, we are cutting the number of people who work in the President's own Executive Office from 4,200 to 1,700. That is a 60 percent reduction.

We also found we could save \$2.7 billion in the projected defense budget for 1974 and \$2.1 billion in the projected agricultural budget.

But after talking about these cuts, let's get one thing straight. Cutting back on Federal programs does not mean cutting back on progress. In fact, it means a better way to progress. When we cut a million dollars from a Federal program, that money is not lost and its power to do good things eliminated; rather, that money is transferred to other budgets where its power to do good things is multiplied. Some of it will stay in family budgets where people can use it as they, themselves, see fit.

Much will go back to State and county and municipal governments, back to the scene of the action, where needs are best

understood, where public officials are most accessible and, therefore, most accountable.

And finally, some of the money we save will be shifted to other Federal programs—where it can do the most good with least waste for the most people.

I am proposing, for example, to double spending for major pollution control programs. I am asking for an 8 percent increase to fight crime and drug abuse, for a 20 percent increase in research to meet the energy crisis, for a 21 percent increase to fight cancer and heart disease.

In fact, overall spending for human resource programs will be increased to a level almost twice what it was when I first came to office. Instead of spending one-third of our budget on human resources and nearly half of our budget on defense—as we were doing in 1969—we have exactly reversed those priorities.

We can be thankful that, with the war in Vietnam now ended, this is a true peacetime budget in every sense of the word.

In the days and weeks ahead, I shall be spelling out my recommendations in much greater detail. My budget will go to the Congress tomorrow; my Economic Report on Wednesday. And instead of delivering just one State of the Union Address, covering a laundry list of programs, I shall present my State of the Union report this year in a series of detailed messages on specific subjects. Together, these

statements will chart a new course for America—a course that will bring more progress by putting more responsibility and money in more places.

In holding down spending, what is at stake is not just a big, impersonal Federal budget. What is at stake is your job, your taxes, the prices you pay, and whether the money you earn by your work is spent by you for what you want or by government for what someone else wants.

It is important that the struggle to hold the line against bigger government not become a contest which pits one branch of government against another, but one which joins the President and the Congress in meeting a common challenge. And those in the Congress who enlist in this struggle need your support.

Every Member of the Congress gets enormous pressure from special interests to spend your money for what they want. And so I ask you to back up those Congressmen and those Senators, whether Democrats or Republicans, who have the courage to vote against higher spending. They hear from the special interests; let them hear from you.

It is time to get big government off your back and out of your pocket. I ask your support to hold government spending down, so that we can keep your taxes and your prices from going up.

Thank you and good evening.

NOTE: The President's address was recorded for broadcast at 6 p.m. on nationwide radio.

21 Annual Budget Message to the Congress, Fiscal Year 1974. *January 29, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

The 1974 budget fulfills my pledge to hold down Federal spending so that there

will be no need for a tax increase.

This is a budget that will continue to move the Nation's economy toward a goal

it has not achieved in nearly two decades: a high employment prosperity for America's citizens without inflation and without war.

Rarely is a budget message perceived as a dramatic document. In a real sense, however, the 1974 budget is the clear evidence of the kind of change in direction demanded by the great majority of the American people. No longer will power flow inexorably to Washington. Instead, the power to make many major decisions and to help meet local needs will be returned to where it belongs—to State and local officials, men and women accountable to an alert citizenry and responsive to local conditions and opinions.

The 1974 budget proposes a leaner Federal bureaucracy, increased reliance on State and local governments to carry out what are primarily State and local responsibilities, and greater freedom for the American people to make for themselves fundamental choices about what is best for them.

This budget concerns itself not only with the needs of all the people, but with an idea that is central to the preservation of democracy: the "consent of the governed."

The American people as a whole—the "governed"—will give their consent to the spending of their dollars if they can be provided a greater say in how the money is spent and a greater assurance that their money is used wisely and efficiently by government. They will consent to the expenditure of their tax dollars as long as individual incentive is not sapped by an ever-increasing percentage of earnings taken for taxes.

Since the mid-1950's, the share of the Nation's output taken by all governments in the United States—Federal, State, and

local—has increased from a quarter to a third. It need not and should not go higher.

The increase in government claims on taxpayers was not for defense programs. In fact, the defense share of the gross national product declined by one-quarter while the share for civilian activities of all governments grew by three-fourths, rising from 14% of the gross national product in 1955 to about 25% in 1972.

In no sense have Federal civilian programs been starved; their share of the gross national product will increase from 6½% in 1955 to 14% in 1972. Nor will they be starved by the budget that I am proposing. A generous increase in outlays is provided each year by the normal growth in revenues. Higher Federal tax rates are not needed now or in the years ahead to assure adequate resources for properly responsive government—if the business of government is managed well. And revenue sharing will help State and local governments avoid higher taxes.

During the past 2 years, with the economy operating below capacity and the threat of inflation receding, the Federal budget provided fiscal stimulus that moved the economy toward full employment. The 1974 budget recognizes the Federal Government's continuing obligation to help create and maintain—through sound monetary and fiscal policies—the conditions in which the national economy will prosper and new job opportunities will be developed. However, instead of operating primarily as a stimulus, the budget must now guard against inflation.

The surest way to avoid inflation or higher taxes or both is for the Congress to join me in a concerted effort to control Federal spending. I therefore propose that

before the Congress approves *any* spending bill, it establish a rigid ceiling on spending, limiting total 1974 outlays to the \$268.7 billion recommended in this budget.

I do not believe the American people want higher taxes any more than they want inflation. I am proposing to avoid both higher taxes and inflation by holding spending in 1974 and 1975 to no more than revenues would be at full employment.

1975 PROJECTIONS IN THE 1974 BUDGET

This year's budget presents, for the first time, a detailed preview of next year's. I have taken this step to demonstrate that if we stay within the 1974 and 1975 estimated outlays presented in this budget, we will prevent a tax increase—and that the 1974 budget is a sound program for the longer range future, not simply for today. This innovation in budget presentation is a blueprint for avoiding inflation and tax increases, while framing more responsive instruments of government and maintaining prosperity.

Our ability to carry out sound fiscal policy and to provide the resources needed to meet emerging problems has been limited by past decisions. In 1974, \$202 billion in outlays, or 75% of the budget, is *virtually uncontrollable* due to existing law and prior-year commitments. But just as every budget is heavily influenced by those that have preceded it, so it strongly influences those that follow.

Control over the budget can be improved by projecting future available resources and the known claims on them, and then making current decisions within the constraints they impose. That is why,

in my first budget, I began the practice of showing projections of future *total* revenues and outlays under current and proposed legislation. In the 1973 budget, 5-year projections of the cost of legislative proposals for major new and expanded programs were added.

This budget presents an even closer look at the implications of the 1974 proposals for the 1975 budget. It projects, in agency and functional detail, the outlays in 1975 that will result from the major program proposals in the 1974 budget, including the outlay savings that can be realized from program reductions in 1973 and 1974. In so doing, it takes into consideration the longer range effect of each of our fiscal actions.

Most importantly, this budget shows the narrow margin between projected outlays and full-employment revenues in 1975, despite the economy measures that are recommended. Program reductions and terminations of the scale proposed are clearly necessary if we are to keep control of fiscal policy in the future.

The 1974 budget program implies 1975 full-employment outlays of about \$288 billion, \$19 billion (7%) more than in 1974. This is within our estimate of full-employment revenues of \$290 billion for 1975. There is, however, very little room for the creation of new programs requiring additional outlays in 1975 and *no room for the postponement of the reductions and terminations proposed in this budget.*

The program reductions and terminations I have proposed will result in more significant savings in 1975 and later years than in 1973 and 1974. It is for this reason, too, that I have included the 1975 projections in my budget this year. The Federal spending pipeline is a very long one in most cases, and the sooner we start

reducing costs the better for the Nation.

The estimated 1975 outlays for the various Federal agencies are, of course, tentative. The outlay total, however, is the approximate amount that will represent appropriate Federal spending in 1975 if we are to avoid new taxes and inflation. As program priorities change and require increases in some areas, offsetting decreases must be found in others. As the projections indicate, this is necessary for both 1974 and 1975.

FISCAL POLICY AND THE BUDGET PROCESS

FISCAL POLICY.—In July 1970, I adopted the full-employment budget principle in order to make the budget a tool to promote orderly economic expansion.

Consistent with this principle, the budget that I submitted to the Congress last January proposed fiscal stimulus as part of a balanced economic program that included sound monetary policy and the new economic policy that I launched on August 15, 1971. My confidence that the American economy would respond to sensible stimulus in this context has been fully justified. During 1972, employment increased by 2.3 million persons, real output rose by 7½%, business fixed investment was 14% higher, and the rate of increase in consumer prices declined.

From 1971 through 1973, the full-employment budget principle permitted and called for substantial actual budget deficits. For this reason, some people have forgotten the crucial point that the full-employment principle requires that deficits be reduced as the economy approaches full employment—and that it establishes the essential discipline of an upper limit on spending at all times.

The full-employment budget principle

permits fiscal stimulation when stimulation is appropriate and calls for restraint when restraint is appropriate. But it is not self-enforcing. It signals us what course to steer, but requires us to take the actions necessary to keep on course. These steps are not taken for us, and they are rarely easy.

As we look ahead, with the economy on the upswing, the full-employment budget principle—and common sense—prescribe a shift away from fiscal stimulus and toward smaller budget deficits. We *must* do what is necessary to make this shift.

Holding 1973 spending to \$250 billion and achieving full-employment balance in 1974 and in 1975 will be difficult. Reduction of some activities and termination of others are necessary and are proposed in this budget. Nonetheless, the budget provides significant increases for many important programs.

If we did not budget with firm restraint, our expenditures in 1973 would be over \$260 billion. The ballooning effect of one year's expenditures on the next would in turn have meant that 1974's expenditures would be about \$288 billion, far beyond full-employment revenues, and 1975's expenditures would be approximately \$312 billion, leading to a huge, inflationary deficit.

If spending is to be controlled, the Congress must establish a spending ceiling promptly. Otherwise, the seeds sown in individual authorization and appropriation actions will produce ever-growing Federal spending not only in the coming fiscal year but in the years beyond.

Should the Congress cause the total budgeted outlays to be exceeded, it would inescapably face the alternatives of higher taxes, higher interest rates, renewed inflation, or all three. I oppose these alterna-

tives; with a firm rein on spending, none of them is necessary.

REFORMING CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET PROCEDURES.—Delay in congressional consideration of the budget is a major problem. Each time I have submitted a budget, the Congress has failed to enact major portions of it before the next budget was prepared. Instead, it has resorted to the device of continuing resolutions to carry on the activities for which it has not made appropriations. Such delay needlessly compounds the complexities of budget preparation, and frustrates the potential of the budget as an effective management and fiscal tool.

The complexity of the budgeting process is another problem. Because of modifications made to reflect the desires of the more than 300 congressional committees and subcommittees that influence it, the process has become more complicated and less comprehensible.

The fragmented nature of congressional action results in a still more serious problem. Rarely does the Congress concern itself with the budget totals or with the effect of its individual actions on those totals. Appropriations are enacted in at least 15 separate bills. In addition, "backdoor financing" in other bills provides permanent appropriations, authority to contract in advance of appropriations, authority to borrow and spend without an appropriation, and program authorizations that require mandatory spending whether or not it is desirable in the light of current priorities.

At the same time, a momentum of extravagance is speeded by requirements created initially by legislative committees sympathetic to particular and narrow causes. These committees are encouraged by special interest groups and by

some executive branch officials who are more concerned with expansion of their own programs than with total Federal spending and the taxes required to support that spending. Since most programs have some attractive features, it is easy for the committees and the Congress itself to authorize large sums for them. These authorizations, however, create pressure on the appropriations committees to appropriate higher amounts than the Nation's fiscal situation permits.

Last October, the Congress enacted legislation establishing a joint committee to consider a spending ceiling and to recommend procedures for improving congressional control over budgetary outlay and receipt totals.

I welcome this effort and pledge the full cooperation of my Administration in working closely with the committee and in other efforts of the Congress toward this end.

Specific changes in congressional procedures are, of course, the business of the Congress. However, the manner in which the Congress reviews and modifies the budget impinges so heavily on the management of the executive branch that I am impelled to suggest a few subjects that deserve high priority in the committee's deliberations, including:

- adoption of a *rigid* spending ceiling to create restraint on the total at the beginning of each annual review;
- avoidance of new "backdoor financing" and review of existing legislation of this type;
- elimination of annual authorizations, especially annual authorizations in specific amounts; and
- prompt enactment of all necessary appropriation bills before the beginning of the fiscal year.

The Congress must accept responsibility for the budget *totals* and must develop a systematic procedure for maintaining fiscal discipline. To do otherwise in the light of the budget outlook is to accept the responsibility for increased taxes, higher interest rates, higher inflation, or all three. In practice, this means that should the Congress pass any legislation increasing outlays beyond the recommended total, it must find financing for the additional amount. Otherwise, such legislation will inevitably contribute to undue inflationary pressures and thus will not be in the public interest. And it will be subject to veto.

I will do everything in my power to avert the need for a tax increase, but I cannot do it alone. The cooperation of the Congress in controlling total spending is absolutely essential.

SUMMARY OF THE 1974 BUDGET

The 1974 budget proposes an approximate balance in full-employment terms and an actual deficit that is about one-half the 1973 deficit. The 1975 budget totals I propose here would also yield a balance in full-employment terms.

The full-employment budget balance

THE BUDGET TOTALS
[Fiscal years. In billions]

<i>Description</i>	<i>1972 actual</i>	<i>1973 estimate</i>	<i>1974 estimate</i>	<i>1975 estimate</i>
Budget receipts.....	\$208. 6	\$225. 0	\$256. 0	*
Budget outlays.....	231. 9	249. 8	268. 7	*
Deficit (—).....	—23. 2	—24. 8	—12. 7	*
Full-employment receipts.....	225. 0	245. 0	268. 0	\$290. 0
Full-employment outlays ¹	228. 9	247. 3	267. 7	288. 0
Full-employment surplus or deficit (—).....	—3. 9	—2. 3	0. 3	2. 0
Budget authority.....	248. 1	280. 4	288. 0	313. 5
Outstanding debt, end of year:	<i>1971 actual</i>			
Gross Federal debt.....	\$409. 5	\$437. 3	\$473. 3	\$505. 5
Debt held by the public.....	304. 3	323. 8	348. 8	365. 3
Outstanding Federal and federally assisted credit, end of year:				
Direct loans.....	53. 1	50. 1	50. 1	51. 0
Guaranteed and insured loans ²	118. 1	133. 1	150. 3	164. 1
Government-sponsored agency loans ³ ..	38. 8	48. 9	59. 6	71. 8

¹ In these estimates, outlays for unemployment insurance benefits and the Emergency Employment Act program are calculated as they would be under conditions of full employment.

² Excludes loans held by Government accounts and special credit agencies.

³ Excludes Federal Reserve banks, but, starting in 1972, includes Export-Import Bank (previously reported as direct loans) and, starting in 1974, includes the newly authorized Environmental Financing Authority.

*Estimates of actual receipts and outlays have not been made at this time.

in 1974 assures support for continuation of the economy's upward momentum without rekindling inflation. Greater stimulus in 1974 would be dangerous, and would put an unsupportable burden on future budgets.

Budget receipts in 1974 are estimated to be \$256 billion. This is an increase of \$31 billion over 1973, reflecting growing prosperity, higher personal income, and rising corporate profits. The receipts estimates also reflect the impact of tax cuts resulting from the Tax Reform Act of 1969, the new economic policy and the Revenue Act of 1971, as well as the payroll tax increases enacted to finance higher social security benefits.

Budget outlays in 1974 are expected to be \$268.7 billion. The total would have been substantially greater—probably about \$288 billion—had my Administration not made an extraordinary effort to hold to the fiscal guidelines of a \$250 billion maximum in 1973, rather than the nearly \$261 billion which otherwise would have occurred, and to full-employment balance in 1974.

Even so, this budget necessarily proposes an increase in outlays of \$19 billion, or nearly 8% over the previous year. It provides amply for America's security and well-being in the year ahead.

The 1974 budget program projects full-employment outlays of \$288 billion in 1975, which, together with the revenues that would be produced under existing law, will mean full-employment balance in that year.

About \$288 billion of *budget authority*—the new authority to make commitments to spend—is requested for 1974. Of the total, about \$173 billion will require new action by the Congress.

IMPROVING GOVERNMENT

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT.—The last article of the Bill of Rights says:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

The philosophy of the Founding Fathers embodied in this amendment is also my philosophy. I believe that a larger share of our national resources must be retained by private citizens and State and local governments to enable them to meet their individual and community needs.

Our goal must not be bigger government, but better government—at all levels. Our progress must not be measured by the amount of money we put into programs, but by the accomplishments which result from them.

One of my first acts as President was to direct that an intensive review be made of our federal system of government. We found that:

- the executive branch was poorly organized to accomplish domestic program objectives;
- State and local governments often could not meet the basic needs of their citizens; and
- Federal programs to assist State and local governments had become a confusing maze, understood only by members of a new, highly specialized occupation—the grantsmen.

My Administration has developed a comprehensive strategy for dealing with these problems through restructuring the executive departments and revitalizing the federal system.

A RESTRUCTURED FEDERAL GOVERN-

MENT.—A thorough overhaul of the Federal bureaucracy is long overdue, and I am determined to accomplish it.

As the role of government has grown over the years, so has the number of departments and agencies which carry out its functions. Unfortunately, very little attention has been given to the ways in which each new unit would fit in with all the old units. The consequence has been a hodgepodge of independent, organizationally unrelated offices that pursue interrelated goals. As a result, able officials at all levels have been frustrated, public accountability has been obscured, and decentralization and coordination of Federal operations have been impeded. This overlapping of responsibilities has increased the costs of government. It has generated interagency conflict and rivalry and, most importantly, it has imposed inexcusable inconvenience on the public that is supposed to be served.

To help remedy this situation, I proposed to the Congress in 1971 that the executive branch be restructured by consolidating many functions now scattered among several departments and agencies into four new departments. These new departments would be organized around four major domestic purposes of government: community development, human resources, natural resources, and economic affairs—thus consolidating in a single chain of command programs that contribute to the achievement of a clearly stated mission. Under this arrangement, we will be able to formulate policy more responsibly and more responsively and carry out that policy more efficiently and more effectively. I welcome congressional cooperation in this important endeavor and will seek it in the weeks ahead. I plan now to streamline the executive branch along

these lines as much as possible within existing law, and to propose similar legislation on departmental reorganization to the 93d Congress.

Meanwhile, I have already taken the first in a series of steps that will increase the management effectiveness of the Cabinet and the White House staff. I hope the smaller and more efficient Executive Office of the President will become a model for the entire executive branch.

Reorganization of the executive branch is a necessary beginning but reorganization alone is not enough.

Increased emphasis will also be placed on program performance. Programs will be evaluated to identify those that must be redirected, reduced, or eliminated because they do not justify the taxes required to pay for them. Federal programs must meet their objectives and costs must be related to achievements.

The Federal Assistance Review program, which I began in 1969, has made important progress in decentralizing and streamlining Federal grant programs. To speed the process of decentralization, improve program coordination, and eliminate unnecessary administrative complications, I have strengthened the Federal Regional Council system. These councils, working with State and local governments, have played an impressive and growing role in coordinating the delivery of Federal services.

A REVITALIZED FEDERAL SYSTEM.—Restructuring of the Federal Government is only one step in revitalizing our overall federal system. We must also make certain that State and local governments can fulfill their role as partners with the Federal Government. Our General Revenue Sharing and special revenue sharing programs can help considerably in achieving this

goal. They provide our States and communities with the financial assistance they need—in a way that allows them the freedom and the responsibility necessary to use those funds most effectively.

On October 20, 1972, I signed a program of General Revenue Sharing into law. This program provides State and local governments with more than \$30 billion over a 5-year period beginning January 1, 1972. This historic shift of power away from Washington will help strengthen State and local governments and permit more local decisionmaking about local needs.

Although final congressional action was not taken on my special revenue sharing proposals, I remain convinced that the principle of special revenue sharing is essential to continued revitalization of the federal system. I am, therefore, proposing the creation of special revenue sharing programs in the 1974 budget.

These four programs consist of broad-purpose grants, which will provide State and local governments with \$6.9 billion to use with considerable discretion in the areas of education, law enforcement and criminal justice, manpower training, and urban community development. They will replace 70 outmoded, narrower categorical grant programs and will, in most cases, eliminate matching requirements.

The funds for special revenue sharing will be disbursed according to formulas appropriate to each area. In the case of manpower revenue sharing, an extension of existing law will be proposed. Current administrative requirements will be removed so that State and local governments can group manpower services in ways that best meet their own local needs.

The inefficiency of the present grant systems makes favorable action on special

revenue sharing by the Congress an urgent priority.

SPECIAL REVENUE SHARING, BUDGET
AUTHORITY, FIRST FULL YEAR

<i>Description</i>	<i>Billions</i>
Urban community development	2.3
Education	2.5
Manpower training	1.3
Law enforcement . . . . .	.8
Total	6.9

As an important companion to returning responsibility to State and local governments, I proposed to the Congress in 1971 a program to provide funds to help State and local governments strengthen their management capabilities to carry out their expanded role. I am submitting this important proposal again this year.

The federal system is dynamic, not static. To maintain its vitality, we must constantly reform and refine it. The executive branch reorganization and special revenue sharing programs that I am proposing, along with continued decentralization of Federal agencies, are essential to that vitality.

BUILDING A LASTING STRUCTURE
OF PEACE

Building a lasting peace requires much more than wishful thinking. It can be achieved and preserved only through patient diplomacy and negotiation supported by military strength. To be durable, peace must also rest upon a foundation of mutual interest and respect among nations. It must be so constructed that those who might otherwise be tempted to destroy it have an incentive to preserve it.

The 1974 budget supports America's

efforts to establish such a peace in two important ways. First, it maintains the military strength we will need to support our negotiations and diplomacy. Second, it proposes a sound fiscal policy that, supported by a complementary monetary policy, will contribute to prosperity and economic stability here and abroad.

Our strength, together with our willingness to negotiate, already has enabled us to begin building a structure for lasting world peace and to contribute to a general relaxation of world tensions.

—We have made substantial progress toward ending our involvement in the difficult war in Southeast Asia.

—In the past 4 years, we have concluded more significant agreements with the Soviet Union than in all previous years since World War II, including the historic agreement for limiting strategic nuclear arms.

—We have ended nearly a quarter century of mutual isolation between the United States and the People's Republic of China and can look forward to the development of peaceful cooperation in areas of mutual interest.

In this atmosphere, other nations have also begun to move toward peaceful settlement of their differences.

One of the results of our negotiations, taken together with the success of the Nixon Doctrine, our substantial disengagement from Vietnam, and the increased effectiveness of newer weapons systems, has been a significant but prudent reduction in our military forces. Total manpower has been reduced by about one-third since 1968, and will be further reduced as we end the draft and achieve an All-Volunteer Force. At the same time, our allies are assuming an increasing share

of the burden of providing for their defense.

As a result, defense outlays have been kept in line. In 1974, they will be substantially the same as in 1968. During the same period, the total budget has grown by 50%, and nondefense outlays have grown by 91%, or \$90 billion. When adjusted for pay and price increases, defense spending in 1974 will be about the same as in 1973 and about one-third *below* 1968.

But, while this Administration has succeeded in eliminating unnecessary defense spending, it is equally determined to spend whatever is necessary for national security. Our 1974 budget achieves this goal. It assures us of sufficient strength to preserve our security and to continue as a major force for peace. Moreover, this strength will be supported, beginning this year, without reliance on a peacetime draft.

A framework for international economic progress is an important part of our efforts for peace. A solid beginning has been made on international monetary reform through our participation in the ongoing discussions of the Committee of Twenty. We will continue to press these efforts during the year ahead.

Our foreign assistance programs also reflect our intention to build a lasting structure of peace through a mutual sharing of burdens and benefits. America will remain firm in its support of friendly nations that seek economic advancement and a secure defense. But we also expect other nations to do their part, and the 1974 budget for foreign assistance is based upon this expectation.

Our goal is a durable peace that is sustained by the self-interest of all nations in preserving it. Our continuing military strength and our programs for interna-

tional economic progress, as provided for in this budget, will bring us closer to that goal for ourselves and for posterity.

MEETING HUMAN NEEDS

The 1974 budget for human resources programs, like the three that have preceded it under this Administration, reflects my conviction that social compassion is demonstrated not just by the commitment of public funds in hope of meeting a need, but by the tangible betterments those funds produce in the lives of our people. My drive for basic reforms that will improve the Federal Government's performance will continue in the coming fiscal year.

Between 1969 and 1974, outlays for Federal human resources programs have increased 97%, while total budget outlays have grown by only 46%. As a result, human resources spending now accounts for close to half the total budget dollar, compared with just over one-third of the total at the time I took office.

Many solid accomplishments have resulted. Higher social security benefits are bringing greater dignity for the aged and the disabled. Better health care and better education and training opportunities, especially for the disabled, the disadvantaged, and veterans, are helping to raise the social and economic status of millions of individuals and have improved the productive capacity of the Nation as a whole. Expanded food programs are helping to assure adequate nutrition for the needy.

However, disappointments and failures have accompanied these accomplishments. The seeds of those failures were sown in the 1960's when the "do some-

thing, do anything" pressure for Federal panaceas led to the establishment of scores of well-intentioned social programs too often poorly conceived and hastily put together. In many respects, these were classic cases of believing that by "throwing money at problems" we could automatically solve them. But with vaguely defined objectives, incomplete plans of operation, and no effective means of evaluation, most of these programs simply did not do the job.

We gave these programs the benefit of every doubt and continued them while we conducted a long-needed, thorough review of all Federal human resources programs. Based on this review, the 1974 budget proposes to reform those programs that can be made productive and to terminate those that were poorly conceived, as well as those that have served their purpose.

We can and will find better ways to make the most of our human resources—through the partnership of a restructured Federal Government and strong State and local governments, and with the help of a socially committed private sector that is bolstered by a revival of individual initiative and self-reliance among our people. But only by halting the unproductive programs here and now can we assure ourselves of the money needed to pursue those programs that will get results.

INCOME SECURITY.—Federal income maintenance programs have expanded dramatically in the last 4 years. Cash benefits under the social security system alone will have grown from \$30 billion in 1970 to \$55 billion in 1974, an increase of 83%. These benefits will account for about one-fifth of *all* Federal budget outlays. Legislation enacted in calendar year

1972 alone increased these benefits by \$10.5 billion, or almost 30% over 1971 benefits.

Beginning on January 1, 1974, under the terms of legislation passed last year, the Federal Government is scheduled to assume responsibility for providing a basic assistance payment for the aged, blind, and disabled. While this would require that we add a very large number of Federal employees to the Social Security Administration, I have ordered this increase held to an absolute minimum, and I will urge the Governors to seek ways of eliminating an equivalent number of positions in their States so that the overall size of government will not grow.

The 1974 budget for income maintenance programs will emphasize:

- intensified efforts to eliminate wasteful and inefficient management of welfare programs; and
- further improvement in the welfare of the aging.

The legislation that established General Revenue Sharing also set a long-needed ceiling on Federal outlays for social services. In 1969, Federal outlays for these services were less than \$400 million. By 1972, States had discovered that this ill-defined program could be used to finance most public services and they were planning to make claim on about \$5 billion in Federal funds.

This runaway, open-ended program was out of control. The \$2.5 billion statutory limit imposed on the program, about seven times the 1969 level, will restore a measure of control. We are now emphasizing efforts to assure that this massive increase in funding is used effectively to meet the real needs of public assistance recipients for useful social services.

EDUCATION AND MANPOWER TRAINING.—Outlays in the 1974 budget for education and manpower, including those for veterans, will be \$12 billion. The 1974 program is based upon a reevaluation of the Federal Government's role in these areas. The primary responsibility for most of these activities, other than those for veterans, rests with State and local governments. The proper Federal role is primarily that of helping State and local governments finance their own activities, while conducting directly those few programs that can be done efficiently and effectively only by the Federal Government.

The 1974 budget supports such a role for the Federal Government. It provides for:

- creation of education and manpower revenue sharing programs to give State and local governments greater power in allocating resources within these vital areas;
- proposed legislation that would provide an income tax credit for tuition paid to nonpublic elementary and secondary schools;
- full funding for Basic Education Opportunity grants to provide assistance for college students;
- continued emphasis on training disadvantaged veterans;
- an increase in the work incentive program to help welfare recipients get jobs; and
- phasedown of the temporary Emergency Employment Assistance program consistent with the increase in new jobs in the private sector.

HEALTH.—My strategy for health in the 1970's stresses a new Federal role and basic program reforms to assure that economical, medically appropriate health

services are available when needed. As major elements in this strategy, the 1974 budget provides for:

- a proposal for national health insurance legislation;
- increased funding for cancer and heart disease research;
- initiation of a nationwide system of physician-sponsored Professional Standards Review Organizations to assure quality and appropriateness of care;
- reform of Medicaid and Medicare to reduce financial burdens for aged and disabled patients who experience long hospital stays and to improve program management and increase incentives for appropriate use of services; and
- increased special care units and continued improvement of outpatient and extended care benefits for veterans.

The impact of the 1974 budget will be significant. In 1974, nearly 5 million more poor, aged, and disabled persons will benefit through expanded financial support for health services. There will be continued emphasis on consumer safety. Finally, strengthened cost controls will give Americans greater protection against unreasonable medical cost increases.

DRUG ABUSE CONTROL.—During my first term, in order to meet what had become both a crime problem and a health crisis of epidemic proportions, we launched an all-out war on drug abuse. With the 1974 budget, we will continue to press that attack aggressively. Budgeted expenditures of \$719 million, an increase of \$64 million over 1973, will permit continued strong support for interdiction of drug traffic and for the treatment and rehabilitation of drug users.

CIVIL RIGHTS.—The protection of each citizen's civil rights is one of the highest priorities of my Administration. No American should be denied equal justice and equal opportunity in our society because of race, color, sex, religion, or national origin. Toward this end, the Department of Justice and other Federal agencies will be able under the 1974 budget to increase their civil rights enforcement efforts aimed at upholding this fundamental principle as follows:

- The Department of Justice will expand its efforts to coordinate the enforcement of equal access to and equal benefit from Federal financial assistance programs.
- The Community Relations Service will expand its crisis resolution and State liaison activities.
- The civil rights performance of Federal agencies will be monitored and reviewed throughout the year.
- The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will receive additional resources to carry out its expanded responsibilities.
- The Civil Service Commission will expand its monitoring of Federal service equal opportunity.
- The Commission on Civil Rights will receive additional resources to carry out its newly granted jurisdiction over sex discrimination.

In addition, the Small Business Administration will expand its loan program for minority business by nearly one-third.

NATURAL RESOURCES AND ENVIRONMENT

The balanced development of our natural resources is essential to a healthy economy and an improved standard of living. Development inevitably brings

change to our natural environment which, if not properly controlled, could impair the health and welfare of our citizens and the beauty of our surroundings. Balancing the need for development and growth with the need to preserve and enhance our environment has become a major challenge of our time.

Meeting this challenge is not solely the responsibility of the Federal Government. Heavy responsibilities fall on State and local governments, private industry, and the general public as well. This budget reflects my determination to seek a proper balance between development and preservation. It contemplates neither blind or insensitive exploitation of our natural resources nor acceptance of a no-growth philosophy. It avoids such a spurious choice and plots an orderly and reasoned course toward sensible development and environmental enhancement.

The forward thrust of our environmental programs has not been altered. We will continue vigorous enforcement of laws and Federal regulations. The Environmental Protection Agency has allotted to the States \$5 billion of new authorizations to make grants for waste treatment construction. With \$5.1 billion in additional funds already available for payment on new projects and projects for which the Federal Government had made prior commitments, a total of \$10.1 billion has been set aside in a short period of time for waste treatment facilities. I believe that more funds would not speed our progress toward clean water, but merely inflate the cost while creating substantial fiscal problems.

Adequate supplies of clean energy are a vital concern. The resources devoted in this budget to energy research and development are one important element of the

response to this problem. My initiative to demonstrate a large-scale fast breeder reactor by 1980 will be continued; and funds have been significantly increased to develop means of using other energy resources—particularly our abundant coal resources. At the same time, this budget provides funds to carry out a program for regulation of strip mining activities to minimize their adverse environmental impact.

I have long been committed to sound, multiple-use management of public lands consistent with long-term environmental preservation. My 1974 program provides both for development of new outdoor recreation opportunities accessible to our large population centers and for new wilderness areas. In addition, the budget includes funds for a program providing incentives to States to undertake regulation of private land use. This program would encourage establishment at the State level of open decisionmaking processes to insure proper consideration of the long-term environmental implications of major land use decisions.

THE ROLE OF AGRICULTURE.—The American farmer wants to raise high quality products in the most efficient manner, and to receive prices that provide him a fair return on his investment. He wants a minimum of Government regulation, and recognizes the need for some protection from events beyond his control. We are working to create conditions favorable to the American farmer by expanding our world markets, stabilizing the domestic economy, and tailoring farm programs to provide both freedom of choice and reasonable earnings for farmers.

We have made some impressive progress toward these objectives. Farm income has improved; more freedom to plant has been

achieved; and the costs of price support are down. Americans and the entire world have benefited from the extraordinary productivity of American agriculture. In the period ahead, we seek to use this productivity in domestic and world marketplaces in order to maintain both high farm income and reasonable consumer prices.

REFORMING COMMUNITY AND AREA DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

My deep commitment to providing change that works is, and must be, matched by a total determination to identify and reform or eliminate programs that have not worked. It would be irresponsible to continue spending taxpayers' money for programs that have long since served their purpose, are not working at all, or are not working sufficiently to justify their costs.

I began my efforts in community and area development with proposals for general and special revenue sharing. In 1971, I proposed a reorganization of the executive branch agencies responsible for community and area development programs—to consolidate related functions and thereby assure better management. Substantial progress in furthering community development was made last year when General Revenue Sharing became law.

The 1974 budget reflects my determination to accelerate major reforms of programs for urban development and housing, rural development, transportation, and crime prevention and criminal justice.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND HOUSING.—During the past 4 years, the private housing industry reached, and has maintained, an unprecedented level of housing production. Early in this period the down-

ward trend in housing production that existed in 1969 was reversed. New housing starts rose 60%, from 1.5 million in calendar year 1969 to nearly 2.4 million in calendar year 1972, a new record. While federally subsidized starts were 11% of the 1972 total, it is clear that our broad fiscal and monetary policies are the dominant factors that determined the overall level of housing production.

Throughout this period, federally assisted housing programs have been plagued with problems and their intended beneficiaries have thus been shortchanged. As a result, new commitments under those programs which have not worked well enough have been temporarily halted, pending a complete reevaluation of the Federal role in housing and of alternative ways to provide housing.

In addition, no new projects will be approved under several outmoded and narrowly focused community development programs which have not produced benefits that justify their costs to the taxpayer. Continuing to channel resources into these programs can only delay the initiation of more effective programs and policies.

The 1974 budget will:

- honor those commitments already made under housing and community development programs;
- continue the evaluation of alternative ways to help the private market satisfy the Nation's need for housing;
- continue to seek congressional approval of the Administration's Urban Community Development Revenue Sharing proposal so that new funds can begin to flow to State and local governments on July 1, 1974; and
- emphasize those programs that help State and local officials strengthen

their decisionmaking and management processes, allowing responsibility to be shifted increasingly to these officials, while the Federal Government concentrates on those activities which cannot be accomplished more effectively by the private sector or other levels of government.

Despite the halt in new commitments, federally assisted activity will continue at a high level. Subsidized housing starts in calendar year 1973 will increase over the previous year, totaling 270,000. Approximately 1,800 urban renewal projects will still be active. Federal outlays on these uncompleted housing and community development projects will rise from \$4.0 billion in 1973 to \$4.9 billion in 1974.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT.—The 1974 budget consolidates and reorients our rural development programs.

While I would have preferred that the Congress enact special revenue sharing for rural development, the Rural Development Act of 1972 provides a basis for beginning efforts consistent with the revenue sharing concept. In particular, State and local officials will have greater control in project decisions. Rural development programs as a whole will increase over last year, with loan programs growing particularly rapidly.

I intend to watch closely our experience with this new approach and then consider whether additional legislation may be needed to make it more effective.

The counterpart to proceeding with the new authorities is the consolidation, termination, or reorientation of older programs. Public works and related economic development programs of the Department of Commerce will be phased out in favor of programs established under the Rural Development Act and Small Business Ad-

ministration authorities. Loans to improve rural electric and telephone service will be available on an even larger scale—but at reduced cost to taxpayers—through the loan authority of the Rural Development Act and through the new Rural Telephone Bank.

TRANSPORTATION.—The Federal role in transportation is significant but limited. It must insure that national needs, such as the Interstate Highway System and airway control, are met. Otherwise, the primary responsibilities rest with the States, local governments, and the private sector, while the Federal Government provides financial support.

Last year, the Administration supported legislation that recognized this proper Federal role. It proposed providing flexibility at the State and local level in meeting mass transit and highway needs and avoiding narrow categorical grants. The legislation narrowly failed to be enacted.

I will propose legislation incorporating the same principles again this year. The legislation and this budget propose a broad \$1 billion program to aid urban mass transit capital investment and sufficient funds for the Interstate Highway System to insure completion of the system in a reasonable time.

The safety of our transportation systems is a matter of paramount importance. I have directed that Federal safety efforts for all modes of transportation be intensified.

CRIME PREVENTION AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE.—Helping State and local criminal justice agencies fight crime in our cities and towns continues to be a major commitment of my Administration.

Outlays for law enforcement activities will be \$2.6 billion in 1974, a 7½% increase over 1973. This increase reflects my

determination to enforce the laws of this country and protect the safety of all our citizens. We must make certain, however, that the programs which assist State and local criminal justice systems are not only expanded, but reformed, and that we do a better job of reducing crime and rehabilitating criminal offenders. To accomplish these goals, I propose in this budget that:

- the grants to State and local governments for law enforcement assistance be converted to a law enforcement revenue sharing program with additional funding;
- the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration continue and strengthen its national research, demonstration, and dissemination efforts to develop more effective ways of preventing crime; and
- Federal agencies intensify their efforts to fight organized crime.

Further, new and improved measures to prevent airplane hijacking will be put into effect in cooperation with the airlines and airport operators.

CONCLUSION

The respect given to the common sense of the common man is what has made America the most uncommon of nations.

Common sense tells us that government cannot make a habit of living beyond its means. If we are not willing to make some sacrifices in holding down spending, we will be forced to make a much greater sacrifice in higher taxes or renewed inflation.

Common sense tells us that a family budget cannot succeed if every member of the family plans his own spending individually—which is how the Congress operates today. We must set an overall ceiling and affix the responsibility for staying within that ceiling.

Common sense tells us that we must not abuse an economic system that already provides more income for more people than any other system by suffocating the productive members of the society with excessive tax rates.

Common sense tells us that it is more important to save tax dollars than to save bureaucratic reputations. By abandoning programs that have failed, we do not close our eyes to problems that exist; we shift resources to more productive use.

It is hard to argue with these common sense judgments; surprisingly, it is just as hard to put them into action. Lethargy, habit, pride, and politics combine to resist the necessary process of change, but I am confident that the expressed will of the people will not be denied.

Two years ago, I spoke of the need for a new American Revolution to return power to people and put the individual *self* back in the idea of *self*-government. The 1974 budget moves us firmly toward that goal.

RICHARD NIXON

January 29, 1973.

NOTE: The message as sent to the Congress included illustrative diagrams which have not been reproduced in this volume.

22 Annual Message to the Congress: The Economic Report of the President. *January 30, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

As predicted, 1972 was a very good year for the American economy.

From the end of 1971 to the end of 1972, total output rose by about 7½ percent. This is one of the largest 1-year increases in the past 25 years. This growth took place in a largely peacetime economy; it was not achieved by a war-fed, inflationary boom. In fact, real defense spending declined 5 percent during the year. More important is the fact that the big increase of production in the year just ended was accompanied by a reduced rate of inflation. Consumer prices increased a little more than 3 percent from 1971 to 1972—a far cry from the runaway inflation rate of 6 percent that confronted us in 1969.

A year ago, looking ahead to 1972, I said that the great problem was to get the unemployment rate down from the 6-percent level where it was in 1971. During 1972 the rate was reduced to a little over 5 percent. We should get this down further, and expect to do so, but what was accomplished was gratifying. It is especially significant that the total number of people at work rose by 2.3 million from 1971 to 1972, the largest 1-year increase in 25 years.

Everything was not ideal in 1972—in the economy any more than in other aspects of our national life. Rising food prices were a major concern. The U.S. balance of trade with other countries did not improve as we had hoped. But all-in-all it was a very good year.

The economic performance of 1972 owed much to sound and forceful Gov-

ernment policy. The history of this policy goes back before 1972, and back before the dramatic moves taken on August 15, 1971. It goes back to the decision made in 1969 to bring to an end the dangerous inflation that had started in the mid-sixties. The decision was carried out by slowing down the rise of Federal spending and continuing the temporary tax increase that had been enacted in 1968 and by tightening monetary conditions. As a result, much of the cause of the inflation was removed and the rise in the cost of living was moderated. Without these steps, the subsequent success of price and wage controls would have been impossible.

Curbing inflation and cutting back on defense production necessarily involved a downturn in the economy and a rise of unemployment. To keep this from going too far, fiscal and monetary policy shifted in an expansive direction in 1970. And to speed up both the decline of inflation and the recovery of the economy, I announced the New Economic Policy on August 15, 1971. Temporary controls were imposed on prices, rents, and wages. Taxes were reduced. A little later we moved to stimulate the economy further by boosting Government expenditures in the first half of 1972, mainly by bringing forward expenditures that would have been made later.

The policies that began in 1969 contributed to the economic progress so visible in 1972. But Government policies alone did not do the job. Credit goes largely to a strong private economy and to the private citizens who cooperated in rais-

ing productivity, maintaining industrial peace, and conforming to the standards of the control system. The Government helped to create conditions in which private people could adapt to a growing economy that was far less defense-oriented and much less inflationary. But it was the individual American who made the adaptations.

The immediate economic goals for the domestic economy in 1973 are clear. Output and incomes should expand. Both the unemployment rate and the rate of inflation should be reduced further, and realistic confidence must be created that neither need rise again.

The prospects for achieving these goals in 1973 are bright—if we behave with reasonable prudence and foresight. By all signs a vigorous economic expansion is underway and will continue during the year. This will raise output and employment and reduce unemployment. The problem, as far as can now be foreseen, will be to prevent this expansion from becoming an inflationary boom.

That is why I put restraining Federal expenditures at the top of the list of economic policies for 1973. Nothing is easier or more pleasant, at least for a bureaucracy, than to spend money. But beyond some point, which our budget plans already reach, everything that the Government gives out with one hand it must take back with the other, in higher taxes or more inflation or both. Spending proposals must be looked at in this way, by asking whether they are worth either of these costs. Much Government spending fails this test.

I am proposing a budget with expenditures of \$250 billion in the current fiscal year—an increase of \$18 billion from last year. I am proposing a \$19 billion increase

for next year, to \$269 billion. Although those are large totals and large increases, they reflect a sense of responsibility and discipline. I urgently seek the cooperation of the country and the Congress in staying within my budget proposals.

Only by holding the line on Federal spending will we be able to reduce the inflation rate further in 1973. Productivity should still be rising strongly. Inflationary expectations have been subdued. Workers have been experiencing large gains in their real incomes and so the pressure to catch up will be less than it was earlier. Anti-inflationary forces are at work, but it will be necessary to keep our healthy expansion from becoming an overheated boom.

The system of wage and price controls in effect during 1972 helped bring about a combination of less inflation and more production. But it is not the best system for 1973. After intensive consultation with all parts of the American society we have concluded that controls should be substantially modified. There are several problem areas—food, construction, and medical care costs—where special efforts at restraint are needed, in some cases more intense than last year.

In the economy at large there is need to establish more firmly a pattern of behavior consistent with reasonable price stability. At the same time our own experience and the experience of other countries demonstrate that as controls continue, unless they are suitably modified, red tape multiplies, inequities increase, interferences with production and productivity become more severe, and the possibility is enhanced that prices will explode when controls are lifted. Therefore, we are modifying the control system in several ways.

We are setting forth standards of rea-

sonable price and wage behavior to which we ask business and labor to conform. Private economic units will be able to determine by themselves whether price or wage increases are within the standards or not. They will not require advance approval from the Government. However, the Government will maintain the legal authority, the practical capacity, and the will to intervene where necessary to stop action that is unreasonably inconsistent with the standards. I am asking Congress to extend the Economic Stabilization Act for 1 year, to April 30, 1974, to continue the authority. There should be no doubt about the fact that the authority will be used where needed.

An essential part of our anti-inflation program must be an increase of food supplies to restrain increases of food prices and bring about reductions where possible. The combination of natural occurrences holding down food production in the United States and abroad with rising consumers' incomes at home caused a sharp increase in food prices last year. These same forces will be at work in the early part of this year. But we have taken steps to increase food supplies. Quotas which previously limited the import of meat have been suspended. Restrictions on the acreage planted to major field crops have been relaxed. An increased amount of dried milk is being allowed into the country. Subsidies on agricultural exports have been eliminated. Grazing of cattle is being permitted on acreage diverted from crop production. We have established new machinery in the Federal Government to assure that high priority is given to holding down food prices.

Restraint in budget policy, the new system of cooperative price and wage controls and special efforts to increase food

supplies, coupled with the productivity and vigor of the private economy, should make 1973 another year in which inflation and unemployment decline and output rises. But what is at stake in the policies of 1973 is more than economic performance in 1973. What is at stake is whether we can make 1973 the prelude to a sustained period of growth and stability in a free economy. Since 1968 the Government and the economy have been largely absorbed in the negative task of correcting the destabilizing consequences of the financing of the Vietnam war. That period is almost over. Now we can stop putting out fires and turn to building a better economic order.

We must develop more reliable and responsible attitudes and methods for dealing with the Federal budget, so that it is not perpetually on the margin of an inflationary explosion. We must prepare for the end of wage and price controls, and be willing to show the same courage in taking them off as was shown in imposing them. We must weed out the restrictive effects of the large number of other economic controls exercised by the Federal Government, most of them having their origins decades ago, and many of them interfering with productivity and production. And we must strengthen the forces of competition in a vigorous free-enterprise economy.

Nowhere is the need to make 1973 a year of economic reform more apparent than in our international relations. Our actions of August 15, 1971, put the world on the path of negotiation for improvement of the international economy. Last year we made proposals for the reform of the international financial system, and these proposals are now the subject of discussion by high-level officials of the mem-

ber countries of the International Monetary Fund. This year we expect to enter negotiations on the subject of trade.

We want the American people to be able to buy those foreign goods and services that are better, cheaper, or more interesting than our own. That raises the American standard of living. We want our people to be able to invest abroad when that is the most profitable thing to do. But we also want the American people to be able to pay for these purchases and investments in the way that is best for us. That means, first, that we must be able to pay by selling abroad the things that we produce best, and selling them on the best terms that we can freely obtain. Second, it means that we must be able to pay in a way that is sustainable so that we are not confronted with the need for sudden and possibly painful adjustments.

Existing arrangements are not favorable to us in either respect. We have been buying from abroad in rapidly increasing amounts, and that has helped the American people. But our exports, with which we seek to pay for these imports, have been subject to high barriers, particularly in the case of our agricultural products. We have not been able to sell enough to pay for our overseas expenditures, and so we have had to pay by incurring more and more short-term debts abroad. This is not a situation that can go on indefinitely; its sudden ending could be disruptive. Therefore we want to bring about those reforms that will permit us to earn our way.

Our proposals have been, and will be, put forth in the U.S. national interest. But this is not contrary to the interest of other countries. International competition is shifting from the military and

political arenas to the economic. This is a great advantage, because in economic competition every participant can win—there need be no losers. The effort of each nation to produce and sell what it can do most efficiently will benefit others. This is the fundamental belief underlying our proposals for reform and the fundamental reason for thinking that a satisfactory agreement will be reached.

The general prediction is that 1973 will be another very good year for the American economy. I believe that it *can* be a great year. It can be a year in which we reduce unemployment and inflation further and enter into a sustained period of strong growth, full employment, and price stability. But 1973 will be a great year only if we manage our fiscal affairs prudently and do not exceed the increases in Federal expenditures that I have proposed. This is the practical lesson of the experience from 1965 to 1968, when loose fiscal policy turned a healthy expansion into a feverish boom followed by a recession. I am determined to live by this lesson. And I urgently appeal to the Congress to join me in doing so.

RICHARD NIXON

January 31, 1973.

NOTE: The message, dated January 31, 1973, was released January 30 and is printed, together with the Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers, in "Economic Report of the President, Transmitted to the Congress January 1973" (Government Printing Office, 301 pp.).

On January 30, the White House also released the transcript of a news briefing on the Economic Report by Herbert Stein, Chairman, and Marina von N. Whitman and Ezra Solomon, members, Council of Economic Advisers.

23 The President's News Conference of *January 31, 1973*

THE PRESIDENT. In view of the announcement that has already been made this morning,¹ I know that you will have questions on that and other matters, so we will go right to the questions.

QUESTIONS

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT THIEU

[1.] I think Miss Thomas [Helen Thomas, United Press International] has the first question.

Q. Can you tell us whether you are going to meet with President Thieu sometime this spring and also give us a better feeling on Dr. Kissinger's trip, the purpose and so forth?

THE PRESIDENT. At some time this spring I do plan to meet with President Thieu. I have discussed the matter with him in correspondence and I also discussed it yesterday in my meeting with the Foreign Minister. It will be at a time mutually convenient.

The UPI story, incidentally, was on the mark except for the location. The location we have agreed on will be the Western White House this spring.

¹ Earlier in the morning, Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler announced: The United States and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have agreed that Dr. Kissinger, Assistant to the President of the United States, will visit Hanoi from February 10 to 13, 1973, to discuss with the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam the postwar relationship between the two countries and other matters of mutual concern.

DR. KISSINGER'S TRIP TO HANOI

As far as Dr. Kissinger's trip is concerned, this is a matter that we feel is very important in terms of developing the postwar relationship with North Vietnam. When we look at this very intricate agreement, which Dr. Kissinger so brilliantly briefed for the members of the press, and if you have read it, you will see why I use the word "intricate," we can see that, insofar as its terms are concerned, if the agreement is kept, there is no question about the fact that we will have peace in not only Vietnam but in Indochina for a very long period of time. But the question is whether both parties—in fact, all parties involved—have a will to peace, if they have incentives to peace, if they have desire to peace.

Now, on this particular point, it is necessary, of course, for us to talk to the South Vietnamese, as we are. It is also vitally important that we have a direct communication with the North Vietnamese. And Dr. Kissinger will be going to Hanoi to meet with the top leaders of the Government of the DRV. There he will discuss the postwar relationship. He will, of course, discuss the current status of compliance with the peace agreements which we have made, and he will also discuss, in terms of postwar relationships, the matter of the reconstruction program for all of Indochina.

As the leaders probably reported after my meeting with them the day after I announced the cease-fire agreement, I raised

with the leaders the point that the United States would consider for both North Vietnam and South Vietnam and the other countries in the area a reconstruction program.

I, of course, recognized in raising this with the leaders that there would have to be Congressional consultation and Congressional support. In terms of this particular matter at this time, Dr. Kissinger will be having an initial conversation with the North Vietnamese with regard to this whole reconstruction program.

I should also say that I have noted that many Congressmen and Senators and many of the American people are not keen on helping any of the countries in that area, just as they are not keen on foreign aid generally. But as far as I am concerned, whether it is with the North or the South or the other countries in the area, I look upon this as a potential investment in peace. To the extent that the North Vietnamese, for example, participate with us and with other interested countries in reconstruction of North Vietnam, they will have a tendency to turn inward to the works of peace rather than turning outward to the works of war.

This, at least, is our motive, and we will know more about it after Dr. Kissinger completes his talks with them, which we think will be quite extensive and very frank since he has already, obviously, paved the way for it.

WELCOMING OF PRISONERS OF WAR

[2.] Q. Mr. President, Dr. Kissinger is going to Vietnam and is due there in Hanoi on February 10. Is this related in any way with the first prisoners of war to come out of Hanoi?

THE PRESIDENT. Not at all.

Q. I mean, is the date a coincidence?

THE PRESIDENT. The date is a pure coincidence, and Dr. Kissinger will not be meeting with the prisoners of war. Incidentally, speaking of the POW question, I have noted some speculation in the press, and it isn't—I should say—it's speculation that is justified, because I understand there was a Defense Department report to this effect, that I was going to go out to Travis Air Force Base to meet the first POW's when they came in.

I do not intend to do so. I have the greatest admiration for the prisoners of war, for their stamina and their courage and the rest, and also for their wives and their parents and their children who have been so strong during this long period of their vigil.

This is a time that we should not grandstand it; we should not exploit it. We should remember that it is not like astronauts coming back from the Moon after what is, of course, a very, shall we say, spectacular and dangerous journey, but these are men who have been away sometimes for years. They have a right to have privacy, they have a right to be home with their families just as quickly as they possibly can. And I am going to respect that right, of course, to the extent that any of them or their families desiring to visit the White House can be sure that they will be very high on the list.

DOMESTIC DIVISIONS AND AMNESTY

[3.] Q. Mr. President, do you have anything specifically in mind to help heal the wounds in this country, the divisions over the war, and specifically, anything down the road much farther in terms of amnesty?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it takes two to

heal wounds, and I must say that when I see that the most vigorous criticism or, shall we say, the least pleasure out of the peace agreement comes from those that were the most outspoken advocates of peace at any price, it makes one realize whether some want the wounds healed. We do.

We think we have taken a big step toward ending a long and difficult war which was not begun while we were here, and I am not casting any aspersions on those Presidents who were in office who can no longer be here to speak for themselves, for the causes of the war. I am simply saying this: that as far as this Administration is concerned, we have done the very best that we can against very great obstacles, and we finally have achieved a peace with honor.

I know it gags some of you to write that phrase, but it is true, and most Americans realize it is true, because it would be peace with dishonor had we—what some have used, the vernacular—“bugged out” and allowed what the North Vietnamese wanted: the imposition of a Communist government or a coalition Communist government in the South Vietnamese. That goal they have failed to achieve. Consequently, we can speak of peace with honor and with some pride that it has been achieved.

Now, I suppose, Mr. Sheldon [Courtney R. Sheldon, *Christian Science Monitor*], that your question with regard to amnesty may deal with the problems of healing the wounds. Certainly I have sympathy for any individual who has made a mistake. We have all made mistakes. But also, it is a rule of life, we all have to pay for our mistakes.

One of the most moving wires I received, of the many thousands that have

come in to the White House since the peace announcement, was from a man who was in prison in Michigan, I believe it is, and he spoke about a group of his fellow inmates. They are in a work camp, so I suppose they are being rehabilitated to come out.

He wrote very emotionally about what we had done and he felt it was an achievement they were very proud of. I feel sorry for that man; on the other hand, it is not my right, and I should not exercise such a right, because he so wrote to me, to say “Now you are forgiven for what you did.”

Now, as far as amnesty is concerned, I have stated my views, and those views remain exactly the same. The war is over. Many Americans paid a very high price to serve their country, some with their lives, some as prisoners of war for as long as 6 to 7 years, and of course, 2½ million, 2 to 3 years out of their lives, serving in a country far away in a war that they realize had very little support among the so-called better people, in the media and the intellectual circles and the rest, which had very little support, certainly, among some elements of the Congress—particularly the United States Senate—but which fortunately did have support among a majority of the American people, who some way, despite the fact that they were hammered night after night and day after day with the fact that this was an immoral war, that America should not be there, that they should not serve their country, that morally what they should do was desert their country.

Certainly as we look at all of that, there might be a tendency to say now, to those few hundreds who went to Canada or Sweden or someplace else and chose to desert their country, that because they

had a higher morality, we should now give them amnesty.

Now, amnesty means forgiveness. We cannot provide forgiveness for them. Those who served paid their price. Those who deserted must pay their price, and the price is not a junket in the Peace Corps, or something like that, as some have suggested. The price is a criminal penalty for disobeying the laws of the United States. If they want to return to the United States they must pay the penalty. If they don't want to return, they are certainly welcome to stay in any country that welcomes them.

POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION IN INDOCHINA

[4.] Mr. Theis [J. William Theis, Hearst Newspapers and Hearst Headline Service].

Q. Do you have any floor or ceiling dollar figure in mind for the rehabilitation of North Vietnam or the rest of Indochina?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Theis, that is a matter that the Members of the Congress raised with me, as you might imagine, and they raised it not only with regard to North Vietnam but with regard to South Vietnam and Cambodia and Laos in this period as we move into the cease-fire and, we hope, peacetime reconstruction.

I cannot give you that figure now, because it is a matter that has to be negotiated, and it must be all part of one pattern. The figure, of course, will come out. The figures will come out, but they must first be discussed with the bipartisan leadership because, with all of this talk about the powers of the Presidency, let me say I am keenly aware of the fact that even

though I might believe that a program of reconstruction for North Vietnam, as well as South Vietnam, is an investment in peace, the Congress has to believe it. The Congress has to support it. And this is going to be one of the more difficult assignments I have had as President, but I think we can make it if the Congress sees what the stakes are.

INTEREST RATES ON AGRICULTURAL LOANS

[5.] Q. Mr. President, sir, Senator Hollings says on a recent trip to Southeast Asia, he discovered that we are letting some countries, including Japan, have 2 percent money, yet we have denied our own farmers in rural cooperatives 2 percent money. We are telling them they have to have their loans at 5 percent. Would you comment on this and how this might relate to your upcoming program of aid to Southeast Asia?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as far as the program of aid is concerned and the percentage of interest that is paid, we will, of course, have in mind the interest of the American people. We want to be fair, of course, to those who have been our allies and in the great tradition of America when it fights wars, to those who have been our enemies, like Germany and Japan who, with America's help, now have become our two greatest competitors in the free world.

Now, when you get down to whether the percentage will be 2 percent or 5 percent or 3 percent, that is a matter to be negotiated, but we will be fair and we will see that our farmers also are treated fairly.

Let me say, if I could, with regard to

REA [Rural Electrification Administration]—and Miss McClendon [Sarah McClendon, Sarah McClendon News Service], because you are somewhat of an expert on this—I have always supported REA because I used to represent the old 12th District. When I lived there and represented it, it was primarily agricultural, orange groves; now it is primarily people, subdivided. But as one who came from that area, I naturally had a great interest in this matter of REA and the rest, and supported it.

But what I have found is that when I first voted for REA, 80 percent of the loans went for the purpose of rural development and getting electricity to farms. Now 80 percent of this 2 percent money goes for country clubs and dilettantes, for example, and others who can afford living in the country. I am not for 2 percent money for people who can afford 5 percent or 7.

RELATIONS WITH EUROPE

[6.] Q. Mr. President, you and people in your Administration have been quoted as calling 1973 the year of Europe. Could you tell us exactly what that means to you, and specifically, will you be making a trip to Europe in the next month or so?

THE PRESIDENT. I will not be making any trips to Europe certainly in the first half of this year. Whether I can make any trips later on remains to be seen. As a matter of fact, so that all of you can plan not to take shots, I plan no trips whatever in the first half of this year outside the United States. The meeting with President Thieu, if it does work out, at a time mutually convenient, will take place sometime in the spring.

Now, the fact that I don't take a trip to Europe does not mean that this will not be a period when there will be great attention paid to Europe, because it just happens as we complete the long and difficult war in Vietnam, we now must turn to the problems of Europe. We have been to the People's Republic of China. We have been to the Soviet Union. We have been paying attention to the problems of Europe, but now those problems will be put on the front burner.

There is the problem of trade, for example. There is the problem of the European Security Conference which we must discuss. There is the problem of mutual balanced force reduction. All of this will require consultation with our European allies. And in that connection, that is one of the reasons that the Heath visit² is so enormously important. I am spending more time with Mr. Heath than I have with some other visitors. I mean by that not that time proves everything, but not only will we have the usual dinners and luncheons and so forth, but I am spending a full day with him at Camp David because I want to get his thoughts about what the position of the United States and our European friends should be with regard to the European Security Conference, with regard to the MBFR [mutual and balanced force reductions], and of course, what the position of the United States should be and the new, broader European Community should be in this period when we can either become competitors in a constructive way or where we can engage in economic confrontation that could lead to bitterness and which would hurt us both.

² See Item 25.

We want to avoid that, even though it has been predicted by some in this country who really fear the new Europe. I do not fear it if we talk to them and consult at this time.

GOVERNOR CONNALLY AND THE 1976
ELECTION

[7.] Mr. Deakin [James Deakin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch].

Q. You are quoted as telling a recent visitor that you believe that Governor Connally will be the Republican nominee of 1976. Is that correct?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I had thought we had just completed an election.

Q. Just a little foresight there.

THE PRESIDENT. Having just completed one, let me give some advice, if I can, to all of those who may be thinking of becoming candidates in 1976.

I have a considerable amount of experience in getting nominations and winning elections and also losing them. So, consequently, I would suggest that as far as the Presidential candidate is concerned, he is out of his mind if he allows any activity in his behalf or participates in any activity in his behalf, running for the nomination before the elections of 1974 are concluded.

If I were advising people who are interested in becoming and running for President, for the nomination in either party, I would say the best way to get the nomination now is not to be out seeking it. The best way to get it is to work as hard as you can for the success of the candidates of your party, be they for the House or the Senate or Governor, and do it in a selfless way until after 1974 and immediately after 1974 take off and run as fast as you can. And I have always

done that and with mixed results. [Laughter]

But as far as Governor Connally is concerned, you all know my very high respect for him. I have stated my belief that he could handle any job that I can think of in this country or in the world for that matter, but I would be out of my mind if I were to be endorsing anybody for the Presidency at the present time when there are a number of people who have indicated—or whose friends have indicated—that they might have an interest in the position and that is just fine.

If Governor Connally—and, of course, many have suggested that the Vice President would be interested—I assume that several Governors might be interested. In fact, one of these days, perhaps right after the '74 elections, I will give you my list, and it will be quite a long one because I am not going to make my choice until after they have been through a few primaries.

SHOOTING OF SENATOR STENNIS

[8.] Q. Can you give us your reaction to the shooting of Senator Stennis?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I called Mrs. Stennis last night, as I am sure many others of his friends did, and it is just one of those senseless things that happens, apparently. When she told me that all they got was his billfold, she said it didn't have much in it, and his Phi Beta Kappa key and also his watch, apparently. So, it's one of those things that happens in our cities today—fortunately not happening as much as it did previously.

The point that I would make with regard to Senator Stennis—and this is what I told her—is that I just hope that the doctors did the most superb job they have

ever done. I hope that his spirit would see him through this physically and in every other way, because of all the Senators in the United States Senate, Democrat or Republican, in terms of our being able to achieve the honorable peace we have achieved, John Stennis was the most indispensable.

GUN CONTROL

[9.] Q. Mr. President, I would like to ask you, along those lines, you said it was such a senseless thing. The White House, this Administration, has not spoken out very strongly against gun controls, particularly handguns. I would like to know perhaps if maybe you are going to have second thoughts about that now?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as you know, the problem with that is not so much the White House speaking out on handguns and Saturday night specials, which I think this may have been. I haven't seen the latest reports, but the doctor last night told me it was a .22 caliber cheap gun kind of a thing, and Mrs. Stennis said it sounded like firecrackers. Obviously if they had had a .45, he would be dead.

We have, and I have, as you know, advocated legislation to deal with what we call the Saturday night specials, which can be acquired by anybody, including juveniles, and apparently there are some suggestions that juveniles were those involved in this case. I am not charging that, incidentally. I am saying what I read in the papers, most of which, as you know, is true.

So, under the circumstances, I feel that Senator Hruska, who introduced the bill before and then it came a cropper in the Senate Judiciary Committee, will now

work with the Judiciary Committee in attempting to find the formula which will get the support necessary to deal with this specific problem, without, at the same time, running afoul of the rights of those who believe that they need guns for hunting and all that sort of thing.

Let me say, personally, I have never hunted in my life. I have no interest in guns and so forth. I am not interested in the National Rifle Association or anything from a personal standpoint. But I do know that, in terms of the United States Congress, what we need is a precise definition which will keep the guns out of the hands of the criminals and not one that will impinge on the rights of others to have them for their own purposes in a legitimate way.

Incidentally, the legislation that we originally suggested or that we discussed with Senator Hruska, I thought precisely dealt with the problem, but it did not get through the Senate. My guess is that Senator Stennis—everything perhaps has a down side and an up side; I guess everything really does—but the very fact that Senator Stennis was the victim of one of these things—we thought this was the case when Governor Wallace was—but in this instance, it was apparently one of these small handguns that most people, most reasonable people, except for the all-out opponents of any kind of legislation in this field, most reasonable people believe it should be controlled. Perhaps we can get some action. I hope the Senate does act.

I have asked the Attorney General—had asked incidentally before this happened—as one of his projects for this year to give us a legislative formula, not one that would simply speak to the country,

and not get through, but one that can get through the Congress. That is the problem.

EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGE

[10.] Mr. Mollenhoff [Clark R. Mollenhoff, *Des Moines Register and Tribune*].

Q. Did you approve of the use of executive privilege by Air Force Secretary Seaman in refusing to disclose the White House role in the firing of air cost analyst Fitzgerald?

It came up yesterday in the Civil Service hearings. He used executive privilege. You had stated earlier that you would approve all of these uses of executive privilege, as I understood it, and I wondered whether your view still prevails in this area or whether others are now entitled to use executive privilege on their own in this type of case?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Mollenhoff, your first assumption is correct. In my dealings with the Congress—I say mine, let me put it in a broader sense—in the dealings of the Executive with the Congress, I do not want to abuse the executive privilege proposition where the matter does not involve a direct conference with or discussion within the Administration, particularly where the President is involved. And where it is an extraneous matter as far as the White House is concerned, as was the case when we waived executive privilege for Mr. Flanigan last year, as you will recall, we are not going to assert it.

In this case, as I understand it—and I did not approve this directly, but it was approved at my direction by those who have the responsibility within the White

House—in this case it was a proper area in which the executive privilege should have been used.

On the other hand, I can assure you that all of these cases will be handled on a case-by-case basis, and we are not going to be in a position where an individual, when he gets under heat from a Congressional committee, can say, "Look, I am going to assert executive privilege."

He will call down here, and Mr. Dean, the White House Counsel, will then advise him as to whether or not we approve it.

Q. I want to follow one question on this.

THE PRESIDENT. Sure.

Q. This seems to be an expansion of what executive privilege was in the past, and you were quite critical of executive privilege in 1948 when you were in the Congress—

THE PRESIDENT. I certainly was.

Q. You seem to have expanded it from conversation with the President himself to conversation with anyone in the executive branch of the Government and I wonder, can you cite any law or decision of the courts that supports that view?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Mollenhoff, I don't want to leave the impression that I am expanding it beyond that. I perhaps have not been as precise as I should have been. And I think yours is a very legitimate question because you have been one who has not had a double standard on this. You have always felt that executive privilege, whether I was complaining about its use when I was an investigator or whether I am now defending its use when others are doing the investigating—I understand that position.

Let me suggest that I would like to have a precise statement prepared which I will personally approve so that you will know exactly what it is. I discussed this with the leaders and we have talked, for example—the Republicans, like Senator Javits and Senator Percy, are very interested in it, not just the Democrats, and I understand that. But I would rather, at this point, not like to have just my off-the-top-of-my-head press conference statement delineate what executive privilege will be.

I will simply say the general attitude I have is to be as liberal as possible in terms of making people available to testify before the Congress, and we are not going to use executive privilege as a shield for conversations that might be just embarrassing to us, but that really don't deserve executive privilege.

A. ERNEST FITZGERALD

[11.] Q. The specific situation with regard to Fitzgerald, I would like to explore that. That dealt with a conversation Seamans had with someone in the White House relative to the firing of Fitzgerald and justification or explanations. I wonder if you feel that that is covered, and did you have this explained to you in detail before you made the decision?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me explain. I was totally aware that Mr. Fitzgerald would be fired or discharged or asked to resign. I approved it and Mr. Seamans must have been talking to someone who had discussed the matter with me.

No, this was not a case of some person down the line deciding he should go. It

was a decision that was submitted to me. I made it and I stick by it.³

IMPOUNDMENT OF FUNDS

[12.] Q. Mr. President, how do you respond to criticism that your impoundment of funds abrogates power or authority that the Constitution gave to Congress?

THE PRESIDENT. The same way that Jefferson did, and Jackson did, and Truman did.

When I came in on this, Mr. Mollenhoff—he is one of the few oldtimers around here who will remember it—you remember when Senator Symington, who has now turned the other way on this, but you remember when we were talking about the 70 group air force. You remember that on that case I voted as a Congressman to override President Truman's veto. I think it was 70 wing or 70 group air force, where we insisted on a 70 group air force and he said the budget would only provide for 48.

Despite the fact that the Congress spoke,

³ At his afternoon news briefing on February 1, 1973, Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler said that the President "indicated to me that after reading the transcript of yesterday's press conference that he was mistaken in his reference to Mr. Fitzgerald, and the fact of the matter is that the President did not, as indicated in the press conference, have put before him the decision regarding Mr. Fitzgerald.

"We can find no record—the President requested that a check be made of this—of the matter ever being brought to the President's attention for a decision.

"So, the decision regarding the reorganization that took place in the Air Force, which dealt with Mr. Fitzgerald, was a matter dealt with solely by the Air Force."

not just as the leaders spoke to me the other day but by veto, overwhelming in both Houses, President Truman impounded the money. He did not spend it. And he had a right to. The constitutional right for the President of the United States to impound funds—and that is not to spend money, when the spending of money would mean either increasing prices or increasing taxes for all the people—that right is absolutely clear.

The problem we have here is basically that the Congress wants responsibility, they want to share responsibility. Believe me, it would be pleasant to have more sharing of responsibility by the Congress. But if you are going to have responsibility, you have to be responsible, and this Congress—and some of the more thoughtful Members of Congress and that includes most of the leadership, in the very good give-and-take we had the other day—this Congress has not been responsible on money.

We simply had this. There is a clear choice. We either cut spending or raise taxes and I made a little check before the leaders meeting. I checked on the campaigns of everybody who had run for office across this country, Democrat and Republican. I didn't find one Member of Congress, liberal or conservative, who had campaigned on the platform of raising taxes in order that we could spend more.

Now the point is, the Congress has to decide, does it want to raise taxes in order to spend more or does it want to cut, as the President is trying to cut? The difficulty, of course—and I have been a Member of Congress—is that the Congress represents special interests.

The Interior Committee wants to have more parks and the Agriculture Commit-

tee wants cheap REA loans and the HEW Committee or the Education and Labor Committee wants more for education and the rest, and each of these wants we all sympathize with. But there is only one place in this Government where somebody has got to speak not for the special interests which the Congress represents but for the general interest.

The general interest of this country, the general interest, whether it be rich or poor or old, is don't break the family budget by raising the taxes or raising prices, and I am going to stand for that general interest. Therefore, I will not spend money if the Congress overspends, and I will not be for programs that will raise the taxes and put a bigger burden on the already overburdened American taxpayer.

AMERICAN PRISONERS IN CHINA

[13.] Q. Mr. President, there are two American fliers still being held prisoner in China, and they are sort of in limbo—well, three Americans but two fliers. I wonder if you could give us their status, and do you expect them to be returned with the other prisoners?

THE PRESIDENT. This matter we discussed when we were in the People's Republic of China, and we have every reason to believe that these fliers will be released on the initiative of the People's Republic of China as the POW situation is worked out in Vietnam.

I won't go beyond that because this is a matter that should be left to the People's Republic of China, but we have, we believe, every assurance that will happen.

Q. Downey, also?

THE PRESIDENT. Downey is a different case, as you know. Downey involves a CIA

agent. His sentence of 30 years has been, I think, commuted to 5 years, and we have also discussed that with Premier Chou En-lai. I would have to be quite candid: We have no assurance that any change of action, other than the commutation of the sentence, will take place, but we have, of course, informed the People's Republic through our private channels that we feel that would be a very salutary action on his part.

But that is a matter where they must act on their own initiative, and it is not one where any public pressures or bellicose

statements from here will be helpful in getting his release.⁴

REPORTER. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Nixon's twenty-ninth news conference was held at 11:25 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House on Wednesday, January 31, 1973.

⁴ On March 9, 1973, the White House released an announcement by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler of plans for the release of John Downey on March 12, and Lt. Comdr. Robert J. Flynn, USN, and Maj. Philip E. Smith, USAF, on March 15. The announcement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 245).

24 Remarks at the National Prayer Breakfast. *February 1, 1973*

Mr. Speaker, Chairman Quie, Dr. Burns and all of our very distinguished guests from all over the world and our very distinguished guests from the United States of America:

I first have a bit of what I think is good news and encouraging news. A message was handed to me just as the breakfast was beginning from Senator Stennis' physician, General Moncrief. He reports that the Senator says he feels well this morning, and this morning, when the doctor said he was going to the Prayer Breakfast, Senator Stennis, who because he has some tubes in his mouth could not talk, but he wrote on his pad, "I wish I were going, too."

If Senator Stennis is listening, as I am sure he is on radio, or maybe he will hear it on television tonight, he is here today, he is with us, and we are with him and he is going to be back. That is what we all know, and that is what we pray for.

As I heard the other speakers, I thought of that first prayer breakfast, the National

Prayer Breakfast, which was held, as I recall, in the Mayflower Hotel in 1953. President Eisenhower addressed it on that occasion. I think Billy Graham did. And it was a memorable occasion.

I think back to the 4 years that I have had the privilege to be here as a guest and also of the years before even 1953, when I met with, first, the House Prayer Breakfast group and, then, the Senate Prayer Breakfast group.

I think, too, of what has happened over these 4 years, and I think all of us perhaps will remember what a year we have just completed. Since we last met here, just one year ago, we have made the trip to the People's Republic of China, which opened communication with one-fourth of the people who live on this globe, where there had previously been virtually no communication whatever as far as we were concerned.

We made the trip to the Soviet Union, to Moscow, and with the Ambassador from the Soviet Union here, and the

mayor from Moscow here, we all realize that that trip had enormous significance in terms of the future of the world in which we live because it was really the first time that two very great powers sat down together, recognized their differences and also those areas where they could work together, and made agreements, agreements to work together in certain peaceful enterprises and to limit armaments in other enterprises. And so, a beginning was made, a very important beginning that needed to be made. That happened this year.

And then finally, and reference has already been made to this, for the first time in 10 years at one of these prayer breakfasts, the President of the United States is able to say the United States is at peace in Vietnam.

Could I put that peace in perspective? I refer to these journeys abroad and also the agreement that has just been reached. We could read too much into the peace that we have talked about, much as we would hope that it could mean everything that we could possibly imagine.

But as we look over the history of agreements between nations and as we look at those periods of peace that follow war, the record is not too encouraging. Because what we often find is that after war and after a period in which a nation has peace, the conflict that we were engaged in in war tends to turn itself inward and we continue to engage in that conflict in peace. And rather than a period of peace being one that is creative and positive, it is one that is negative, one of withdrawal, one of isolation, and that plants the seeds for more conflict, not only at home but abroad.

This is the record too often in the past. We must not let it happen now.

I recall, for example, in 1969 right after I had been elected for the first time, a trip to Europe. We had some problems on our campuses at that time, as you may remember. And when I visited one of the European heads of state which had had no war for 25 years—and we had had two, one in Korea, and we were then involved in one in Vietnam—we talked long into the night about the problems of our young people, his and ours.

And he made a very profound comment. He said, "The problem with your young people is war." He said, "The problem with our young people is peace."

We must not let that happen. For our young people and for this Nation, we must recognize that peace is not something that is simply the absence of war, it is an opportunity to do great things—great things for our people at home, great things for people abroad.

I think, for example, of treaties that are made. I have made reference to the fact that the recent agreements that we have signed will mean peace in Vietnam and, eventually, throughout Indochina, we trust, but it will mean peace only to the extent that both sides and the leaders of both sides have the will to keep the agreement.

All the paper in the world, all the more fancy phrases that could have added to the very intricate phrases that are already in the agreement would mean nothing if the individuals who have the responsibility for keeping the agreement do not keep it.

We will keep the agreement. We expect others to keep the agreement. That is the way peace can be kept abroad—only, in other words, by the will of the individuals involved. And you must change the man or you must change the woman if the agreement is to be kept.

And so it is at home. We are concerned about conflict at home. We are concerned, for example, about the problems that divide us. They talk about the divisions between the generations, the divisions between the races, the divisions between the religions in this country, and we have them.

So, we can legislate about some of those divisions. For example, we pass laws—laws providing and guaranteeing rights to equal opportunity. But there is no law that can legislate compassion, there is no law that can legislate understanding, there is no law that can legislate an end to prejudice. That only comes by changing the man and changing the woman.

That is what all religion is about, however we may worship. That is what our religion is about, those of us who may be of the Christian religion.

So today, I would simply close with one thought. There is a lyric from a song I recall, that runs something like this: "Let there be peace on Earth and let it begin with me."

And so, abroad and at home, let that be our prayer. Let there be peace on earth and let it begin with each and every one of us in his own heart.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:05 a.m. in the International Ballroom of the Washington Hilton Hotel.

Representative Albert H. Quie of Minnesota presided at the 21st annual breakfast, sponsored by the United States Senate and House Prayer Breakfast groups.

In his opening words, the President also referred to Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Arthur F. Burns, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

25 Remarks of Welcome to Prime Minister Edward Heath of the United Kingdom. *February 1, 1973*

Mr. Prime Minister:

The fact that we are meeting on what is probably the coldest day of the year in no way measures the warmth of our welcome to you today, a welcome not only personal because of our personal friendship, but also official, because you represent a great and a good friend and ally of the United States. And under these circumstances, it seems most appropriate that the first state visit being paid to Washington, at the beginning of this term, is being paid by you.

Since we last met in Bermuda, a number of events have occurred which have had great impact on the chances for peace in the world, the visits to Peking and to Moscow and the recent agreement that

has been announced ending the war in Vietnam.

And now we can turn to tasks that are enormously important, tasks on which we have worked together in the past and to which we can devote even more attention in the future.

The cornerstone of American policy—and I think I can say, too, perhaps the cornerstone of the policy of your country—in terms of promoting the cause of peace and freedom and progress in the world, is the great alliance of which we are a part. I speak not just to the military alliance, but of those areas in the economic and other fields where we cooperate.

The fact that you represent a country with which the United States has some

very special ties, and the fact that you, as an individual, from the time you have been in public life, have looked not just inward but have looked outward to Europe and the rest of the world, means that your talks will be very helpful to us in developing, we hope, a common policy for this era of peace which we trust is now going to be developed, not only in the Atlantic but in the Pacific and, we trust, in the world.

So, we look forward to our 2 days of talks and we are sure that they will be constructive in working toward the great goals we both share of peace and justice and freedom in the world.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:20 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House, where Prime Minister Heath was given a formal welcome with full military honors.

See also Item 27.

The Prime Minister responded as follows:

Mr. President:

The Foreign Secretary and I are delighted to be here with you again in Washington and to have this opportunity of meeting you and your colleagues.

I would like to thank you for the warmth of the welcome which you have given to the Foreign Secretary and myself today. As you have said, this is the first official visit in your second term as President, and we deeply appreciate the honor which you have done us and the significance of it.

This visit comes, I think you will agree, at an auspicious moment after, as you have said, the signing of the agreements on Vietnam. We, in Britain, have greatly admired the steadfastness with which you have pursued the objective of securing peace and the courage with which you have made the many very difficult decisions during these past years. We share with you the hope that the people of Vietnam will now be able to find and to work out a future for themselves, a future in peace and, we hope, more and more in freedom.

Mr. President, no British Prime Minister

coming here to Washington today could be unmindful of the loss which the United States has sustained in the recent death of two former Presidents, Harry S. Truman and Lyndon B. Johnson.

We associate with President Truman's name the farsighted policies which the administration pursued on European recovery after World War II. And I well recall the talks which I had with Lyndon B. Johnson here in the White House when I was Leader of the Opposition in 1966. And so we join you and the American people in mourning the passing of these two distinguished predecessors in your high office.

Mr. President, this is the fifth time that we have met since you became President. In our previous talks we have always been able to talk over a very wide range of world affairs and to do so with frankness and understanding.

This was true of my visit here in December 1970 and again when you were able to come to Bermuda just over a year ago. And it is true of the innumerable exchanges which take place between those representing our two countries right down the line. Once again we shall have a great deal to talk about, perhaps more even than ever before.

As you have said, today Britain is now a member of the European Community. And the future relations between that enlarged Community and the United States, good relations which are vital for the whole future of the Western World, will figure prominently in our discussions. Now that we are a member of the European Community, you will not find our interest in the wider affairs of the world any less than it has ever been before. And for my own part, I am quite confident that the intimacy and the frankness of our exchanges on this occasion will be just as valuable as they have been in the past.

So, Mr. President, I would like again to thank you for inviting the Foreign Secretary and myself and our colleagues here today for these 2 days of talks, to thank you again for the warmth of the welcome, and to repeat that I believe the talks which we are going to have are going to be of great importance, not only to our own two countries but to both sides of the Atlantic and for peace in the free world.

26 Statement About Proposed Establishment of an
American Revolution Bicentennial Administration.
February 1, 1973

IT WAS exactly two centuries ago, in the year 1773, that the movement for American independence began its sharpest growth from a daring dream in the minds of a few patriots to an organized popular force capable of achieving the birth of a new nation. That was the year when a revolutionary network called the Committees of Correspondence spread rapidly from Massachusetts through most of Britain's American colonies. A year later those committees led to the convening of a Continental Congress; 2 years later Congress had an army in the field; 3 years later came the Declaration of Independence.

It seems especially fitting, therefore, that 1973 should be the year when the Congress and the President join in measures aimed at reinforcing the organizational effectiveness of our planning and preparations for the celebration of the Bicentennial of American independence, which is now just 3 years away.

To this end, I have directed that legislation be proposed today which would create a strong, new American Revolution Bicentennial Administration with a full-time Administrator, to continue and complete the preliminary Bicentennial work begun by the volunteer, part-time American Revolution Bicentennial Commission

during the past 7 years.

The Bicentennial Commission has made a commendable start on preparations for the observance of America's 200th birthday in 1976. Its dedicated and broadly representative members have rendered an important service to the Nation, with fine leadership from Chairman David Mahoney and Vice Chairman Hobart Lewis.

Now, however, upon the advice of Mr. Mahoney and Mr. Lewis and with the benefit of several evaluations from the legislative branch and professional consultants, I have concluded that a more streamlined, tightly organized, and action-oriented structure is needed to see us through the final stages of our Bicentennial preparations. The Bicentennial Administration whose creation we will propose would meet this need. It would be assisted by a 25-member Advisory Board, and would work closely with the Congress.

I believe that this action is essential to ensure that the American people are well prepared to mark in a meaningful fashion the completion of our first two centuries as a nation, and to begin our third century rededicated to the Spirit of '76. I urge the Congress and the people to give this proposal their fullest support.

27 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Heath
of the United Kingdom. *February 1, 1973*

Mr. Prime Minister and all of our distinguished guests:

My remarks will be brief tonight because I know that all of you, having heard

me so often, so much in recent days, will look forward to hearing the Prime Minister.

I said "distinguished guests" very deliber-

erately a few moments ago, because as we were making up the guest list for this dinner, I found that never have we made so few happy at the expense of so many. [Laughter] There is always a long list of people who want to come to state dinners and obviously we would always like to have them all come. But this room, even with round tables, seats only 110 people, and so, out of the list of 8,000 or 10,000 and perhaps then down to 1,000 that "these must come," tonight from California, from New York, from the South, the East, the North, are the 110 most important people in the United States, Mr. Prime Minister, in honor of you. [Laughter]

They are here from both of our political parties and from all branches of our government because, first, they honor your country, with which we are privileged to be allied so closely in so many different ways, and also because they respect and honor you as an individual, as the leader of that country.

This is the fourth time we have met since you became Prime Minister. It is also the second time that we have had a dinner in this room. And I think I can best describe how we in America feel about you, the Prime Minister of Britain, in a term that I used, that you may have forgotten, in a note I wrote you very early in your period as Prime Minister when you had had to make a very difficult decision about economic policies. And I noted that it was a decision that, without question, would not be approved in the immediate future in your country, but in terms of the long-range interests, you had determined was absolutely essential. And I wrote to you to the effect that however it came out that I, as an individual, and

as an old personal friend, admired you for making what I called "a gutsy decision."

The man we honor tonight, and I say this in the company of this group, is really, in his whole political career and as now the head of government in his country, a man who has the courage and the far-sightedness and the vision to make gutsy decisions, whether it is in the economic field or whether it is in the field of foreign policy. He is not blinded by what tomorrow's headlines may be in a negative sense.

He does not allow those headlines and what they may be to blind him to the vision of what the future may be and that is why all who know anything about Britain's entering Europe know that it would not have happened—this great historic development—it would not have happened had it not been for the Prime Minister and it would not have happened except for the courage that he had, the courage to see that the long-term interest of his country, as distinguished from the short-term problems, would be served by being part of this great European Community which is now into being.

I think we could say that he is one of the prime architects of the new Europe and that the new Europe is an indispensable foundation for what we hope will be a new world, because it will contribute to that new world in which peace and, we trust, progress with freedom will be the watchword in the years ahead.

I think that what I have said indicates the respect that we have in this country for our distinguished guest. I think also what I have said indicates that, as far as we are concerned, we consider it a very great privilege to work with Her Majesty's Government and with the Prime Min-

ister and his associates for goals that go deep into our national history, ideals which we share together, ideals which we basically inherited together. And I am sure that this visit will be one that, as we have completed an historic year in the field of foreign policy—a trip to Peking, a trip to Moscow, the end of a long and difficult war in Vietnam—that this marks a watershed where we move now to the works of peace. And we move in that area of the world that is indispensable to true peace and progress and freedom in the world, the whole Atlantic community of which the Prime Minister is one of the truly great leaders.

I know we can honor him most by raising our glasses to Her Majesty, the Queen.
The Queen.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:55 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.
See also Item 25.

Prime Minister Heath responded as follows:

Thank you, Mr. President, for the way in which you have so happily and so wittily proposed the health of the Queen and associated my colleagues and myself with it.

I recall on the last occasion which I dined here, just before Christmas in 1970—the first time I came here as Prime Minister—that I made what I thought was rather a lighthearted speech. It was a Christmas atmosphere, and, as tonight, I was enjoying myself enormously. And I thought this microphone here was something to do with some sort of private recording or other you had, and it was only after the whole thing was over that I learned that this goes down beneath this room, to some nether region, where the denizens of the deep carry out some sort of existence—the press and the radio commentators and the social columnists and so on.

And so I then resolved if ever again I should be invited to address you in this room, I would make a solemn declaration of policy of some kind or other. I wasn't quite clear what.

I am therefore rather relieved to hear you

in such lighthearted form tonight and to fill the press once again, I might be allowed to follow your example.

First of all, I must thank you for inviting here tonight the 110 most distinguished people in the United States. It gives me the opportunity tomorrow, and the day after, of everybody I am meeting saying, "Well, at least you must be 111th, if not rather lower than that."

But as always, you have provided us with the most enjoyable hospitality and the most delightful company, and for that we would like to thank you.

But, of course, it is always a pleasure to come here and to dine with you and your wife in company like this. And my colleagues and I are very pleased to be back in Washington and to have the opportunity of having talks with you.

Tonight you have proposed the health of the Queen as Head of State. Perhaps I may, as a simple politician, also pay tribute to you as a superb politician on a great election victory, which all of us, who are politicians, certainly envy. And that is as far as we are likely to get.

Then, if I may, you have remarked this being a great year—1972—in the field of foreign affairs, and that is undeniably true in every respect from the point of view of the United States and I believe also from the point of view of Britain, in that on the first of January it was crowned with our entry into the European Community. But, it is also, as we have seen, being crowned with the end of the war in Vietnam. And, of course, there are so many aspects which occur to us who live outside the United States in this matter, but perhaps tonight I might just be allowed, as a Prime Minister, to refer to one thing, and that is just to express a realization of how great the burdens are which have been lifted from your shoulders and that of your family, by the agreement which has been secured.

It means so much for America; it means so much for Southeast Asia; it means so much for all your friends and for your allies, particularly in the way in which it is being carried out.

But I think tonight, above all, one feels such an enormous burden must be lifted from your shoulders and from all of those who work with you, and to us this also is a great relief, because we know the sort of weight of responsibility

which has rested on your shoulders and, indeed, on the shoulders of your predecessors, for this agonizing experience which the United States has passed through.

So we are indeed grateful to you and your colleagues, and perhaps to Henry Kissinger in particular among them, for what you have achieved in these last and strenuous weeks of negotiations, and I would like to thank you and your colleagues for what you have done.

But now we enter onto a new era as you have described in which the enlarged Community is created, and now we have a great future before us in which we are all thinking of the relationship between the enlarged Community, between the new unity in Europe and the United States.

And earlier today I paid tribute to the support which successive American administrations have given to the ideal of European unity, and we must all be grateful to you for that.

After World War II, quite apart from the immense contribution you had paid to victory, you then began the reconstruction of Europe, and all Europe recognizes that it is to the help of the United States, to Marshall aid, to all that flows from it, the present prosperity of Europe is due.

And so history will always say that the recovery of Europe owed so much to the United States, and from that sprang the ideal of European unity and successive Presidents have supported it, knowing that it might lead to a certain price to be paid, perhaps in economic matters, that as we developed politically and in foreign affairs there might be differences of views between us. But you and we always had the confidence that these were matters which could be sorted out between us because we had the same ideals, because we were working to the same ends, and that I believe profoundly to be true.

And so now, together, we embark on a new path, a new Europe, a new United States, freed from the burden of war in Southeast Asia, to work towards a more prosperous and a more peaceful world.

It is not going to be all that easy, because we are dealing with a world in which patterns have become fixed and on which history has made its imprint.

You, Mr. President, I am told, are an admirer

of Disraeli. You have been talking to me about Robert Blake's book, a very distinguished work, which you recently have been reading, and there comes to my mind the recollection at the end of that book. He tells the story of Disraeli in the very last days of his life, some 6 weeks before he died, when a very young enthusiastic man, who was one of the earliest forebearers of socialist idealism, wrote to the great man saying could he perhaps have an interview. And much to his surprise, he got a reply saying, "Yes," he could.

So he went down to the country to see him in his house, and he was introduced, and there was the great man sitting in his chair with drooping eyelids, very aged, and he didn't rise, but he just beckoned to the young man to sit down. And he said, "Tell me what you have to say."

And so the young man set off in full flower, with great enthusiasm, and he told how he was going to build the new England, what it was going to be like, how quickly it could be done, overnight there would be this transformation.

Disraeli had failed to achieve it, but the young man was going to do it, with all his philosophy and his ideals and his practical experience.

And after an hour and a half, the young man stopped, and Disraeli then lifted one eyelid and looked at him, and he said, "Young man, you will find that England is a very difficult country to move."

In this, for the politician, there is a lesson that every country, when you start on a process of reform and change, is a very difficult country to move, and Disraeli, with all that he achieved, knew as well as anybody just how difficult it is.

But after all, what is the purpose of politics except to change for the better. And so, together in the Atlantic partnership we have embarked on this path. We know we are in a process of change. We are living in a world in which, perhaps, change has been greater and faster than ever before, and nobody, Mr. President, has appreciated it more than you—the change in the relationship with the Soviet Union, the development of China and all that means for the world, the position of Japan as she emerges a predominant economic power,

and now the European grouping in the European Community.

And so, we are living in a world in which after 25 years, after the Second World War, the whole pattern of power relationships and relationships of country, our own internal domestic structure and social organization are changing more rapidly than ever before, and what is needed, if I may say so, is the foresight which has been shown by you, Mr. President, and by your Administration.

So we live—perhaps I need hardly say—in a very exciting world. It is still somewhat slow to move when one wants to bring about deliberate change, but nevertheless, this is a path on which we have now set out in Europe, and we know that we have the support of all our friends in the United States.

So, tonight is a very pleasant occasion for us, for all of my colleagues here. It is very pleasant to meet so many friends, and if perhaps as you were introduced to me, I detected perhaps a slight—I won't say bias—but a slight weightiness towards California, perhaps this is something which I understand. But it is very agreeable to meet so many of you and to find here others who have been friends of very longstanding, and to thank you, Mr. President, and your wife, for the always very warm welcome which you give to us British.

My predecessors have loved coming here. Some of them were unwise enough not to come before you took it over. But this is something which in '76 we are all due to celebrate together.

Our talks which we have had have been not only enjoyable, if I may say so, but in our usual way, frank and intimate and wide-ranging, covering everything about which we like to discuss together. And for us it is an invaluable experience.

We now come as a member of the Community. It makes no difference to what I once described as our natural relationship, and our friends in the Community recognize this as such.

And so now, the path is together, the Community and the United States, and I would ask you all to rise and drink to the health of the President.

On the following day, the President and Mrs. Nixon attended a luncheon at the British Embassy in honor of Prime Minister Heath and Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home. Later in the day, the President and the Prime Minister held further discussions, followed by dinner, at Camp David, Md.

28 Remarks at the Swearing In of 20 Cabinet and Sub-Cabinet Officials. *February 2, 1973*

Mr. Chief Justice, the Secretary of State, and all of our distinguished guests:

This is a ceremony which is described as a mass swearing-in of members of the Cabinet and members of the sub-Cabinet as well. When I saw the number of people the Chief Justice will be swearing in this morning, I wondered if there will be any room for anybody else. We are glad, however, that some members of the families could be here, and other guests, on this very special occasion.

I have already indicated some views with regard to the people that will be

sworn in this morning, and I will not delay this rather long list by any extended remarks, except to say this:

In talking to the Prime Minister last night, we were reminiscing a bit about the history of British cabinets and the fact that in World War I and World War II, two of the most distinguished cabinets in the parliamentary system were set up. They were called war cabinets. They drew from all sections of the nation. They drew from all political elements and political parties in Britain. They were cabinets under Lloyd George in World

War I, and then under Winston Churchill in World War II, which contributed enormously to the success of the British in those two tremendous struggles.

The Cabinet we have here today, the new members as well as the old who will be continuing, and the members of the sub-Cabinet that we have here, in a sense I would describe as a peace Cabinet. The tasks are just as great as those in war. They are just as exciting; in ways they can be more challenging. We, therefore, have drawn from all sections of the country, from all sections of our society, from labor and management, from both political parties, and we believe we have representation in this Cabinet and in the sub-Cabinet which is not only distinguished but also representative of the entire Nation.

It is to the challenge of peace that we now turn, and it is particularly appropriate that the whole group be sworn in today by the Chief Justice of the United States.

I would simply add one final point, and that is that, traditionally, the swearing-in ceremonies are participated in by the Chief Justice and by the President only when it is a member of the Cabinet himself, at the highest level, because obviously when you get to the sub-Cabinet and the rest, the numbers become much too great.

On this occasion, as you will note, we are swearing in not only the members of the Cabinet but a considerable number of those from the sub-Cabinet. Our purpose in doing this is not simply to single out some sub-Cabinet members who may have already been approved and leave others out. But our purpose is to indicate that just as important to the success of an administration, just as important to this peace Cabinet that we are now launching,

as the ones with the highest positions and with the Cadillacs, just as important as that are those who are the under secretaries, the deputy secretaries, who work day and night, who carry so much of the responsibility and who do not, of course, receive the public limelight that those in the top positions do.

We wanted on this occasion, by having you here not as inferiors, but basically as equals, because I know every member of the Cabinet would say that his under secretary, his assistant secretary, in carrying out responsibilities, is not basically a subordinate, but he is an equal partner in a great enterprise, and it is for that reason we have joined the Cabinet members with the under secretaries and deputy secretaries on this occasion.

The Chief Justice will preside. He will read off the names. I rather wondered about that, about having the Chief Justice call people up. You will wonder why. But in any event, he will read off the names, and as you come up, he will administer the oath, and I will be here to witness the oath.

[At this point, Warren E. Burger, Chief Justice of the United States, administered the oaths of office to the following Cabinet and sub-Cabinet officials:

ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON—Secretary of Defense
 FREDERICK B. DENT—Secretary of Commerce
 PETER J. BRENNAN—Secretary of Labor
 JAMES T. LYNN—Secretary of Housing and Urban Development
 CLAUDE S. BRINEGAR—Secretary of Transportation
 ROY L. ASH—Director, Office of Management and Budget
 JOHN SCALI—United States Representative to the United Nations
 ANNE L. ARMSTRONG—Counsellor to the President
 JAMES R. SCHLESINGER—Director of Central Intelligence

KENNETH RUSH—Deputy Secretary of State
WILLIAM E. SIMON—Deputy Secretary of the
Treasury

JOSEPH T. SNEED—Deputy Attorney General

JOHN C. WHITAKER—Under Secretary of the
Interior

FRANK C. CARLUCCI—Under Secretary of
Health, Education, and Welfare

EGIL KROGH, JR.—Under Secretary of Trans-
portation

WILLIAM J. PORTER—Under Secretary of State
for Political Affairs

WILLIAM J. CASEY—Under Secretary of State
for Economic Affairs

DONALD RUMSFELD—United States Amba-
sador to NATO

FREDERIC V. MALEK—Deputy Director, Office
of Management and Budget

FRANK C. HERRINGER—Administrator, Urban
Mass Transportation Administration

The President then resumed speaking.]

Mr. Chief Justice, we want to express our appreciation to you for being with us this morning, and we will congratulate all the members of the Cabinet and the sub-Cabinet en masse, and express our appreciation, too, for the members of the Cabinet who are here who are continuing, and to those who are leaving the Cabinet for their superb work in behalf of this country.

I would like to say a word to the Chief Justice, incidentally, in his presence and without at all interfering with his independence and his separation of power, which, of course, neither he nor I would countenance.

Last night he was invited to attend the dinner in honor of the British Prime Minister. He was unable to come because he had, as he said, a touch of whatever, the virus or flu, that is running around. This morning he is here. He still is not feeling too well, but he came, nevertheless.

It gives me, therefore, a good point of departure to say very simply that I know the tremendous load he carries in the Court with the great number of very important and sometimes very controversial decisions that do come before the Court in these times.

I know, too, the tremendous amount of work he does outside the Court, but for the purpose of promoting better justice all over the country, including the State courts and the local courts. He has spoken at judicial conferences and has given leadership in such a splendid way. And I know, too, that when we have a ceremony of this type, or a dinner honoring a distinguished guest, that the Chief Justice is always one who, if he can come, he will be there. And for a man to get out of a sickbed to come here, I think he deserves a little hand this morning, too.

Mr. Chief Justice, if you don't mind, don't get too close to any of the members of the Cabinet. We can't afford any time off.

I am immune, so it doesn't bother me.

We would like to stay and greet all of the members of families who are here, but there is a luncheon at the British Embassy which some of us have to attend, in fact, some of the members of the Cabinet, the Secretary of State, and Mrs. Nixon and myself, so we will depart now.

But despite the austerity of the budget, Mr. Ash says that we can afford coffee this morning and some very small rolls, so you can have them out here.

Thank you very much, and we congratulate you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:05 a.m. in the East Room at the White House.

29 State of the Union Message to the Congress: Overview and Goals. *February 2, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

The traditional form of the President's annual report giving "to the Congress Information of the State of the Union" is a single message or address. As the affairs and concerns of our Union have multiplied over the years, however, so too have the subjects that require discussion in State of the Union Messages.

This year in particular, with so many changes in Government programs under consideration—and with our very philosophy about the relationship between the individual and the State at an historic crossroads—a single, all-embracing State of the Union Message would not appear to be adequate.

I have therefore decided to present my 1973 State of the Union report in the form of a series of messages during these early weeks of the 93rd Congress. The purpose of this first message in the series is to give a concise overview of where we stand as a people today, and to outline some of the general goals that I believe we should pursue over the next year and beyond. In coming weeks, I will send to the Congress further State of the Union reports on specific areas of policy including economic affairs, natural resources, human resources, community development and foreign and defense policy.

The new course these messages will outline represents a fresh approach to Government: an approach that addresses the realities of the 1970s, not those of the 1930s or of the 1960s. The role of the Federal Government as we approach our third century of independence should not be to dominate any facet of American life, but rather to aid and encourage peo-

ple, communities and institutions to deal with as many of the difficulties and challenges facing them as possible, and to help see to it that every American has a full and equal opportunity to realize his or her potential.

If we were to continue to expand the Federal Government at the rate of the past several decades, it soon would consume us entirely. The time has come when we must make clear choices—choices between old programs that set worthy goals but failed to reach them and new programs that provide a better way to realize those goals; and choices, too, between competing programs—all of which may be desirable in themselves but only *some* of which we can afford with the finite resources at our command.

Because our resources are not infinite, we also face a critical choice in 1973 between holding the line in Government spending and adopting expensive programs which will surely force up taxes and refuel inflation.

Finally, it is vital at this time that we restore a greater sense of responsibility at the State and local level, and among individual Americans.

WHERE WE STAND

The basic state of our Union today is sound, and full of promise.

We enter 1973 economically strong, militarily secure and, most important of all, at peace after a long and trying war.

America continues to provide a better and more abundant life for more of its people than any other nation in the world.

We have passed through one of the

most difficult periods in our history without surrendering to despair and without dishonoring our ideals as a people.

Looking back, there is a lesson in all this for all of us. The lesson is one that we sometimes had to learn the hard way over the past few years. But we did learn it. That lesson is that even potentially destructive forces can be converted into positive forces when we know how to channel them, and when we use common sense and common decency to create a climate of mutual respect and goodwill.

By working together and harnessing the forces of nature, Americans have unlocked some of the great mysteries of the universe.

Men have walked the surface of the moon and soared to new heights of discovery.

This same spirit of discovery is helping us to conquer disease and suffering that have plagued our own planet since the dawn of time.

By working together with the leaders of other nations, we have been able to build a new hope for lasting peace—for a structure of world order in which common interest outweighs old animosities, and in which a new generation of the human family can grow up at peace in a changing world.

At home, we have learned that by working together we can create prosperity without fanning inflation; we can restore order without weakening freedom.

THE CHALLENGES WE FACE

These first years of the 1970s have been good years for America.

Our job—all of us together—is to make 1973 and the years to come even better ones. I believe that we can. I believe that

we can make the years leading to our Bicentennial the best four years in American history.

But we must never forget that nothing worthwhile can be achieved without the will to succeed and the strength to sacrifice.

Hard decisions must be made, and we must stick by them.

In the field of foreign policy, we must remember that a strong America—an America whose word is believed and whose strength is respected—is essential to continued peace and understanding in the world. The peace with honor we have achieved in Vietnam has strengthened this basic American credibility. We must act in such a way in coming years that this credibility will remain intact, and with it, the world stability of which it is so indispensable a part.

At home, we must reject the mistaken notion—a notion that has dominated too much of the public dialogue for too long—that ever bigger Government is the answer to every problem.

We have learned only too well that heavy taxation and excessive Government spending are not a cure-all. In too many cases, instead of solving the problems they were aimed at, they have merely placed an ever heavier burden on the shoulders of the American taxpayer, in the form of higher taxes and a higher cost of living. At the same time they have deceived our people because many of the intended beneficiaries received far less than was promised, thus undermining public faith in the effectiveness of Government as a whole.

The time has come for us to draw the line. The time has come for the responsible leaders of both political parties to take a stand *against* overgrown Govern-

ment and *for* the American taxpayer. We are not spending the Federal Government's money, we are spending the taxpayer's money, and it must be spent in a way which guarantees his money's worth and yields the fullest possible benefit to the people being helped.

The answer to many of the domestic problems we face is not higher taxes and more spending. It is less waste, more results and greater freedom for the individual American to earn a rightful place in his own community—and for States and localities to address their own needs in their own ways, in the light of their own priorities.

By giving the people and their locally elected leaders a greater voice through changes such as revenue sharing, and by saying “no” to excessive Federal spending and higher taxes, we can help achieve this goal.

COMING MESSAGES

The policies which I will outline to the Congress in the weeks ahead represent a reaffirmation, not an abdication, of Federal responsibility. They represent a pragmatic rededication to social compassion and national excellence, in place of the combination of good intentions and fuzzy follow-through which too often in the past was thought sufficient.

In the field of economic affairs, our objectives will be to hold down taxes, to continue controlling inflation, to promote economic growth, to increase productivity, to encourage foreign trade, to keep farm income high, to bolster small business, and to promote better labor-management relations.

In the area of natural resources, my

recommendations will include programs to preserve and enhance the environment, to advance science and technology, and to assure balanced use of our irreplaceable natural resources.

In developing human resources, I will have recommendations to advance the Nation's health and education, to improve conditions of people in need, to carry forward our increasingly successful attacks on crime, drug abuse and injustice, and to deal with such important areas of special concern as consumer affairs. We will continue and improve our Nation's efforts to assist those who have served in the Armed Services in Vietnam through better job and training opportunities.

We must do a better job in community development—in creating more livable communities, in which all of our children can grow up with fuller access to opportunity and greater immunity to the social evils and blights which now plague so many of our towns and cities. I shall have proposals to help us achieve this.

I shall also deal with our defense and foreign policies, and with our new approaches to the role and structure of Government itself.

Considered as a whole, this series of messages will be a blueprint for modernizing the concept and the functions of American Government to meet the needs of our people.

Converting it into reality will require a spirit of cooperation and shared commitment on the part of all branches of the Government, for the goals we seek are not those of any single party or faction, they are goals for the betterment of all Americans. As President, I recognize that I cannot do this job alone. The Congress must

help, and I pledge to do my part to achieve a constructive working relationship with the Congress. My sincere hope is that the executive and legislative branches can work together in this great undertaking in a positive spirit of mutual respect and cooperation.

Working together—the Congress, the President and the people—I am confident that we can translate these proposals into an action program that can reform and re-

vitalize American Government and, even more important, build a better life for all Americans.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

February 2, 1973.

NOTE: The message was the first in a series of six messages to the Congress on the state of the Union. The other messages are printed as Items 44, 53, 61, 73, and 79.

30 Memorandum About the Annual Report on Federal Executive Boards. *February 5, 1973*

Memorandum for Heads of Departments and Agencies:

The 11th Annual Report on Federal Executive Boards reflects a solid record of accomplishment. Clearly, these boards offer a useful means of focusing the energies and talents of senior Federal executives across the Nation on areas of special concern.

As we move toward a more decentralization of the Federal establishment, the responsibility of Federal officials in the field will increase. It is incumbent upon us to ensure that these Boards are equipped to respond quickly to Federal

initiatives and that they enjoy a high degree of cooperation across the traditional lines of Federal authority.

I would like you to call to the attention of all senior officials in the field the attached report on FEB activity and inform them of my strong personal endorsement of the FEB concept. I hope you will also express my appreciation to all of those whose efforts made fiscal year 1972 a successful one for Federal Executive Boards.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The 11-page report was prepared by the Office of Management and Budget.

31 Toasts of the President and King Hussein of Jordan. *February 6, 1973*

Your Majesties, and our very distinguished guests:

As we sit here at this table tonight, my thoughts go back, and Mrs. Nixon's thoughts, Secretary Rogers' thoughts, particularly go back to the year 1959 when His Majesty first came to this country as

the King of Jordan and was received here by President Eisenhower.

I was trying in my mind's eye to think of that evening. The tables were somewhat like this. President Eisenhower was sitting in this place and His Majesty was sitting in this place. And as Vice Presi-

dent, I perhaps was sitting a couple of places over, and Mrs. Nixon here, Secretary Herter¹ further down the line.

I recall, particularly, that evening President Eisenhower, in the private conversation before the dinner began, expressed his great admiration to me of His Majesty and for the courage of this very young King. He was only 24 then. He is still a young King. He is 37 now. But I also remember that some of the intelligence reports that we received, not from our own Government, but from other governments, indicated that he wouldn't last long. [*Laughter*] There were too many troubles in Jordan. It was a country that had forces that would split it apart and here was the young King, whose grandfather had been assassinated, who had seen his country torn by strife, here in the United States in 1959 being toasted by President Eisenhower, the then leader of the free world, 14 years ago.

He did last. President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, President Johnson have all passed on, and our distinguished guest still lives. He is here as the head of a country that has had very difficult problems. It has had great threats from within and from without, but it has survived because of one man—the man we honor tonight, a man who has been honored at this table before at dinners that President Eisenhower gave, and President Johnson, and in my first term in 1969, right here at this table.

And it is his courage, the fact that at times when it appeared that extremism was the way to popularity, he stood for moderation and responsibility. At times when it appeared that timidity was the

best way to be safe, he stood for courage. He was the symbol that kept this small country, with its very brave people, alive, strong, independent in the heart of the Mideast.

And that is the reason why all of our guests, from all over the United States tonight, are very proud to be here in the company of Your Majesty and also of your Queen. We are very proud to welcome her for the first time to this house, and we claim a bit of her.

While she has lived in all of the great capitals of the world or most of them—in Rome, because she came from a great diplomatic family, in London, in Ankara, of course in her own country, and she has visited most of the capitals of the world—she also has lived in New York and at least a part of her worldwide education was at Hunter College in New York City. So, whatever her virtues are, Your Majesty, we claim. [*Laughter*] And we know they are many.

And we are honored that both of you were able to come to our country on this occasion.

I would simply say in concluding the toast to His Majesty's health, as is the custom on such occasions, that it was once written that as far as greatness is concerned, that some men are born to greatness, others achieve it, and others have it thrust upon them. Our very distinguished guest this evening was born to greatness, in a great royal family. He had greatness thrust upon him at a very young age—17 years of age—he became King of his country and he bore that responsibility with dignity and great courage.

But we honor him tonight because he achieved greatness, achieved greatness in all the years he has ruled his country with such courage and stability and modera-

¹Christian A. Herter, Secretary of State (1959-61).

tion, in a part of the world that could otherwise explode into violence and extremism.

All of us tonight are dedicated to his hope and our hope of a real peace in the Mideast, a peace for which he has worked and for which we are working. And consequently, tonight, we honor him because he has sought that peace; he has stood for it against those elements that might not perhaps have supported it. And we honor him also for the courage that he has displayed throughout his life as the King of his country, a country that we are proud to be allied with in friendship and allied with also in the ideals that we support: of peace and freedom and independence for all nations in the world.

It is in that spirit that I ask you to rise and raise your glasses to His Majesty, the King of Jordan.

The King.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:05 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Earlier in the day, the President and King Hussein met at the White House.

King Hussein responded to the President's toast as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon:

It is really a great pleasure and a tribute for me to be once again in the United States and in particular as your guest here.

You have brought to my mind, with your kind words, many, many memories of the years that have passed, of the years through which I was privileged to serve among the people who have given me pride in serving them and to strive with them and, with their help and support, to uphold the ideals and principles that are ours and yours in every way and in every respect.

As for the friendship that has always existed between our nations, to us in Jordan, who have seen it grow, have striven to see it grow, in every field and in every area, with pride, as we have indeed and have always been proud to belong to the same family of free people.

If Jordan has survived, it was because the

people of Jordan, as a whole, have inspired me, but more than that, shared with me my beliefs and my convictions and also shared with me the same hopes for a better future in that part of the world and in the world as a whole. It has always been a privilege for me to visit the United States. I have always been overwhelmed by the great kindness, the friendship, the interest, the sympathy of my friends in the United States throughout the years that have passed; and for the support, we owe a great debt in many times of difficulty and crisis.

As for the present, sir, we have watched the tremendous efforts of you, your good self, Mr. President, not only at the helm of the greatest nation on Earth but your efforts for a better world, a world of understanding and friendship and cooperation.

In many ways we have shared with the people of the United States their pride in you. Your victories have been ours. As we have worked closely together in the past, we promise you what we have promised ourselves, that we will do our utmost in our part of the world to present the future generations with something that is worthwhile.

We feel in our part of the world—I feel personally that my life in itself is probably spent, if it means anything to me at this stage, it means as much as I can give them or make in the way of a contribution for a better future for them, a future of peace with honor, a lasting peace that can enable them to live with it, to develop the potential that is there, to have a better life.

This is your dream, sir, that you are turning into a reality, as far as the world is concerned. This is our dream in our part of the world. We will do our utmost, and we are indeed proud to have the same objective, to share it, as we are proud of our friendship, and will always be.

I can only pray that I live up to the expectations always of my people, plus of my friends, and no words can come easily to me by which I can express our very deep gratitude, sir, for all your kindness to us, on behalf of my wife and all the members of the Jordanian group here tonight and to Mrs. Nixon, for your kind hospitality, for your kind words which come from your heart, sir, for the friendship of which we are so proud.

We wish you continuous success, sir, and we pray for your continuous success in leading the people of the United States, this greatest of nations, and in serving mankind the world over.

Once again, sir, our deepest and sincerest

gratitude, our pride in you, and our everlasting friendship.

Ladies and gentlemen, I would like you to join me in raising your glasses to drink a toast to the President of the United States.

32 Informal Exchange with Reporters After Visiting Senator John Stennis at the Walter Reed Army Medical Center. *February 7, 1973*

REPORTER. How is the Senator this morning, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I just talked to the doctors, and they say that he is considerably improved over what he was yesterday. As you know, the situation was considered to be quite grave yesterday morning and yesterday afternoon, and late last night, at midnight, I called Dr. Tkach, our doctor, and had him check with the doctors here, and they said he had had a very good night, up to that time, and apparently it went on for the balance of the night.

This morning at 8 o'clock I called again and found that he could take visitors. They have not encouraged visitors up to this time, so that is also a good sign. You can't judge these things. The doctors say he has been a remarkably resilient patient, that he has, of course, very enormous problems because of what happened to him, but he is in excellent shape.

They make the point, for example, that his tissues are much younger than a man of 72 would normally have. Now, I judge it by another thing—his handshake. He has always had a grip of steel, and I reached out and I thought after what he had been through that, you know, he would sort of be limp, but that handshake just came on as strong as it ever was. So as far as his spirit is concerned, it is ex-

cellent. That will help him some. He has excellent medical care, and he has made a remarkable comeback from where he was yesterday.

It still, of course, is a very serious situation. But the doctors are much more hopeful today, and being—everybody is an amateur doctor to an extent—I think he is going to make it. And he is going to make it.

Q. What did you say to him this morning, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I said to him that the whole country was praying for him, that he was one that had done so much to help his country, that now the country was trying to help him, and that he was really an indispensable man in the Senate, with his strong leadership of the Armed Services Committee.

I told him how much I had depended upon him and that I was just waiting for him to get back so we could still have him there. I think one of the most important factors in a patient's recovery—and I would say this to all the people in the hospitals here and around the country—is that the individual must know that he is needed.

Of course, Senator Stennis knows that, but it is good to hear it, and I would urge that when people call on patients at hospitals, rather than sympathizing about all

of their symptoms and the rest, to make it pretty apparent that they are missed and that they are needed, and that gives people that extra will to live. And that will to live is what you really need when you get close to that border point, as to whether you are going to make it or not.

The Senator's got that will to live in spades, and he has an awful lot of people pulling for him, not just in the Senate, not just in his own party, not just in his own State, but all over the country, because he is a national Senator. He represents the Nation, not one region.

And another thing that is rather characteristic of him is he is such a kind man. I would say I don't know of anybody in the Senate, Republican or Democratic—many disagree with him because he is a strong national defense man, and those

who want to weaken the national defense, for this reason or that, disagree with him—but there is no one that dislikes John Stennis. They all love him because he is such a fine man. That is why you want him to get back there.

Thank you.

Q. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Okay. Good luck to you. I told the doctors—incidentally, I congratulated them all—I said I hope I don't ever have to come out here to have them work on me. I don't expect to, either. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 9:20 a.m. outside the Center.

Senator John C. Stennis of Mississippi was shot during a robbery in front of his Northwest Washington home on January 30, 1973.

33 Letter to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House Proposing Enactment of Foreign Assistance Legislation for Fiscal Year 1973. *February 7, 1973*

I AM forwarding herewith a draft of proposed legislation "To amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, and for other purposes." This legislation would authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1973 for international security assistance and for relief assistance in Bangladesh, make appropriations available for disaster relief in the Philippines, and make our military assistance more effective. These proposals are the same as those I presented to the Congress last year.

Foreign assistance plays an indispensable role in the achievement of our foreign policy and national security goals. Because the last Congress did not take final action on the legislative proposals before it or on

foreign assistance appropriations, these programs have been operating for almost seven months under a continuing resolution providing temporary appropriations. The delay in enactment of authorization and appropriation bills has created uncertainties among our friends and allies as to our resolution and willingness to provide essential economic and security assistance. Yet this is precisely the time when confidence is most needed in our commitment to continuing our efforts to build a lasting structure of peace.

In the conviction that the timely and full support of these programs on the part of the Congress is in our own national interest, I urge the Congress to

give early and favorable consideration to the legislation I am transmitting today.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Spiro T. Agnew, President of the Senate, and the Honorable Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

34 Remarks at the Swearing In of John T. Dunlop as Director of the Cost of Living Council. *February 7, 1973*

I WANT to say to Dr. Dunlop, who has done so many very fine jobs for the Government in many capacities, that we appreciate his taking this very heavy assignment and very important assignment.

I noted that since he is now the official head of Phase III at the Cost of Living Council that there has been some concern expressed as to how much he is going to be backed and whether or not Phase III has teeth in it.

I want to say to you, Dr. Dunlop, that there is a stick in that closet and it is a very big stick, and I will never hesitate to use it in the fight against higher prices or higher taxes, so you let me know when you need a stick. I hope that you can do it with persuasion, but we are ready to use the stick, too.

DR. DUNLOP. Thank you, Mr. President, for that kind of backing. My view is that with sound fiscal restraint, hard work on food prices, and the kind of cooperation from labor and management that we are getting, that we can have a really

effective constraint on inflation in the year ahead, and I think we all are going to cooperate whether we like it or not.

THE PRESIDENT. I think one of the most encouraging things about your appointment is that it has such unanimous support from the business community and the labor community; and the responsibility of the major business concerns in this country during Phase II and of the major labor organizations during Phase II made it work. That same responsibility under your leadership, I think, will make this work. And when I speak of that stick, I am only referring to those few who may get out of line, and when they do, you let me know.

DR. DUNLOP. I certainly will.

THE PRESIDENT. Congratulations and condolences. He has a tough job.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:10 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

Judge George H. Revercomb of the Superior Court of the District of Columbia administered the oath of office.

35 Informal Exchange With Reporters After Visiting Alice Roosevelt Longworth. *February 7, 1973*

THE PRESIDENT. Mrs. Longworth was unable to come to the Inauguration.

MRS. LONGWORTH. I couldn't come. I had the flu.

THE PRESIDENT. She had this flu.

REPORTER. I hope you won't get cold now.

MRS. LONGWORTH. Well, I am dressed

up warm.

THE PRESIDENT. Then she was also to be at the luncheon that the Cromers¹ gave and she couldn't make that, so we called her up and said we would come by.

But I will tell you what. She is going to come to the dinner for Golda Meir. That is March 1.

Q. Have you got any good advice on being 89?

MRS. LONGWORTH. None.

THE PRESIDENT. I was really worried about her because she said it is the first Inauguration she can remember missing, and I guess she has seen them all, going back to 1900. She said she just couldn't make it. But of course, I said, "At least you have had the benefit of television."

Incidentally, if things develop the way we think they will, we will probably go to California tomorrow. I had a meeting with Wilbur Mills today and I am going to see Russell Long tomorrow. There isn't much more you can do with the Congress because of the Lincoln Day recess.

I am going to see the Vice President when he returns from his trip. I think we are going to set it for Monday morning. I think Ron [Ziegler] may have already told you that.

Q. We want to hear about that.

THE PRESIDENT. I think it is at 10 o'clock Monday morning. That gives him time to get in a night's sleep.

Q. He won't see any of the POW's?

THE PRESIDENT. No, no. We have no plans, as I told you earlier, I have no plans, he has no plans on that. He will return directly from Manila, stopping in Hawaii overnight, and coming to San Clemente Monday morning, and we will

have a talk there.

It is also my plan at this time, unless something develops during the week that requires me to come back here, to see Dr. Kissinger there and have him ride back from California on Monday.

Q. A week from Monday?

THE PRESIDENT. Assuming he gets back around—we don't know what day, probably the 19th, roughly speaking. But I might have to come back before Monday, so I don't want you to pack your bags for a week since we might come in the middle of the week.

Q. Do your meetings with Mr. Mills and Senator Long indicate that you are planning some new economic moves, perhaps with relation to the problems with the dollar?

THE PRESIDENT. No, it is not related to any of the immediate international problems, the meetings with the Congressman and the Senator. What these meetings have to do with is our long-range legislative plans in the matters over which their committees have jurisdiction—tax reform, welfare reform in the case of Senator Long, and trade legislation. These are the three items that we have talked about. And it is part of the extensive Congressional bipartisan consultation that we are having.

Q. Did you bring them in line?

THE PRESIDENT. No, no. We didn't try to. We were eliciting and soliciting their views, and they were interested in ours. And also energy. Those are the subjects that the Senate Finance Committee and the Ways and Means Committee are on. We will obviously have consultations with their Republican opposite members as well, and there will be bipartisan meetings also on the subject of trade legislation and energy, since those are, we think, as

¹ The Earl of Cromer was British Ambassador to the United States.

Chairman Mills agreed today, those are typically what we would call bipartisan subjects—trade and energy—where we think we can elicit a lot of bipartisan cooperation.

There are some other areas which are inevitably going to be partisan. We don't

discuss those.

Thank you very much.

Q. Thank you very much. We appreciate it.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:55 p.m. outside Mrs. Longworth's home.

36 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of Activities Under the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970. *February 8, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting today the second annual report of each executive department and agency on their activities during fiscal year 1972 under the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970.

The reports describe the efforts within the Federal Government to provide for the uniform and equitable treatment of persons displaced from their homes, businesses, or farm operations by Federal and federally assisted programs and to establish fair and uniform policies for real property acquisition under these programs.

The reports give positive evidence that the objectives of the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act are being achieved. While the limited experience under the Act has not permitted a comprehensive survey of its effect on the general public, the principal reporting agencies agree that most of the people displaced by Federally related activities were pleased with both their new relocation sites and their benefits. The agencies attributed this favorable reaction to the increase in relocation benefits

provided under the Act. Relocation payments during FY 1972 totaled more than \$109 million for both Federal and federally assisted programs and were paid to over 50,000 claimants.

Early in 1972 I was concerned that legislation implementing the Act had not yet been passed by the States, and that the Act was not being carried out as effectively as it should be. A number of actions were taken to improve this situation:

—On February 2, 1972, the Vice President wrote to each Governor and to the majority and minority leadership in each State's legislature to encourage the enactment of comprehensive implementing legislation.

—The Office of Management and Budget, in cooperation with the Council of State Governments and the National Governors' Conference, solicited the assistance of Federal agencies and State officials. Partly as a result, most States had apparent statutory authority to comply with the Act's provisions by July 1, 1972.

—The Office of Management and Budget also issued a new and more comprehensive set of guidelines for agencies' regulations on May 1, 1972.

—In addition, the Relocation Assistance Implementation Committee, formed pursuant to my memorandum of January 4, 1971, has undertaken a number of projects to increase uniformity and effectiveness in carrying out the law. For example, a pilot test is being conducted to develop standard application forms so that all displacees, regardless of the program that displaces them, may be able to follow uniform instructions when seeking benefits under the Act.

—As a further step toward uniform and equitable treatment of individuals affected

by Federal and federally assisted acquisition programs, the Office of Management and Budget has encouraged all concerned Federal agencies to conduct early audit programs to check progress. I understand that the General Accounting Office has also been engaged in a review of the implementation of the law. I appreciate this effort and I am confident that Federal agencies will continue to cooperate in making improvements in these programs.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

February 8, 1973.

37 Informal Exchange With Reporters About the Return of American Prisoners of War From Southeast Asia.

February 11, 1973

REPORTER. What have you heard about how the POW release is going?

THE PRESIDENT. I have only heard that the release is going on according to schedule. I am keeping, of course, in very close connection with it. I have had two messages from Dr. Kissinger, incidentally. He is in Hanoi. I had one yesterday afternoon, a very brief message, and then I had another message today.

The communications are excellent because we have our plane there, which he uses for communication, just as he had when he went on his first trip to Peking, and as you remember, the People's Republic allowed us to bring our plane in. That gives us secure communications. During the time he is there, he is sending a message daily, perhaps twice daily, if necessary. And I respond, of course, and will, as questions arise, through communications.

This sounds like details, but it is enor-

mously important. When you are going to the capital of a country with which you have no relations whatever, such communications are very important.

He, of course, has had some sort of a trial run, because having had the same problem in Peking, he now knows how to handle it here.

Q. What are you going to do today, Mr. President, later on, about the prisoners?

THE PRESIDENT. I had not planned to do anything, due to the fact that I want them to have the opportunity to see their families and talk to their families, and I am glad the telephone calls have been arranged, without having anybody try to exploit them or interfere.

I called, this morning, General Scowcroft,¹ and he assured me when they ar-

¹ Brig. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, USAF, was Military Assistant to the President.

rived at Clark Field there would be no officials there to welcome them, not because we don't want to welcome them, but because I think after what they have been through they deserve some time to themselves. If they want officials there, they can have them, but I don't think VIP's should go in and try to exploit them. I hope, too, the members of the press will respect that for a while. They will be probably very happy to talk to members of the press after a while. But I was thinking of Alvarez² who has been away 8½ years with no communications. Let's give him some time by himself, and all the others.

Of course, I am thinking of the ones who are ill. There are some, of course, who are wounded and ill. They will stay in a hospital, if necessary, at Clark Field. So I would say let's let them get back home. Let's let them see their families again, and then if they want to see anybody, the Secretary of Defense or the President, we will be available. But it is their choice and not ours, and I think all Americans would hope that they would have the kind of reception, when they return, that they want, and not the one that we want.

I know that many towns are planning to receive them, but let it come in a way which will not infringe upon these few moments of privacy of getting acquainted again.

We all remember, all of us who were overseas in World War II—I was just talking to the chaplain about that—I remember when I was away, I was only overseas less than a year and a half. When

you got back to see your wife for the first time after a year and a half, you don't want a lot of cameras, you don't want a VIP there, you just want to see your wife. And I can imagine how some of these people, with their wives, their children, mothers, and fathers—so let's respect that.

Q. Are the talks going well with Dr. Kissinger?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me just say that we have an agreement with the other side here, as we have had previously, not to comment on the subjects of talks. I will only say that they are going forward on schedule and that they are serious talks, and that we expect them to continue to be serious, and we hope and expect that they will be constructive. But beyond that, we will not comment either on the substance of the talks or, of course, will not characterize them.

They are serious, and we hope and believe they will be constructive. When he returns, we will be able to characterize them a little more.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:10 p.m. outside the Palisades United Methodist Church, Capistrano Beach, Calif., after attending services there.

On February 12, 1973, the President received a telephone call from Col. Robinson Risner, USAF, who had just arrived at Clark Air Force Base in the Philippines as a member of the first group of prisoners of war returning from Southeast Asia. On behalf of the former prisoners, Colonel Risner expressed their desire to thank the President in person for ending the war and obtaining their release. The President thanked the men for their sacrifice and said he would be pleased to meet with them at any time after their reunions with their families.

² Lt. Comdr. Everett Alvarez, Jr., USN, of Santa Clara, Calif.

38 Statement on the Return of the First Group of
American Prisoners of War From Southeast Asia.

February 11, 1973

AS THE first group of Americans held as prisoners of war in Vietnam arrives home, the whole Nation would like to be there to welcome them back to the country they have served so well.

Let us remember, however, that this moment belongs above all to the returning men themselves and to the families waiting to welcome them. We can join most fittingly in that welcome not with fanfare, but with quiet respect for their fortitude in the ordeal that is now ending and for their privacy in the time ahead.

On the Veterans Administration Building in Washington are the words of Abraham Lincoln, whose birthday we are about

to observe, reminding us of our obligation "to care for him who shall have borne the battle." Let us mark this special Sunday with a prayer of thanks for all who have borne this battle—and have made peace with honor possible. And let us resolve anew to be worthy of the sacrifices they have made.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

On February 14, 1973, the President met with Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, USN, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, in the President's office in the Executive Office Building, to ask for recommendations on job opportunities for returning prisoners of war in the context of the long-range Jobs for Veterans program.

39 Remarks at the Swearing In of Caspar W. Weinberger
as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

February 12, 1973

Ladies and gentlemen:

As you are aware, we are now swearing in Caspar Weinberger as Secretary of HEW. I suppose that to an extent he must feel somewhat discriminated against because he is the last of the Cabinet officers to be sworn in and confirmed.

I think, on the other hand, all of us who have known him here in California—Governor Reagan for whom he worked as the State finance director, the budget man, I should say—and all of those who have worked with him in the State Legislature as Judge Caldecott has, as has Bob Finch, and all of those who have worked with him in the Government in Washington when he was Director of the Office of

Management and Budget, we can say that the fact that he is the last to be confirmed does not mean he may not be the first in terms of his overall capacity to handle one of the most important assignments in Washington.

He is a man of great intelligence. He is a man of great compassion. He is a man also who is organized in terms that he has demonstrated his capacity as Director of the Office of Management and Budget. He believes in solving problems. He does not believe in wasting money in solving problems. But above everything else, he is one who, whether it is in the field of health or education or welfare, does not want to just leave the problems unsolved.

He wants them solved, but he wants to find the best ways to solve them.

I think the country is very fortunate to have a man of his intellectual background and his managerial capacity and his really great heart in this position. And he has our total confidence and, I think, will have the confidence of the whole country as he carries on this very important assignment.

Cap, you can have a word now.

MR. WEINBERGER. Thank you. I am particularly glad you mentioned the point about compassion. I made the point to the Senate committee, or tried to, that no one has a monopoly on warmth or compassion or feeling or concern about the problems the Department is concerned with, and our whole hope here was that, as you have said in your instructions to me, that the whole point of the budgetcutting is not just to get a better figure on the last line but it is to eliminate the problems of inflation that come in most serious form to the people who are the beneficiaries of this

Department, and also to free some dollars so we can do something more effective than has been done in the past.

So, it is from a warm and compassionate point of view that we are starting this position, and I really think that quite a lot more can be done than has been accomplished in prior years by what we hope to be a more effective use of available funds. There are quite a lot of them, and we want to use them in a way that will most benefit the people who are most in need.

Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. Judge Caldecott who, as you have heard, was a seatmate of the new Secretary when they were young assemblymen in California and when I was a young Vice President, will now administer the oath.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. at the Western White House, San Clemente, Calif.

Associate Justice Thomas W. Caldecott of the Court of Appeals of the State of California administered the oath of office.

40 Statement About the Death of David Lawrence. *February 12, 1973*

FOR MORE than half a century, David Lawrence wrote with clarity and conviction about the public issues of our times. At his death he was not only a dean of his profession but also one of our most distinguished patriots.

Along with millions of other Americans, I shall miss him deeply.

NOTE: Mr. Lawrence, 84, died in Sarasota,

Fla., on February 11, 1973. At the time of his death, he was the writer of a syndicated column and editor and chairman of the board of U.S. News and World Report.

On April 22, 1970, at a White House ceremony, Mr. Lawrence was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom for his contributions to journalism. See 1970 volume, Item 131.

The statement was issued at San Clemente, Calif.

41 Remarks Following Announcement of a Devaluation of the Dollar. *February 13, 1973*

I WAS glad you emphasized at the press conference¹ two points that I made in my August 15 speech.² First, as far as devaluation is concerned, this is something that affects the relations of U.S. currency to other currencies. As far as the great majority of the American people is concerned, it does not affect their dollars. What affects their dollars is the cost of living.

SECRETARY SHULTZ. These international moves are no substitute for discipline in the domestic economy. We must have a strong budget posture, a restrained monetary policy, and we must make Phase III work. . . .

THE PRESIDENT. When people see the headline "devaluation," they have to realize we are not talking about the value of the dollar here.

The other point is the trade package. We are not talking about another round of lowering tariff barriers . . . although we have an outgoing policy. That is only one-half, I suppose, of the story. We are talking about the other side as well. We must go up as well as down. That is the only way to get a fair deal and a fair shake for American products abroad.

We have gone into too many negotiations abroad in which all we have done is to negotiate down, whereas others have negotiated up. We are going to ask the

Congress for the right for our negotiators to go up or down. Only by going up can we get them to go down with some of the restrictions they have.

SECRETARY SHULTZ. As you pointed out in your August 15 speech, it is tremendously important for us to have a safeguard against the possible flooding of our markets.

THE PRESIDENT. The United States being the best market in the world—and this is not criticism of our Japanese and European friends—they are loading it into this market and they can drive U.S. business out of existence . . . and lose Americans their jobs.

In order to get a policy of freer trade, we must always have, in the background, protection. We believe that the world is going to be better served by lower tariffs. But it cannot be that we lower and they keep up. Other nations must get away from their discriminatory policies, and we must be in a position to bargain harder. . . .

Devaluation of the dollar is at best only a temporary solution of a problem. That is why trade legislation must follow. The trade legislation directs itself at the cause of the problem, the imbalance. Only by getting trade legislation and changing or reducing the huge deficits can the pressure on the dollar be taken off. We have dealt with the results of the imbalance with the devaluation, but we have no illusions about the fact that to get at the fundamental cause we must have trade legislation.

SECRETARY SHULTZ. (The trade legisla-

¹ At a news conference at the Treasury Department on Monday evening, February 12, 1973, Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz announced a 10 percent devaluation of the dollar.

² See 1971 volume, Item 264.

tion was necessary because) the monetary system can't carry the full load.

THE PRESIDENT. In talking to Chairmen Mills and Long, without committing them, we found a generally positive attitude toward this new approach to trade legislation.

It was Congressional consultations at its best. . . . (They were) highly responsible in that there had been no leaks. . . . We are referring to the fact that the delicate subject could be discussed without any leaks.

People want us to be in a position to do something.

NOTE: The President met with Secretary Shultz and John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, at 11 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

This text is a portion of their remarks based upon the notes of reporters present during part of the meeting.

In his remarks, the President referred to Representative Wilbur D. Mills, chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, and Senator Russell B. Long, chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance.

42 Statement About Display of the Flag in Honor of Returning Prisoners of War. *February 13, 1973*

TODAY begins the final week of national mourning for President Lyndon Johnson. This morning in a telephone conversation with Mrs. Johnson, we both remarked how much her husband would have liked to share in the moments of joy as our first prisoners of war return from Indochina.

Mrs. Johnson and I agreed that for the American flag to be flying high on the day that the first prisoners return to American soil would be the finest possible tribute both to her husband's memory and to the heroism of the prisoners and their families—as well as to the missing men, the men who gave their lives, and all who helped to win peace with honor in Vietnam.

I am therefore signing a proclamation [4188] this afternoon ordering the flag of the United States returned to full staff on the morning of the day they arrive in America.

In an earlier war, another American prisoner—Francis Scott Key—asked that stirring question whether the star-spangled banner yet waved “o’er the land of the free and the home of the brave.” As our prisoners come home to America, let our answer be the same today as it was then.

NOTE: The statement was read by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler during an afternoon news briefing at the White House.

43 Radio Address About the State of the Union Message on Natural Resources and the Environment. *February 14, 1973*

Good afternoon:

Every year since George Washington's time, the President of the United States

has sent a message to the Congress about the State of our American Union and the measures which he felt the legislative and

executive branches of Government should take in partnership to improve it.

This year, I am presenting my State of the Union report not just in one speech but in several messages on individual topics to permit more careful consideration of the challenges we face. And because both the President and the Congress are servants of the people, I am inviting the people to join with us in considering these issues, by discussing them in a series of radio talks.

Today I want to talk with you about the first of these detailed messages, the one on the state of America's natural resources and environment, which I will send to the Congress later this week.

President Abraham Lincoln, whose memory we are honoring this week, observed in his State of the Union message in 1862 that "A nation may be said to consist of its territory, its people, and its laws. The territory," he said, "is the only part which is of certain durability."

In recent years, however, we have come to realize that what Lincoln called our "territory"—that is, our land, air, water, minerals, and the like—is not of "certain durability" after all. Instead, we have learned that these natural resources are fragile and finite, and that many have been seriously damaged or despoiled.

To put it another way, we realized that self-destructive tendencies were endangering the American earth during the 1960's in much the same way as conflicting political forces had endangered the body politic during the 1860's.

When we came to office in 1969, we tackled this challenge with all the power at our command. Now, in 1973, I can report that America is well on the way to winning the war against environmental

degradation—well on the way to making our peace with nature.

Day by day, our air is getting cleaner. In virtually every one of our major cities, the levels of air pollution are declining.

Month by month, our water pollution problems are also being conquered, our noise and pesticide problems are yielding to new initiatives, our parklands and protected wilderness areas are increasing.

Year by year, our commitment of public funds for environmental programs continues to grow. Some people claim that we are not spending enough. But they ignore the fact that Federal spending for protection of our environment and natural resources has increased fourfold in the last 4 years. In the area of water quality alone, it has grown fifteenfold. In fact, we are now buying new facilities nearly as fast as the construction industry can build them. Spending still more money would not buy us more pollution control facilities but only more expensive ones.

In addition to what Government is doing in the battle against pollution, our private industries are assuming a steadily growing share of responsibility in this field. Last year industrial spending for pollution control jumped by 50 percent. This year it could reach as much as \$5 billion.

As befits America's world leadership role, we are also moving vigorously with other nations to preserve the global environment. The United States-Soviet environmental cooperation agreement which I signed in Moscow last year makes two of the world's greatest industrial powers allies against pollution. Another agreement which we concluded last year with Canada will help to clean up the Great Lakes. The ocean-dumping curbs passed by the Congress at my urging have put

this country in the forefront of the international effort to protect the seas.

We can be proud of our record in this field over the past 4 years. But a record is not something to stand on, it is something to build on. Nineteen important natural resources and environmental bills which I submitted to the last Congress were not enacted. In the coming weeks, I shall once again send these urgently needed proposals to the Congress so that the unfinished environmental business of the 92d Congress can become the first environmental achievements of the 93d Congress.

Let me highlight three of the other major subjects which we will be addressing in 1973: wise land use, energy, and a healthy, expanding farm economy.

Land in America is no longer a resource we can take for granted. We no longer live with an open frontier. Just as we must conserve and protect our air and our water, so we must conserve and protect the land—and plan for its wise and balanced use. Some progress is being made—but antiquated land-use laws, overlapping jurisdictions, and outdated institutions are still permitting haphazard development which can spoil both the utility and the beauty of the land.

That is why I will urge passage again this year of legislation designed to encourage States to establish effective means of controlling land use. That is why I will reintroduce my proposals to bring coherence to Federal mining and mineral leasing laws, better management of the Federal lands, and enlightened regulation of surface and underground mining.

The energy crisis was dramatized by fuel shortages this winter. We must face up to a stark fact. We are now consuming more energy than we produce in America. A year and a half ago I sent to the Con-

gress the first Presidential message ever devoted to the energy question. I shall soon submit a new and far more comprehensive energy message containing wide-ranging initiatives to insure necessary supplies of energy at acceptable economic and environmental costs. In the meantime, to help meet immediate needs, I have temporarily suspended import quotas on home heating oil east of the Rocky Mountains.

Energy policy will continue to be a matter of the highest priority, as shown by my budget proposal to increase funding for energy research and development even in a tight budget year.

One of the most precious natural resources since our earliest days has been American agriculture. Our farmers have kept us the best fed, best clothed nation in the history of mankind, while enabling us to export farm products at a level that will reach an alltime annual record of \$10 billion this year. Net farm income last year also reached a record high—over \$19 billion, an increase of 30 percent over 4 years.

This Administration has responded to the farmer's desire for less Federal intervention by giving him expanded opportunity in planting his acreage. The day is gone when Washington can enlarge its role on the farm at the expense of the farmer's freedom to make his own decisions. The goal of all our farm policies and programs is just the reverse. We want freer markets and expanded individual responsibility. We want to keep the farmer on his land and the Government off.

I shall recommend a number of additional initiatives to preserve and enhance our natural resources in the State of the Union report on this topic to the Congress later in the week.

These then are the basic principles which should continue to guide all our efforts in environment and natural resources policy in the future.

First, we must strike a balance so that the protection of our irreplaceable heritage becomes as important as its use. The price of economic growth need not and will not be deterioration in the quality of our lives and our surroundings.

Second, because there are no local or State boundaries to the problems of our environment, the Federal Government must play an active, positive role. We can and will set standards. We can and will exercise leadership. We are providing necessary funding support. And we will provide encouragement and incentive for others to help with the job. But Washington must not displace State and local initiative. We shall expect the State and local governments—along with the private sector—to play the central role in this field.

Third, the costs of pollution should be more fully met in the free marketplace, not in the Federal budget. For example, the price of pollution control devices for automobiles should be borne by the owner and the user, not by the general taxpayer. People should not have to pay for pollution they do not cause.

Fourth, we must realize that each individual must take the responsibility for looking after his own home and workplace. These daily surroundings are the environment where most Americans spend most of their time. They reflect people's pride in themselves and their consideration for their communities. Your backyard is not the domain of the Federal Government.

Finally, we must remain confident that America's technological and economic

ingenuity will be equal to our environmental challenges. We will not look upon these challenges as insurmountable obstacles. Instead, we shall convert the so-called crisis of the environment into an opportunity for unprecedented progress.

Now is the time to stop the handwringing and roll up our sleeves and get on with the job. Now is the time to reject the doomsday mentality which says we are destined to pollute ourselves out of existence.

The advocates of defeatism warn us of all that is wrong. I remind them and all Americans of our genius for responsive adaptability and our enormous reservoir of spirit. The destiny of our land, the air we breathe, the water we drink is not in the mystical hands of an uncontrollable agent, it is in our hands. A future which brings the balancing of our resources—preserving quality with quantity—is a future limited only by the boundaries of our will to get the job done.

Each one of us has a personal stake in the task ahead. The choice is always ours, for better or for worse. Above all, we need pride in this beautiful country of ours, belief in our own strength and resourcefulness.

One of the most memorable experiences I have had as President occurred last year during my visit to the People's Republic of China when the Chinese Army Band played "America the Beautiful." This song of tribute to our Nation was also played at my inauguration 4 years ago and again this year.

No one will sing "America the Beautiful" with greater feeling than our prisoners of war as they return home from years of Communist captivity in Indochina.

America is a beautiful country. By our

commitment to conservation, restoration, and renewal, let us resolve to make America even more beautiful for the generations to come.

Thank you and good afternoon.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio.

An advance text of the President's address was released on the same day.

44 State of the Union Message to the Congress on Natural Resources and the Environment.

February 15, 1973

To the Congress of the United States:

With the opening of a new Congress and the beginning of a new Presidential term come fresh opportunities for achievement in America. To help us consider more adequately the very special challenges of this new year, I am presenting my 1973 State of the Union Message in a number of sections.

Two weeks ago I sent the first of those sections to the Congress—an overview reporting that “the basic state of our Union today is sound, and full of promise.”

Today I wish to report to the Congress on the state of our natural resources and environment. It is appropriate that this topic be first of our substantive policy discussions in the State of the Union presentation, since nowhere in our national affairs do we have more gratifying progress—nor more urgent, remaining problems.

There was a time when Americans took our natural resources largely for granted. For example, President Lincoln observed in his State of the Union message for 1862 that “A nation may be said to consist of its territory, its people, and its laws. The territory is the only part which is of certain durability.”

In recent years, however, we have come to realize that our “territory”—that is, our land, air, water, minerals, and the

like—is not of “certain durability” after all. We have learned that these natural resources are fragile and finite, and that many have been seriously damaged or despoiled.

When we came to office in 1969, we tackled this problem with all the power at our command. Now there is encouraging evidence that the United States has moved away from the environmental crisis that could have been and toward a new era of restoration and renewal. Today, in 1973, I can report to the Congress that we are well on the way to winning the war against environmental degradation—well on the way to making our peace with nature.

YEARS OF PROGRESS

While I am disappointed that the 92nd Congress failed to act upon 19 of my key natural resources and environment proposals, I am pleased to have signed many of the proposals I supported into law during the past four years. They have included air quality legislation, strengthened water quality and pesticide control legislation, new authorities to control noise and ocean dumping, regulations to prevent oil and other spills in our ports and waterways, and legislation establishing major national recreation areas at Amer-

ica's Atlantic and Pacific gateways, New York and San Francisco.

On the organizational front, the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 has reformed programs and decision-making processes in our Federal agencies and has given citizens a greater opportunity to contribute as decisions are made. In 1970 I appointed the first Council on Environmental Quality—a group which has provided active leadership in environmental policies. In the same year, I established the Environmental Protection Agency and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration to provide more coordinated and vigorous environmental management. Our natural resource programs still need to be consolidated, however, and I will again submit legislation to the Congress to meet this need.

The results of these efforts are tangible and measurable. Day by day, our air is getting cleaner; in virtually every one of our major cities the levels of air pollution are declining. Month by month, our water pollution problems are also being conquered, our noise and pesticide problems are coming under control, our parklands and protected wilderness areas are increasing.

Year by year, our commitment of public funds for environmental programs continues to grow; it has increased four-fold in the last four years. In the area of water quality alone, it has grown fifteen-fold. In fact, we are now buying new facilities nearly as fast as the construction industry can build them. Spending still more money would not buy us more pollution control facilities but only more expensive ones.

In addition to what Government is doing in the battle against pollution, our

private industries are assuming a steadily growing share of responsibility in this field. Last year industrial spending for pollution control jumped by 50 percent, and this year it could reach as much as \$5 billion.

All nations, regardless of their economic systems, share to some extent in the environmental problem—but with vigorous United States leadership, joint efforts to solve this global problem are showing results. The United Nations has adopted the American proposal for a special U.N. environmental fund to coordinate and support international environmental programs.

Some 92 nations have concluded an international convention to control the ocean dumping of wastes. An agreement is now being forged in the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization to end the intentional discharge of oil from ships into the ocean. This objective, first recommended by my Administration, was adopted by the NATO Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society.

Representatives of almost 70 countries are meeting in Washington this week at our initiative to draft a treaty to protect endangered species of plant and animal wildlife. The U.S.-USSR environmental cooperation agreement which I signed in Moscow last year makes two of the world's greatest industrial powers allies against pollution. Another agreement which we concluded last year with Canada will help to clean up the Great Lakes.

Domestically, we can also be proud of the steady progress being made in improving the quality of life in rural and agricultural America. We are beginning to break away from the old, rigid system of controls which eroded the farmer's freedom through Government intrusion in the

marketplace. The new flexibility permitted by the Agricultural Act of 1970 has enabled us to help expand farm markets and take advantage of the opportunity to increase exports by almost 60 percent in just three years. Net farm income is at an all-time high, up from \$16.1 billion in 1971 to \$19 billion in 1972.

PRINCIPLES TO GUIDE US

A record is not something to stand on; it is something to build on. And in this field of natural resources and the environment, we intend to build diligently and well.

As we strive to transform our concern into action, our efforts will be guided by five basic principles:

The first principle is that we must strike a balance so that the protection of our irreplaceable heritage becomes as important as its use. The price of economic growth need not and will not be deterioration in the quality of our lives and our surroundings.

Second, because there are no local or State boundaries to the problems of our environment, the Federal Government must play an active, positive role. We can and will set standards and exercise leadership. We are providing necessary funding support. And we will provide encouragement and incentive for others to help with the job. But Washington must not displace State and local initiative, and we shall expect the State and local governments—along with the private sector—to play the central role in making the difficult, particular decisions which lie ahead.

Third, the costs of pollution should be more fully met in the free marketplace, not in the Federal budget. For example,

the price of pollution control devices for automobiles should be borne by the owner and the user and not by the general taxpayer. The costs of eliminating pollution should be reflected in the costs of goods and services.

Fourth, we must realize that each individual must take the responsibility for looking after his own home and workplace. These daily surroundings are the environment where most Americans spend most of their time. They reflect people's pride in themselves and their consideration for their communities. A person's backyard is not the domain of the Federal Government.

Finally, we must remain confident that America's technological and economic ingenuity will be equal to our environmental challenges. We will not look upon these challenges as insurmountable obstacles.

Instead, we shall convert the so-called crisis of the environment into an opportunity for unprecedented progress.

CONTROLLING POLLUTION

We have made great progress in developing the laws and institutions to clean up pollution. We now have formidable new tools to protect against air, water and noise pollution and the special problem of pesticides. But to protect ourselves fully from harmful contaminants, we must still close several gaps in governmental authority.

I was keenly disappointed when the last Congress failed to take action on many of my legislative requests related to our natural resources and environment. In the coming weeks I shall once again send these urgently needed proposals to the Congress so that the unfinished environ-

mental business of the 92nd Congress can become the environmental achievements of the 93rd.

Among these 19 proposals are eight whose passage would give us much greater control over the sources of pollution:

—*Toxic Substances*. Many new chemicals can pose hazards to humans and the environment and are not well regulated. Authority is now needed to provide adequate testing standards for chemical substances and to restrict or prevent their distribution if testing confirms a hazard.

—*Hazardous Wastes*. Land disposal of hazardous wastes has always been widely practiced but is now becoming more prevalent because of strict air and water pollution control programs. The disposal of the extremely hazardous wastes which endanger the health of humans and other organisms is a problem requiring direct Federal regulation. For other hazardous wastes, Federal standards should be established with guidelines for State regulatory programs to carry them out.

—*Safe Drinking Water*. Federal action is also needed to stimulate greater State and local action to ensure high standards for our drinking water. We should establish national drinking water standards, with primary enforcement and monitoring powers retained by the State and local agencies, as well as a Federal requirement that suppliers notify their customers of the quality of their water.

—*Sulfur Oxides Emissions Charge*. We now have national standards to help curtail sulfur emitted into the atmosphere from combustion, refining, smelting and other processes, but sulfur oxides continue to be among our most harmful air pollutants. For that reason, I favor legislation which would allow the Federal Gov-

ernment to impose a special financial charge on those who produce sulfur oxide emissions. This legislation would also help to ensure that low-sulfur fuels are allocated to areas where they are most urgently needed to protect the public health.

—*Sediment Control*. Sediment from soil erosion and runoff continues to be a pervasive pollutant of our waters. Legislation is needed to ensure that the States make the control of sediment from new construction a vital part of their water quality programs.

—*Controlling Environmental Impacts of Transportation*. As we have learned in recent years, we urgently need a mass transportation system not only to relieve urban congestion but also to reduce the concentrations of pollution that are too often the result of our present methods of transportation. Thus I will continue to place high priority upon my request to permit use of the Highway Trust Fund for mass transit purposes and to help State and local governments achieve air quality, conserve energy, and meet other environmental objectives.

—*United Nations Environmental Fund*. Last year the United Nations adopted my proposal to establish a fund to coordinate and support international environmental programs. My 1974 budget includes a request for \$10 million as our initial contribution toward the Fund's five-year goal of \$100 million, and I recommend authorizing legislation for this purpose.

—*Ocean Dumping Convention*. Along with 91 other nations, the United States recently concluded an international convention calling for regulation of ocean dumping. I am most anxious to obtain the

advice and consent of the Senate for this convention as soon as possible. Congressional action is also needed on several other international conventions and amendments to control oil pollution from ships in the oceans.

MANAGING THE LAND

As we steadily bring our pollution problems under control, more effective and sensible use of our land is rapidly emerging as among the highest of our priorities. The land is our Nation's basic natural resource, and our stewardship of this resource today will affect generations to come.

America's land once seemed inexhaustible. There was always more of it beyond the horizon. Until the twentieth century we displayed a carelessness about our land, born of our youthful innocence and desire to expand. But our land is no longer an open frontier.

Americans not only need, but also very much want to preserve diverse and beautiful landscapes, to maintain essential farm lands, to save wetlands and wildlife habitats, to keep open recreational space near crowded population centers, and to protect our shorelines and beaches. Our goal is to harmonize development with environmental quality and to add creatively to the beauty and long-term worth of land already being used.

Land use policy is a basic responsibility of State and local governments. They are closer to the problems and closer to the people. Some localities are already reforming land use regulation—a trend I hope will accelerate. But because land is a national heritage, the Federal Government must exercise leadership in land use decision processes, and I am today again

proposing that we provide it. In the coming weeks, I will ask the Congress to enact a number of legislative initiatives which will help us achieve this goal:

—*National Land Use Policy.* Our greatest need is for comprehensive new legislation to stimulate State land use controls. We especially need a National Land Use Policy Act authorizing Federal assistance to encourage the States, in cooperation with local governments, to protect lands of critical environmental concern and to regulate the siting of key facilities such as airports, highways and major private developments. Appropriate Federal funds should be withheld from States that fail to act.

—*Powerplant Siting.* An open, long-range planning process is needed to help meet our power needs while also protecting the environment. We can avoid unnecessary delays with a powerplant siting law which assures that electric power facilities are constructed on a timely basis, but with early and thorough review of long-range plans and specific provisions to protect the environment.

—*Protection of Wetlands.* Our coastal wetlands are increasingly threatened by residential and commercial development. To increase their protection, I believe we should use the Federal tax laws to discourage unwise development in wetlands.

—*Historic Preservation and Rehabilitation.* An important part of our national heritage are those historic structures in our urban areas which should be rehabilitated and preserved, not demolished. To help meet this goal, our tax laws should be revised to encourage rehabilitation of older buildings, and we should provide Federal insurance of loans to restore historic buildings for residential purposes.

—*Management of Public Lands.* Ap-

proximately one-fifth of the Nation's land is considered "public domain", and lacks the protection of an overall management policy with environmental safeguards. Legislation is required to enable the Secretary of the Interior to protect our environmental interest on those lands.

—*Legacy of Parks.* Under the Legacy of Parks program which I initiated in 1971, 257 separate parcels of parklands and underused Federal lands in all 50 States have been turned over to local control for park and recreational purposes. Most of these parcels are near congested urban areas, so that millions of citizens can now have easy access to parklands. I am pleased to announce today that 16 more parcels of Federal land will soon be made available under this same program.¹

We must not be content, however, with just the Legacy of Parks program. New authority is needed to revise the formula for allocating grant funds to the States from the Land and Water Conservation Fund. More of these funds should be channelled to States with large urban populations.

—*Mining on Public Lands.* Under a statute now over a century old, public lands must be transferred to private ownership at the request of any person who discovers minerals on them. We thus have no effective control over mining on these properties. Because the public lands belong to all Americans, this 1872 Mining Act should be repealed and replaced with new legislation which I shall send to the Congress.

¹ A list of the 16 properties was issued by the White House on the same day. Included were lands in California, Colorado, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island, Texas, and Washington.

—*Mined Area Protection.* Surface and underground mining can too often cause serious air and water pollution as well as unnecessary destruction of wildlife habitats and aesthetic and recreational areas. New legislation with stringent performance standards is required to regulate abuses of surface and underground mining in a manner compatible with the environment.

AMERICAN AGRICULTURE—A BASIC NATIONAL RESOURCE

Nearly three-fifths of America's land is in the stewardship of the farmer and the rancher. We can be grateful that farmers have been among our best conservationists over the years. Farmers know better than most that sound conservation means better long-term production and improved land values. More importantly, no one respects and understands our soil and land better than those who make their living by the land.

But Americans know their farmers and ranchers best for all they have done to keep us the best-fed and best-clothed people in the history of mankind. A forward-looking agricultural economy is not only essential for environmental progress, but also to provide for our burgeoning food and fiber needs.

My Administration is not going to express its goal for farmers in confusing terms. Our goal, instead, is very simple. The farmer wants, has earned, and deserves more freedom to make his own decisions. The Nation wants and needs expanded supplies of reasonably priced goods and commodities.

These goals are complementary. Both have been advanced by the basic philosophy of the Agricultural Act of 1970. They

must be further advanced by Congressional action this year.

The Agricultural Act of 1970 expires with the 1973 crop. We now face the fundamental challenge of developing legislation appropriate to the economy of the 1970's. Over the next several months, the future direction of the farm program must be discussed, debated and written into law. The outcome of this process will be crucial not only to farmers and ranchers, but to consumers and taxpayers as well.

My Administration's fundamental approach to farm policy is to build on the forward course set by the 1970 Act. These principles should guide us in enacting new farm legislation:

—Farmers must be provided with greater freedom to make production and marketing decisions. I have never known anyone in Washington who knows better than a farmer what is in his own best interest.

—Government influence in the farm commodity marketplace must be reduced. Old fashioned Federal intrusion is as inappropriate to today's farm economy as the old McCormick reaper would be on a highly sophisticated modern farm.

—We must allow farmers the opportunity to produce for expanding domestic demands and to continue our vigorous competition in export markets. We will not accomplish that goal by telling the farmer how much he can grow or the rancher how much livestock he can raise. Fidelity to this principle will have the welcome effect of encouraging both fair food prices for consumers and growing income from the marketplace for farmers.

—We must reduce the farmer's dependence on Government payments through increased returns from sales of

farm products at home and abroad. Because some of our current methods of handling farm problems are outmoded, the farmer has been unfairly saddled with the unflattering image of drinking primarily at the Federal well. Let us remember that more than 93 percent of gross farm income comes directly through the marketplace. Farmers and ranchers are strong and independent businessmen; we should expand their opportunity to exercise their strength and independence.

—Finally, we need a program that will put the United States in a good posture for forthcoming trade negotiations.

In pursuing all of these goals, we will work closely through the Secretary of Agriculture with the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and the House Committee on Agriculture to formulate and enact new legislation in areas where it is needed.

I believe, for example, that dairy support systems, wheat, feed grains and cotton allotments and bases—some established decades ago—are drastically outdated. They tend to be discriminatory for many farm operators.

It would be desirable to establish, after a reasonable transition period, a more equitable basis for production adjustment in the agricultural economy should such adjustment be needed in the years ahead. Direct Federal payments should, at the end of the transition period, be limited to the amounts necessary to compensate farmers for withholding unneeded land from crop production.

As new farm legislation is debated in the months ahead, I hope the Congress will address this important subject with a deep appreciation of the need to keep the Government off the farm as well as keeping the farmer on.

PROTECTING OUR NATURAL HERITAGE

An important measure of our true commitment to environmental quality is our dedication to protecting the wilderness and its inhabitants. We must recognize their ecological significance and preserve them as sources of inspiration and education. And we need them as places of quiet refuge and reflection.

Important progress has been made in recent years, but still further action is needed in the Congress. Specifically, I will ask the 93rd Congress to direct its attention to the following areas of concern:

—*Endangered Species.* The limited scope of existing laws requires new authority to identify and protect endangered species before they are so depleted that it is too late. New legislation must also make the taking of an endangered animal a Federal offense.

—*Predator Control.* The widespread use of highly toxic poisons to kill coyotes and other predatory animals has spread persistent poisons to range and forest lands without adequate foresight of environmental effects. I believe Federal assistance is now required so that we can find better means of controlling predators without endangering other wildlife.

—*Wilderness Areas.* Historically, Americans have always looked westward to enjoy wilderness areas. Today we realize that we must also preserve the remaining areas of wilderness in the East, if the majority of our people are to have the full benefit of our natural glories. Therefore I will ask the Congress to amend the legislation that established the Wilderness Preservation System so that more of our Eastern lands can be included.

—*Wild and Scenic Rivers.* New legisla-

tion is also needed to continue our expansion of the national system of wild and scenic rivers. Funding authorization must be increased by \$20 million to complete acquisitions in seven areas, and we must extend the moratorium on Federal licensing for water resource projects on those rivers being considered for inclusion in the system.

—*Big Cypress National Fresh Water Preserve.* It is our great hope that we can create a reserve of Florida's Big Cypress Swamp in order to protect the outstanding wildlife in that area, preserve the water supply of Everglades National Park and provide the Nation with an outstanding recreation area. Prompt passage of Federal legislation would allow the Interior Department to forestall private or commercial development and inflationary pressures that will build if we delay.

—*Protecting Marine Fisheries.* Current regulation of fisheries off U.S. coasts is inadequate to conserve and manage these resources. Legislation is needed to authorize U.S. regulation of foreign fishing off U.S. coasts to the fullest extent authorized by international agreements. In addition, domestic fishing should be regulated in the U.S. fisheries zone and in the high seas beyond that zone.

—*World Heritage Trust.* The United States has endorsed an international convention for a World Heritage Trust embodying our proposals to accord special recognition and protection to areas of the world which are of such unique natural, historical, or cultural value that they are a part of the heritage of all mankind. I am hopeful that this convention will be ratified early in 1973.

—*Weather Modification.* Our capacity to affect the weather has grown considerably in sophistication and predictability,

but with this advancement has also come a new potential for endangering lives and property and causing adverse environmental effects. With additional Federal regulations, I believe that we can minimize these dangers.

MEETING OUR ENERGY NEEDS

One of the highest priorities of my Administration during the coming year will be a concern for energy supplies—a concern underscored this winter by occasional fuel shortages. We must face up to a stark fact in America: we are now consuming more energy than we produce.

A year and a half ago I sent to the Congress the first Presidential message ever devoted to the energy question. I shall soon submit a new and far more comprehensive energy message containing wide-ranging initiatives to ensure necessary supplies of energy at acceptable economic and environmental costs. In the meantime, to help meet immediate needs, I have temporarily suspended import quotas on home heating oil east of the Rocky Mountains.

As we work to expand our supplies of energy, we should also recognize that we must balance those efforts with our concern to preserve our environment. In the past, as we have sought new energy sources, we have too often damaged or despoiled our land. Actions to avoid such damage will probably aggravate our energy problems to some extent and may lead to higher prices. But all development and use of energy sources carry environmental risks, and we must find ways to minimize those risks while also providing adequate supplies of energy. I am fully confident that we can satisfy both of these imperatives.

GOING FORWARD IN CONFIDENCE

The environmental awakening of recent years has triggered substantial progress in the fight to preserve and renew the great legacies of nature. Unfortunately, it has also triggered a certain tendency to despair. Some people have moved from complacency to the opposite extreme of alarmism, suggesting that our pollution problems were hopeless and predicting impending ecological disaster. Some have suggested that we could never reconcile environmental protection with continued economic growth.

I reject this doomsday mentality—and I hope the Congress will also reject it. I believe that we can meet our environmental challenges without turning our back on progress. What we must do is to stop the hand-wringing, roll up our sleeves and get on with the job.

The advocates of defeatism warn us of all that is wrong. But I believe they underestimate this Nation's genius for responsive adaptability and its enormous reservoir of spirit.

I believe there is always a sensible middle ground between the Cassandras and the Pollyannas. We must take our stand upon that ground.

I have profound respect for the enormous challenge ahead, but I have even stronger respect for the capacity and character of the American people. Many of us have heard the adage that the last letters of the word, "American," say "I can." I am confident that we can, and we will, meet our natural resource challenges.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

February 15, 1973.

NOTE: The message was the second in a series

of six messages to the Congress on the state of the Union.

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on programs contained in the message. Participants in the news briefing were Rogers C. B.

Morton, Secretary of the Interior; J. Phil Campbell, Under Secretary of Agriculture; Russell E. Train, Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality; and William D. Ruckelshaus, Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

45 Remarks About United States Relations With Europe. *February 15, 1973*

I HAVE SAID this is the year of Europe. . . . This is not to say that we are not placing enormous emphasis on completing the settlement in Southeast Asia and on continuing to build our relationship and dialog with the PRC and the Soviet Union, and our policy in this hemisphere—in Latin America. But the year of Europe becomes very important in both the economic context, which was brought home by the recent monetary situation, and also in terms of the national security context, because of the fact that MBFR—mutual balanced force reductions—will be a subject on our agenda this year, not only first with our European allies but also with the Soviet Union, and also because of the European Security Conference. It will not be specifically military matters. . . .

I have nothing substantive to say at this point on MBFR and the European Security Conference except to say these matters will be under very intense discussion within the Administration, and also between this Government and the governments of our European allies. They were a major subject of discussion with Prime Minister Heath. Naturally, you would expect that these would lead to economic considerations—the problem of trade, which can be very interesting and sometimes very difficult—with our European friends as well as the Japanese.

We must not overlook the fact that tied into all this are the security arrangements that we have with Europe and Japan. The United States at the present time, after going through Vietnam, will hear, understandably, voices raised, very sincere voices, that “After Vietnam, let’s throw up our hands, turn inward, and withdraw from our obligations in the world.”

One of the reasons I considered it vitally important that the war in Vietnam be ended in what I think was the right way, peace with honor, was that it was essential to demonstrate both to our allies in Europe, the Japanese, and other allies, the Thais and so forth, and to potential adversaries, that the United States is a dependable ally. All the power in the world lodged in the United States means nothing unless those who depend upon U.S. power to protect them from the possibilities of aggression from other powers—which they themselves would not be able to do—all the power in the world here means nothing unless there is some assurance, some confidence, some trust that the United States will be credible, will be dependable.

I am quite aware of the fact that much concern was expressed by our good friends and allies in the world—that we understand, too—not only with regard to our involvement in Vietnam, the decisions

we had to make to achieve peace with honor, to accomplish our goals, which I set forth in my May 8 speech.¹

I would only suggest it is my conviction, very strongly, that in the perspective of history that many of our allies, particularly, will look back and realize that had we taken the easy way out, which we could have done years ago, certainly when I came into office in 1969, our failure there would have eroded and possibly destroyed their confidence in the United States and, of course, enormously encouraged those who might have aggressive intentions toward us.

NOTE: The President met with Gen. Andrew J.

¹ See 1972 volume, Item 147.

Goodpaster, USA, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, at 11 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. This text is a portion of their remarks based upon the notes of reporters present during part of the meeting.

In other remarks, the President said that he and General Goodpaster would be attending a luncheon later in the day at the Pentagon with the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Secretaries of Defense, Army, Navy, and Air Force, where he would receive a report from the Joint Chiefs on the return of the POW's, the progress of the Vietnam withdrawal, and the cease-fire implementation. In addition, the President said that the question of U.S. relations with Europe, including mutual balanced force reductions and the level of American forces stationed in Europe, would be discussed.

A portion of General Goodpaster's remarks in response to the President's remarks is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 154).

46 Remarks at the Mayport Naval Air Station, Florida. *February 16, 1973*

I AM greatly appreciative of the fact that you have all come out to welcome us on this very special day for us, particularly as I note that sign over there, "Thank You For Bringing Our Boys Home."

I want to point out that, of course, the responsibility of the President as Commander in Chief is to make some of the decisions that make possible our boys coming home, and coming home with peace with honor, which they have fought for. But I also want to point out it wouldn't have been possible without the bravery and the service of those in the Armed Forces, like the 4,500 men on the *Saratoga* that is back here, and for what they did.

We know it must have been a very long and sometimes tiring assignment for you to be 10 months on station out there, but by what you did, by the service you ren-

dered, you helped make the great events that we now are thankful for possible.

And I suppose sometimes particularly your wives, your families, your loved ones here at home, when they are apart from you, wonder if it is all worthwhile. I know, too, that during the 4 years that I have had responsibility for decisions, people around me have sometimes raised doubts as to whether it is worthwhile. All those questions for me, and I am sure for the great majority of Americans, were answered when Captain Denton stepped up to that microphone, the first one to set foot on Clark Field, and said that he was proud to have served this country in difficult times. He expressed his appreciation to the American people, and then said, "God bless America." When anybody can say that after 6½ years in prison, it is all worthwhile.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:05 p.m. at the naval air station, where he visited the U.S.S. *Albany*, a guided missile cruiser on which his son-in-law, Lt. (jg.) Dwight David Eisenhower

II, USN, was serving.

In his remarks, the President referred to Capt. Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr., USN, of Norfolk, Va.

47 Remarks Following a Meeting With the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, Bal Harbour, Florida.

February 19, 1973

IN THE course of this meeting, I covered a number of subjects of mutual interest, but as far as a briefing is concerned, I will leave that to President Meany. I came here as the guest of the AFL-CIO, and as I understand, he will be meeting the press at 12 o'clock.

I will only say that I was very appreciative of the reception that we had, and I also want to say on one point, if I could, that Mr. Meany—I think I could cover this—particularly in addition to discussing various other economic issues and the like,

mentioned the fact that the support that most of the leaders of organized labor gave to our program of national defense and to achieving a peace with honor in Vietnam was indispensable in achieving that peace which we are now seeing in such vivid terms as our POW's return. I expressed appreciation to the leaders of organized labor for that support.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. at the Americana Hotel.

48 Informal Remarks at the Jackie Gleason Inverrary Classic, Lauderhill, Florida. *February 19, 1973*

MR. GLEASON. Ladies and gentlemen, of course this is an extraordinary honor which we are very appreciative of, and especially because of the weather. I am going to make this very, very brief because the President is standing here in just a jacket, and it is raining.

We have introduced him to the celebrities that we have here. He was very gracious to speak to each one of them at length, and now I would like him to say a few words to you people.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much. Jackie, I am delighted to be here at the opening of this tournament. I understand you don't start playing until Thursday,

except for the celebrities. Do you call that playing?

MR. GLEASON. Only when the girls are here.

THE PRESIDENT. Am I in the right place? I thought this was a golf tournament.

I want to say just a few words, if I could, about my favorite charity, and in mentioning my favorite charity I don't mean there aren't many others that are just as worthwhile. But before I was elected in 1968, I was the chairman of the board of the Boys' Clubs of America. It is a wonderful organization, one million boys in 1,000 clubs all across this country.

As a result of those clubs which this golf tournament will help fund in the years ahead, those one million boys, instead of being on the streets, have a place to play, in a Boys' Club. And so if you all come, remember you are supporting a fine charity and we express our appreciation for that.

Now, I am not through.

MR. GLEASON. My, you are loquacious.

THE PRESIDENT. Second, I want to express appreciation to celebrities. I do not mean simply those who play golf, and they, of course, deserve your applause. We expect the golfers to be here, because there is money at the end, but the celebrities—I see people like Jackie Gleason here, and Fred MacMurray, Mike Douglas, Joe DiMaggio, and the others. These celebrities are people who are here contributing their time. They help to draw the gallery a bit, but they don't only come here, but wherever there is a good cause, anyplace in America, believe me, you can call on these people and the others who will be participating in this tournament and they will come and contribute their time. I think the celebrities deserve a hand because they won't get one at the end of the tournament.

And now I want to say a word to my

Florida friends. I saw just a little bit of the end of the [Andy Williams-San Diego Open] tournament in San Diego yesterday at Torrey Pines. It was a beautiful day, 75 degrees, the sun was shining. But I had been in San Clemente—just a little way from Torrey Pines—a few days before, and it was just about like this, except it was a little colder.

So for those who are, as I am, a very great enthusiast for Florida and also an enthusiast for California, just let me say, when the tournament opens, the sun will be shining, and it will be a very safe tournament. It will be a very safe tournament because I have ordered the Vice President to be in Washington all next week.

Thank you.

MR. GLEASON. In conclusion, may I say that if he brought home the POW's, the sun will shine tomorrow.

NOTE: The exchange of remarks began at 12:15 p.m. at the Inverrary Golf and Country Club, site of the annual golf tournament for the benefit of the Boys' Clubs of America.

In his concluding remarks, the President was alluding to an incident that occurred in January 1971 at the Bing Crosby National Pro-Am golf tournament in Pebble Beach, Calif., where a ball hit by Vice President Agnew accidentally struck professional golfer Doug Sanders.

49 Informal Exchange With Reporters About a Meeting With the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. *February 19, 1973*

REPORTER. How did you feel about your meeting with George Meany and the labor leaders?

THE PRESIDENT. It was a very constructive meeting. We had an opportunity to talk not only to the executive meeting

but the presidents of some of the international unions. It was an opportunity to tell them what the attitudes of the Administration would be on the subjects of major concern to them and to most of the American people—on questions like trade,

on questions like controlling the price of the cost of living, and keeping down particularly food costs, which concern working people and all people, and also on questions of national security, in which organized labor has always taken a very, very responsible position.

I think the point Mr. Meany emphasized in introducing me, and one that I emphasized after the meeting—both in it and afterwards—is very simply that during the difficult periods when we have attempted to bring the war in Vietnam to a conclusion in the right way, in a way that our POW's could come off those planes with their heads high, knowing that they had not fought in vain, knowing they had accomplished the objective of the United States, which very simply was to prevent the imposition by force of a Communist government on 17 million

people of South Vietnam—that could not have been achieved had it not been for the support of millions of Americans and particularly, as I emphasized to them, it could not have been achieved had it not been for the steadfast, outspoken support of most of the leaders of organized labor.

Most of them are Democrats, as I pointed out, but when it came to the problem of national security, when it came to standing by the President, whether it was this President or his predecessor, in attempting to achieve peace with honor, the leaders of organized labor were always standing firm, and I expressed appreciation for that.

Q. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 12:20 p.m. at the Inverrary Golf and Country Club, Lauderhill, Fla.

50 Statement About Signing a Bill Designating the Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston, Texas, as the Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center.

February 19, 1973

IT IS with great pleasure today that I sign into law S.J. Res. 37, designating the Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston as the Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center.

Few men in our time have better understood the value of space exploration than Lyndon Johnson.

It was he, as a Senator, who wrote, introduced, and helped to enact the legislation which created the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. He called it the proudest legislative achievement of his years in the Congress.

As Vice President, he was Chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space

Council in the critical, early years of exploration when the groundwork was laid, and the determination made to put a man on the Moon.

Finally, as President, he oversaw the first flights of the Apollo Moon landing program, and he did it in a way that led people beyond the adventure and the pride to the deeper meaning and the deeper benefits of space exploration. Speaking at the Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston on March 1, 1968, he summed up this Nation's purpose in outer space: "... we do not build rockets and spacecraft to fly our flag in space, or

to plant our banner on the surface of the Moon.

"Instead we work and we build and we create to give all mankind its last great heritage. We are truly reaching for the stars."

By his vision and his work and his support, Lyndon Johnson drew America up

closer to the stars, and before he died he saw us reach the Moon—the first great plateau along the way.

NOTE: As enacted, S.J. Res. 37, approved February 17, 1973, is Public Law 93-8 (87 Stat. 7).

The statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

51 Remarks to a Joint Session of the South Carolina General Assembly. February 20, 1973

Governor West, Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Senator Thurmond, Senator Hollings, my colleagues from the House of Representatives in Washington, D.C., all of the distinguished members of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina:

I had not realized until the Governor had introduced me so eloquently that this is the first time that a President of the United States has stood in this place. I am honored to be here for that reason, and I am also honored to be here because this is the first State legislature in the Nation which passed a resolution supporting the peace settlement in Vietnam.

Before speaking of that settlement, I would like to refer briefly to some of the distinguished people who are here in this chamber today, and first, to one of the truly great First Ladies of America, Mrs. James Byrnes.

All of you know of the friendship that I was privileged to have with Governor Byrnes. You will remember that I mentioned the fact on his death that no man in the whole history of this country had held more offices and more high offices at both the State and Federal level than he had held during his long and distinguished career. He was also a very wise and farsighted man who was willing to

give good counsel on occasion when he was asked.

I remember when I was defeated when I ran for President in 1960, I asked Governor Byrnes whether I should run for Governor of California. He thought a moment and said, "Yes, you should." I ran for Governor. I lost, but the advice was very farsighted because if I had not run for Governor and had not lost, I wouldn't be standing here today.

I also want to pay tribute on this occasion to Speaker Blatt. It was interesting for me to note, and I note it now for the whole Nation, that he has been Speaker in this House longer than any man has held that position in the whole history of America, and I pay a tribute to him for having that high position today.

I am also very proud today that Secretary Dent, Secretary of Commerce, is present with us. He is the first man from South Carolina to serve in a President's Cabinet since James Byrnes was Secretary of State.

And then, too, I wish to pay my respects on this occasion to the delegation from Washington, D.C. I could say much about them in terms of their very strong support of policies that we believe are best for America. I will simply say that on this occasion, under the very strong leader-

ship of Senator Strom Thurmond, there is no delegation from any State in the Union that has given more firm support to the policies that made the achievement of a peace settlement possible.

It is interesting to note that the delegation in the Senate is half and half, Republican and Democratic. The delegation in the House of Representatives is about half and half, Republican and Democrat. But as the late Mendel Rivers used to say, when the defense of America and the honor of America is involved, we are not Republicans, we are not Democrats, we are Americans, and that is the spirit which has motivated the delegation from South Carolina always in the House of Representatives and the United States Senate.

Now I would like to turn to the settlement which has been discussed at considerable length, probably, on the floor of this chamber when the resolution was passed, and also throughout the country since that settlement was announced. I should like to speak to you quite candidly about the settlement in terms of what it really means—what it means to America, what it means to the people of South Vietnam, and what it means to the world.

In referring to that settlement, I think it is important for us to note that I have often used the term “peace with honor.” What does peace with honor mean? And here we go back into the long history of this terribly difficult war, the longest in this Nation’s history.

Because the war has been so long and because it has been so difficult, there is a tendency for us to forget how the United States became involved, and why. It would be very easy now, looking back, to point out the mistakes that were made in the conduct of the war, to even question whether or not the United States should

have become involved in the first place. But let us get one thing very clear: When, during the course of President Kennedy’s Administration, the first men were sent to Vietnam for combat, when, during the course of President Johnson’s Administration others were sent there to continue the activities in the military area, they were sent there for the most selfless purpose that any nation has ever fought a war.

We did not go to South Vietnam, and our men did not go there, for the purpose of conquering North Vietnam. Our men did not go to South Vietnam for the purpose of getting bases in South Vietnam or acquiring territory or domination over that part of the world. They went for a very high purpose, and that purpose can never be taken away from them or this country. It was, very simply, to prevent the imposition by force of a Communist government on the 17 million people of South Vietnam. That was our goal, and we achieved that goal, and we can be proud that we stuck it out until we did reach that goal.

Now the question, of course, will be raised by historians—the instant historians of the present and those who look at it in the future and attempt to evaluate this long and difficult war—was the purpose worth it? Was the sacrifice worth it?

Only historians in the future, perhaps, will be able to judge that accurately, but we, at this time, and, I know, you, as you passed your resolution, must have considered the alternatives.

We had alternatives. I recall when I first became President there were those of my own party who suggested that, after all, I had not made the decision that involved the United States with combat troops in Vietnam in the first place and,

therefore, from a political and partisan standpoint, the better course of action and the easy course of action was to get out of Vietnam, to bring our men home, and to bring them home and to get our prisoners of war back regardless of what happened to South Vietnam.

That would have been a rather easy position, politically, to take. On the other hand, when we examine it for what it really meant and could have meant to the United States, we can see why I had to reject it and why the people of the United States have supported that rejection during the 4 years which finally ended with the peace settlement.

If, for example, the North Vietnamese would have accepted the proposition of returning our prisoners of war simply for our getting out our own troops from Vietnam—and that is a highly doubtful proposition—but if they had, let us see what it would have meant.

We would have fought a long war. We would have lost tens of thousands of Americans who were killed in action, and we would have fought it for what purpose? Only to get our prisoners of war back. If you wonder whether or not that purpose would have been adequate, let me say that a letter that I received from a mother in California perhaps will answer the question:

“As a mother of a young man who gave his life in this war, I felt very strongly about wanting an honorable peace agreement. Had you agreed to anything less, you would have let down not only the boys remaining in Vietnam, but also, those who died in this war. It was difficult enough to accept our son’s death, but to know it was all in vain would have been even more a tragedy. We feel that our son James would have felt as we do, and

would have supported your policy.”

I say to the members of this Assembly gathered here that James did not die in vain, that the men who went to Vietnam and have served there with honor did not serve in vain, and that our POW’s, as they return, did not make the sacrifices that they made in vain, and I say it because of what we did in Vietnam.

It is my firm conviction that the United States can now exercise more effective leadership in the cause of world peace which the Governor has so eloquently described a moment ago. On this occasion, I think it is well for us to think of a number of people whom we should honor today. We, of course, should honor our prisoners of war who have come back after their great ordeal standing tall, proud of their country, proud of their service.

We should honor, also, those who have died, and in honoring them, let’s honor some of the bravest women this Nation has ever seen, the wives, the mothers, not only of the POW’s but of those who died, the mother of a boy like James.

And finally, let us honor the 2½ million men who served, who did not desert America, but who served, served in a difficult war, came back, often not with honor in terms of what they found from their neighbors and friends, but came back to what could have been a rather discouraging reception.

Now that we have brought an end to the war, let us honor them all, and the way to honor them, I say, is for us to work together to build a lasting peace in the world, a peace that can last not only in Southeast Asia, but a peace that the United States can help to build for this whole world in which we live.

Ending a war is not unusual for the

United States. After all, in this century we ended World War I, we ended World War II, we ended Korea, and now we have ended the American involvement in Vietnam. The critical question is: How do we end a war and then go from there to build a peace? And I address that question in relationship to this war for just a moment.

The year 1972 saw some historic breakthroughs in terms of America's search for peace, along with other nations: the opening of the dialog with the People's Republic of China, with leaders who represent one-fourth of all the people who live on the face of the globe; the discussions that took place in Moscow last May and early June, discussions which led to a number of agreements, but particularly an agreement between the two super powers to limit nuclear arms, the first step toward arms limitation, and of course, more talks will take place this year with the leaders of the Soviet Union.

Now, when we consider those great events, the opening to China, which we are already beginning to develop, as you have noted in your papers recently, the opening with the Soviet Union of the discussions that can lead eventually, we trust, to arms control and perhaps further down the line to reduction of the nuclear arms that burdens us, burdens them, and threatens the whole world with destruction—as we look at those great events, combined with the end of the war in Vietnam, there could be a tendency for us to sit back and assume that we are going to have peace, instant peace, because of these new developments.

What we must recognize is that we would not have had the kind of fruitful and constructive discussions that we had with the Soviet Union, and in my view we

would not have had the opening of the dialog with the People's Republic of China unless the United States had been strong—strong not only in its arms, but also unless the United States had been strong in terms of its will, its determination.

A nation which is strong militarily and yet is not respected is not a nation that is worth talking to. America is strong militarily, and America has demonstrated, by its willingness to stand by a small, weak country until we achieved an honorable peace, that we deserve, first, the trust of our allies and the respect of our potential adversaries in the world. And that, again, gives us a reason why we can look back on this long and difficult war and say that American men sacrificed—some their lives, some long imprisonment, and some away from home in a land which most of them did not know—that Americans have made that sacrifice in a cause that was important, not just for Vietnam but for America's position of leadership in the whole world, because America comes out of this long and difficult struggle strong militarily and respected in the world.

Had we taken another course, had we, for example, followed the advice of some of the well intentioned people who said, "Peace at any price. Get our prisoners of war back in exchange for withdrawing," had we taken that course, then respect for America, not only among our allies but particularly among those who might be our potential adversaries, would have been eroded, perhaps fatally.

And so I say to you here today as we look to the future, the chances for us to build a peace that will last are better than they have been at any time since the end of World War II. We will continue the dialog with the Soviet lead-

ers. We will continue the dialog with the People's Republic of China. And, in this year ahead, we will renew discussions that we have been having in the past with our friends in Europe and in other parts of the world, because as we talk to those who have been our adversaries in the past, we must not overlook the vital necessity of strengthening the bonds we have with our allies and our friends around the world.

But as we conduct those discussions, I would urge upon this legislative body what I have often urged upon the Congress of the United States: Let us be sure that as the President of the United States and his representatives negotiate with great powers in the world, let us be sure that he never goes to the negotiating table representing the second strongest nation in the world.

Because America is strong and has been strong, we have been able to negotiate successfully. We must maintain our strength and, of course, we will reduce it, but it must be on a mutual basis and not on a unilateral basis, because reducing unilaterally would remove any incentive for others in the world to reduce their strength at the same time.

Having spoken of military strength, let me also speak briefly of other kinds of strength that we need if we are going to build a world of peace and if America is going to continue the great role that we are destined to play as we near our 200th birthday as a nation.

It is essential that government—and here in this legislative chamber all of us are participants in the role of government—it is essential that government in America be strengthened in terms of being more responsive to the people.

By that I mean that government must

get closer to the grassroots, and by getting closer to the grassroots, what I am very simply suggesting is this: For much too long, power has been flowing from the people, from the cities, from the counties, from the States to Washington, D.C. And that is why, beginning with an historic move on revenue sharing, and in other areas, I feel firmly we must turn it around and that power should flow away from the concentration in Washington back to the States and the people. That is where it belongs, and that is where it is staying.

Let us also remember that if America is to play the kind of a role that it must play and we want it to play, we need to be a united country. By being a united country, that doesn't mean that we agree on everything. It means that we have disagreements between parties, disagreements on a number of issues. That is the very essence of a free society.

But let the time be gone when this country is divided region against region, North versus South, race against race, black versus white, one economic group against another, labor versus management, simply because they are members of different groups. Let the time be gone when we divide Americans by age, the old against the young—in terms of what they produce—the city against the farm.

It does not mean that we all have the same interest. It does not mean that we do not have areas where we disagree. But what it does mean is that this Nation, when the great issues are involved—the security of America, the honor of America—let us speak of those issues and speak to those issues as one united people.

In that connection, as I speak for the first time as President of the United States to a legislature in the South, one of the

things I am most proud of during the time I have served as President, and during the three times I have had the great honor to run for President, is that I have never divided this country North against South, East against West, one region against the other.

I believe this is one country, and let us all work to make it one country, because it is one United States of America that can lead the world to peace, the kind of peace that all of us want in the years ahead.

Finally, today, if we are to play the role that we are destined to play, we need faith. I think that the faith of all Americans was restored by what we have seen in the past few days as our prisoners of war came down the ramp of those planes and set foot for the first time on American soil, some of them after 6, 7 years of imprisonment.

You wonder how this Nation, or any nation, could have brought into life men who would be so strong, men who could endure so much. And the important thing is, as we saw them come down those stairs, they came down with their heads high,

proud of their country, proud of what they had done, and that is another reason why peace with honor was so vitally important. Because if this war, long and difficult as it was, had been ended solely for the basis of obtaining their release, you can see that for them it would have been the greatest disappointment.

I close with a message from one of them. When he sent this cable to me a few days ago, he did not know, and could not have known, that I would be addressing the South Carolina State Legislature today. The cable was to me, but as you can see as I read it, it is to all of you as well.

It is from Robert N. Daughtrey, major, United States Air Force:

"My faith in our fellow Americans never faltered. Thank you for returning us with honor. I assure you we returned filled with pride and faith in the future.

"God bless you. God bless America."

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:46 p.m. at the State Capitol in Columbia, S.C.

Lt. Gov. Earle E. Morris, Jr., was president of the South Carolina State Senate, and Solomon Blatt was speaker of the State House of Representatives.

52 Radio Address About the State of the Union Message on the Economy. *February 21, 1973*

Good afternoon:

Tomorrow I will send to the Congress the economic section of my State of the Union report.

One fact stands out above all others in this report: For the first time in nearly 20 years, we can look forward to genuine prosperity in a time of peace.

For most people, talking about the economy brings to mind some vast, com-

plicated machine. Today, I want to talk about the economy in personal terms—about its impact on you and your family.

Basically the economy affects you in three ways.

First, it affects your jobs, how plentiful they are, how secure they are, how good they are. Second, it affects what you take home from those jobs and how much you can buy with your income. And

finally, it affects how much you can spend on your own and how much you have to pay back to the Government in taxes.

Let's look briefly at each of these elements.

To begin with, the job picture today is very encouraging. The number of people at work in this country rose by 2.3 million during 1972, the largest increase in 25 years. Unemployment fell from the 6 percent level in 1971 to 5 percent last month. This record is even more remarkable since so many more people have been seeking jobs than usual. Nearly 3 million Americans have been released from defense-related jobs since 1969, including over 1 million veterans. Women and teenagers have also been looking for work in record numbers. Yet jobs for all these groups have increased even faster.

The reason for this success is that the economy grew by 6½ percent last year, one of the best performances in the past quarter century. Our economic advisers expect a growth rate of nearly 7 percent in 1973. That would bring unemployment down to around the 4½ percent level.

The second great question is how much you take home from your job, how much it will buy for you. Here the news is also good. Not only are more people working, but they are getting more for their work. Average per capita income rose by 7.7 percent during 1972. That is well above the average gain during the previous 10 years. Most important, however, is that these gains were not wiped out by rising prices, as they often were in the 1960's.

The Federal Government spent too much too fast in that period, and the result was runaway inflation. Your wages may have climbed very rapidly during those years, but not your purchasing power. Now that has changed. The infla-

tion rate last year was cut nearly in half from what it was 4 years ago. The purchasing power of the average worker's take-home pay rose more last year than in any year since 1955. It went up by 4.3 percent, the equivalent of two extra weekly paychecks.

We expect to reduce inflation even further in 1973, for several reasons. The fundamental reason is the Nation's growing opposition to big spending. We have a good chance now, the best in years, to curb the growth of the Federal budget. That will do more than anything else to protect your family budget.

Other forces are working for us, too. Productivity increased sharply last year, which means the average worker is producing more and, therefore, can earn more without driving prices higher. In addition, the fact that real spendable earnings rose so substantially last year will encourage reasonable wage demands this year. Workers will not have to catch up from an earlier slump in earnings.

Finally, we now have a new system of wage and price controls, one that is the right kind of system for 1973. The idea that controls have virtually been ended is totally wrong. We still have firm controls. We are still enforcing them firmly. All that is changed is our method of enforcing them.

The old wage and price control system depended on a Washington bureaucracy to approve major wage and price increases in advance. Although it was effective while it lasted, this system was beginning to produce inequities and to get tangled in redtape. The new system will avoid these dangers. Like most of our laws, it relies largely on self-administration, on the voluntary cooperation of the American people. But if some people should fail to

cooperate, we have the will and we have the means to crack down on them.

We would like Phase III to be as voluntary as possible, but we will make it as mandatory as necessary. Our new system of controls has broad support from business and labor, the keystone for any successful program. It will prepare us for the day when we no longer need controls. It will allow us to concentrate on those areas where inflation has been most troublesome—construction, health care, and especially food prices.

Let me focus for a moment on food prices. They have risen sharply at the wholesale level in recent months, so that figures for retail prices in January and February, when they are published, will inevitably show sharp increases. In fact, we will probably see increases in food prices for some months to come.

The underlying cause of this problem is that food supplies have not risen fast enough to keep up with the rapidly rising demand. But we must not accept rising food prices as a permanent feature of American life. We must halt this inflationary spiral by attacking the causes of rising food prices on all fronts.

Our first priority must be to increase supplies of food to meet the increased demand. Your Government is already moving vigorously to expand our food supplies. We are encouraging farmers to put more acreage into production of both crops and livestock. We are allowing more meat and dried milk to come in from abroad. We have ended subsidies for agricultural exports, and we are reducing the Government's agricultural stockpiles. We are encouraging farmers to sell the stock they own.

Now, measures such as these will stop the rise of wholesale food prices and will

slow the rise of retail food prices. Unfortunately, they cannot do much about prices in the next few months, but they will have a powerful effect in the second half of the year. They will bring relief to the American housewife without damaging the prosperity of our farmers.

Farm income today is higher than ever, and it will go even higher as we increase farm production.

For all these reasons, we have a good chance to reduce the overall inflation rate to 2½ percent or less by the end of 1973. That means your dollars will go further at your local shop or supermarket.

The third important economic question concerns how much money you control for yourself and how much you pay out in taxes. Here the picture is also promising.

Since 1950, the share of the average family's income taken for taxes in the United States has nearly doubled, to more than 20 percent. The average person worked less than 1 hour out of each 8-hour day to pay his taxes in 1950. Today he works nearly 2 hours each day for the tax collector. No wonder someone once described the taxpayer as a person who doesn't have to take a civil service examination to work for the Federal Government.

In fact, if tax cuts had not been adopted during our first term, the average worker's pay increase last year would have been wiped out entirely by increased taxes. The only way to stop tax increases is to stop spending more than our present tax rates produce in revenue. That is why we are cutting back on Federal programs that waste the taxpayers' money—for example, on housing programs that benefit the well-to-do but shortchange the poor, health programs that build more hospitals when

hospital beds are now in surplus, educational bonuses that attract more people into teaching when tens of thousands of teachers already cannot find jobs.

These old programs may have appealing names, they may sound like good causes, but behind the fancy label often lies a dismal failure. Unless we cut back now on the programs that have failed, we will soon run out of money for the programs that can succeed.

It has been charged that our budget cuts show a lack of compassion for the disadvantaged. The best answer to this charge is to look at the facts.

We are budgeting 66 percent more to help the poor next year than was the case 4 years ago, 67 percent more to help the sick, 71 percent more to help older Americans, and 242 percent more to help the hungry and malnourished. Altogether, our human resources budget is nearly double that of 4 years ago when I came into office.

We have already shifted our spending priorities from defense programs to human resources programs. Now we must also switch our spending priorities from programs which give us a bad return on the dollar to programs that pay off. That is how to show we truly care about the needy.

The question is not whether we help, but how we help. By eliminating programs that are wasteful, we can concentrate on programs that work. Our recent round of budget cuts can save \$11 billion in this fiscal year, \$19 billion next fiscal year, \$24 billion the year after. That means an average saving of \$700 over the next 3 years for each of America's 75 million taxpayers.

Let me turn, finally, to one other major economic decision we made last week—

our proposal to change the relative value of the dollar in trading abroad.

We took this step because of a serious trade imbalance which could threaten your prosperity. America has recently been buying more from other countries than they have been buying from us. Now, just as a company cannot go on indefinitely buying more than it sells, neither can a country.

Changing the exchange rate will help us change this picture. It means our exports will be priced more competitively in the international marketplace, and they should, therefore, sell better. Our imports, on the other hand, will not grow as fast. But this step must now be followed by reforms which are more basic.

First, we need a more flexible international monetary system, one that will lead to balance without crisis. The United States set forth fundamental proposals for such a system last September. It is time for other nations to join us in getting action on these proposals.

Second, American products must get a fairer shake in world trade so that we can extend American markets and expand American jobs. If other countries make it harder for our products to be sold abroad, then our trade imbalance can only grow worse. That is why I will soon propose to the Congress new trade laws which would make it easier for us not only to lower our trade barriers when other countries lower theirs but also to raise our barriers when that is necessary to keep things fair.

Our overall goal is to reduce trade and investment barriers around the world, but they cannot decline for one country and remain high for others. My proposals will allow us to work more effectively for a

new trading system which is equitable for all.

Even as we reduce the foreign barriers that keep us from competing abroad, we must also strengthen our ability to compete. This means working more efficiently as well as working hard, so that we can increase our productivity. It means taking greater pride in our work. It means fighting harder to slow inflation. And it means keeping Federal spending down.

If we do these things, 1973 can usher in a new era of prolonged and growing prosperity for the United States. Unlike past booms, this new prosperity will not

depend on the artificial stimulus of war. It will not be eaten away by the blight of inflation. It will be solid. It will be steady. It will be sustainable.

If we act responsibly, this new prosperity can be ours for many years to come; if we don't, then as Franklin Roosevelt once warned, we could be "wrecked on (the) rocks of loose fiscal policy." The choice is ours. Let us choose responsible prosperity.

Thank you and good afternoon.

NOTE: The President's address was recorded for broadcast at 12:06 p.m. on nationwide radio.

53 State of the Union Message to the Congress on the Economy. *February 22, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

Today, in this third section of my 1973 State of the Union Message, I wish to report on the state of our economy and to urge the Congress to join with me in building the foundations for a new era of prosperity in the United States.

The state of our Union depends fundamentally on the state of our economy. I am pleased to report that our economic prospects are very bright. For the first time in nearly 20 years, we can look forward to a period of genuine prosperity in a time of peace. We can, in fact, achieve the most bountiful prosperity that this Nation has ever known.

That goal can only be attained, however, if we discipline ourselves and unite on certain basic policies:

—We must be restrained in Federal spending.

—We must show reasonableness in labor-management relations.

—We must comply fully with the new Phase III requirements of our economic stabilization program.

—We must continue our battle to hold down the price of food.

—And we must vigorously meet the challenge of foreign trading competition.

It is clear to me that the American people stand firmly together in support of these policies. Their President stands with them. And as Members of the 93rd Congress consider the alternatives before us this year, I am confident that they, too, will join in this great endeavor.

IMPACT OF THE ECONOMY ON PEOPLE'S LIVES

This message will present my basic economic recommendations and priorities and will indicate some areas in which further detailed plans will be submitted later.

But I also want to discuss our economic

situation in less formal terms: how do statistical measurements, comparisons and projections affect the daily lives of individual Americans and their families?

We build our economy, after all, not to create cold, impersonal statistics for the record books but to better the lives of our people.

Basically, the economy affects people in three ways.

First, it affects their jobs—how plentiful they are, how secure they are, how good they are.

Second, it affects what people are paid on their jobs—and how much they can buy with that income.

Finally, it affects how much people have to pay back to the Government in taxes.

JOB PICTURE ENCOURAGING

To begin with, the job picture today is very encouraging.

The number of people at work in this country rose by 2.3 million during 1972—the largest increase in 25 years. Unemployment fell from the 6 percent level in 1971 to 5 percent last month.

The reason jobs have grown so rapidly is that the economy grew in real terms by 6½ percent last year, one of the best performances in the past quarter century. Our economic advisers expect a growth rate of nearly 7 percent in 1973. That would bring unemployment down to around the 4½ percent level by the end of the year.

Five percent unemployment is too high. Nevertheless, it is instructive to examine that 5 percent figure more closely.

For example:

—Only 40 percent of those now counted as unemployed are in that status because

they lost their last job. The rate of layoffs at the end of last year was lower than it has been since the Korean War.

—The other 60 percent either left their last job voluntarily, are seeking jobs for the first time or are re-entering the labor force after being out of it for a period of time.

—About 45 percent of the unemployed have been unemployed for less than five weeks.

—As compared with earlier periods when the overall unemployment rate was about what it is now, the unemployment rate is significantly lower for adult males, household heads and married men. Among married men it is only 2.4 percent. Unemployment among these groups should decline even further during 1973.

This employment gain is even more remarkable since so many more people have been seeking jobs than usual. For example, nearly three million Americans have been released from defense-related jobs since 1969—including over one million veterans.

The unemployment rate for veterans of the Vietnam War now stands at 5.9 percent, above the general rate of unemployment but slightly below the rate for other males in the 20-to-29-year-old age bracket. While much better than the 8.5 percent of a year ago, this 5.9 percent rate is still too high. The employment problems of veterans, who have given so much for their country, will remain high on my list of concerns for the coming year.

Women and young people have also been seeking work in record numbers. Yet, as in the case of veterans, jobs for these groups have been increasing even faster. Unemployment among women and young people has thus declined—but it is

also much too high and constitutes a great waste for our Nation.

As we move into a new era of peacetime prosperity, our economic system is going to have room—indeed, is going to have need—for nearly every available hand.

The role of women in our economy thus is bound to grow. And it should—not only because the expansion of opportunities for women is right, but also because America will not be able to achieve its full economic potential unless every woman who wants to work can find a job that provides fair compensation and equal opportunity for advancement.

This Administration is committed to the promotion of this goal. We support the Equal Rights Amendment. We have opened the doors of employment to qualified women in the Federal service. We have called for similar efforts in businesses and institutions which receive Federal contracts or assistance.

Just last year, we established the Advisory Committee on the Economic Role of Women. This Committee will provide leadership in helping to identify economic problems facing women and helping to change the attitudes which create unjust and illogical barriers to their employment.

PAY AND PURCHASING POWER

The second great question is what people are paid on their jobs and how much it will buy for them.

Here the news is also good. Not only are more people working, but they are getting more for their work. Average per capita income rose by 7.7 percent during 1972, well above the average gain during the previous ten years.

The most important thing, however, is that these gains were not wiped out by rising prices—as they often were in the 1960's. The Federal Government spent too much, too fast in that period and the result was runaway inflation.

While wages may have climbed very rapidly during those years, purchasing power did not. Instead, purchasing power stalled, or even moved backward. Inflation created an economic treadmill that sometimes required a person to achieve a 6 percent salary increase every year just to stay even.

Now that has changed. The inflation rate last year was cut nearly in half from what it was four years ago. The purchasing power of the average worker's take-home pay rose more last year than in any year since 1955; it went up by 4.3 percent—the equivalent of two extra weekly paychecks.

We expect inflation to be reduced even further in 1973—for several reasons.

A fundamental reason is the Nation's growing opposition to runaway Federal spending. The public increasingly perceives what such spending does to prices and taxes. As a result, we have a good chance now, the best in years, to curb the growth of the Federal budget. That will do more than anything else to protect the family budget.

Other forces are working for us too.

Productivity increased sharply last year—which means the average worker is producing more and can therefore earn more without driving prices higher. In addition, the fact that real spendable earnings rose so substantially last year will encourage reasonable wage demands this year. Workers will not have to catch up from an earlier slump in earnings.

Finally, we now have a new system of wage and price controls—one that is the right kind of system for 1973.

FIRM CONTROLS IN FORCE; FOOD PRICES FOUGHT

Any idea that controls have virtually been ended is totally wrong. We still have firm controls. We are still enforcing them firmly. All that has changed is our method of enforcing them.

The old system depended on a Washington bureaucracy to approve major wage and price increases in advance. Although it was effective while it lasted, this system was beginning to produce inequities and to get tangled in red tape. The new system will avoid these dangers. Like most of our laws, it relies largely on self-administration, on the voluntary cooperation of the American people.

But if some people should fail to cooperate, we still have the will and the means to crack down on them.

To any economic interests which might feel that the new system will permit them, openly or covertly, to achieve gains beyond the safety limits we shall prescribe, let me deliver this message in clear and unmistakable terms:

We will regard any flouting of our anti-inflationary rules and standards as nothing less than attempted economic arson threatening our national economic stability—and we shall act accordingly.

We would like Phase III to be as voluntary as possible. But we will make it as mandatory as necessary.

Our new system of controls has broad support from business and labor—the keystone for any successful program. It will prepare us for the day when we no longer need controls. It will allow us to con-

centrate on those areas where inflation has been most troublesome—construction, health care and especially food prices.

We are focusing particular attention and action on the tough problem of food prices. These prices have risen sharply at the wholesale level in recent months, so that figures for retail prices in January and February will inevitably show sharp increases. In fact, we will probably see increases in food prices for some months to come.

The underlying cause of this problem is that food supplies have not risen fast enough to keep up with the rapidly rising demand.

But we must not accept rising food prices as a permanent feature of American life. We must halt this inflationary spiral by attacking the causes of rising food prices on all fronts. Our first priority must be to increase supplies of food to meet the increasing demand.

We are moving vigorously to expand our food supplies:

—We are encouraging farmers to put more acreage into production of both crops and livestock.

—We are allowing more meat and dried milk to come in from abroad.

—We have ended subsidies for agricultural exports.

—And we are reducing the Government's agricultural stockpiles and encouraging farmers to sell the stock they own.

Measures such as these will stop the rise of wholesale food prices and will slow the rise of retail food prices. Unfortunately, nothing we can do will have a decisive effect in the next few months. But the steps I have taken will have a powerful effect in the second half of the year.

These steps will also help our farmers to improve their incomes by producing

more without corresponding price increases. We anticipate that farm prices will be no higher at the end of this year than they were at the beginning.

For all of these reasons, we have a good chance to reduce the overall inflation rate to 2½ percent by the end of 1973.

HOLDING THE LINE ON TAXES

The third important economic question concerns how much money people pay out in taxes and how much they have left to control themselves. Here, too, the picture is promising.

Since 1950, the share of the average family's income taken for taxes in the United States has nearly doubled—to more than 20 percent. The average person worked less than one hour out of each eight-hour day to pay his taxes in 1950; today he works nearly two hours each day for the tax collector.

In fact, if tax cut proposals had not been adopted during our first term, the average worker's pay increase last year would have been wiped out completely by increased taxes and the taxpayers would have to pay out an additional \$25 billion in personal income taxes this year.

The only way to hold the line on taxes is to hold the line on Federal spending.

This is why we are cutting back, eliminating or reforming Federal programs that waste the taxpayers' money.

My Administration has now had four years of experience with all of our Federal programs. We have conducted detailed studies comparing their costs and results. On the basis of that experience I am convinced that the cost of many Federal programs can no longer be justified. Among them are:

—housing programs that benefit the

well-to-do but short-change the poor;

—health programs that build more hospitals when hospital beds are now in surplus;

—educational fellowships designed to attract more people into teaching when tens of thousands of teachers already cannot find teaching jobs;

—programs that subsidize education for the children of Federal employees who already pay enough local taxes to support their local schools;

—programs that blindly continue welfare payments to those who are ineligible or overpaid.

Such programs may have appealing names; they may sound like good causes. But behind a fancy label can lie a dismal failure. And unless we cut back now on the programs that have failed, we will soon run out of money for the programs that succeed.

It has been charged that our budget cuts show a lack of compassion for the disadvantaged. The best answer to this charge is to look at the facts. We are budgeting 66 percent more to help the poor next year than was the case four years ago; 67 percent more to help the sick; 71 percent more to help older Americans and 242 percent more to help the hungry and malnourished. Altogether, our human resources budget is a record \$125 billion—nearly double that of four years ago when I came into office.

We have already shifted our spending priorities from defense programs to human resource programs. Now we must also switch our spending priorities from programs which give us a bad return on the dollar to programs that pay off. That is how to show we truly care about the needy.

The question is not whether we help

but how we help. By eliminating programs that are wasteful, we can concentrate on programs that work.

Our recent round of budget cuts can save \$11 billion in this fiscal year, \$19 billion next fiscal year, and \$24 billion the year after. That means an average saving of \$700 over the next three years for each of America's 75 million taxpayers.

Without the savings I have achieved through program reductions and reforms, those spending totals respectively would be \$261 billion, \$288 billion and \$312 billion—figures which would spell either higher taxes, a new surge of crippling inflation, or both.

To hold the line on Federal spending, it is absolutely vital that we have the full cooperation of the Congress. I urge the Congress, as one of its most pressing responsibilities, to adopt an overall spending ceiling for each fiscal year. I also ask that it establish a regular procedure for ensuring that the ceiling is maintained.

THE INTERNATIONAL CHALLENGE

In recent years, the attention of Americans has increasingly turned to the serious questions confronting us in international trade and in the monetary arena.

This is no longer the era in which the United States, preeminent in science, marketing and services, can dominate world markets with the advanced products of our technology and our advanced means of production.

This is no longer the era in which the United States can automatically sell more abroad than we purchase from foreign countries.

We face new challenges in international competition and are thus in a period of

substantial adjustment in our relations with our trading partners.

One consequence of these developments was the step we took last week to change the relative value of the dollar in trading abroad.

We took this step because of a serious trade imbalance which could threaten the mounting prosperity of our people. America has been buying more from other countries than they have been buying from us. And just as a family or a company cannot go on indefinitely buying more than it sells, neither can a country.

Changing the exchange rates will help us change this picture. It means our exports will be priced more competitively in the international marketplace and should therefore sell better. Our imports, on the other hand, will not grow as fast.

But this step must now be followed by reforms which are more basic.

First, we need a more flexible international monetary system, one that will lead to balance without crisis. The United States set forth fundamental proposals for such a system last September. It is time for other nations to join us in getting action on these proposals.

Secondly, American products must get a fairer shake in a more open world trading system—so that we can extend American markets and expand American jobs. If other countries make it harder for our products to be sold abroad, then our trade imbalance can only grow worse.

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CONGRESS

America is assuredly on the road to a new era of prosperity. The roadsigns are clear, and we are gathering more momentum with each passing month. But we

can easily lose our way unless the Congress is on board, helping to steer the course.

As we face 1973, in fact, we may be sure that the state of our economy in the future will very much depend upon the decisions made this year on Capitol Hill.

Over the course of the next few months, I will urge prompt Congressional action on a variety of economic proposals. Together, these proposals will constitute one of the most important packages of economic initiatives ever considered by any Congress in our history. I hope—as do all of our people—that the Congress will act with both discipline and dispatch.

Among the items included in my 1973 economic package are:

—*Extension of the Economic Stabilization Program.* Present authority will soon expire, and I have asked the Congress to extend the law for one year to April 30, 1974. I hope this will be done without adding general mandatory standards or prescribing rigid advance decisions—steps that would only hamper sound administration of the program. A highly complex economy simply cannot be regulated effectively for extended periods in that way.

—*Tax Program.* I shall recommend a tax program that builds further reforms on those we achieved in 1969 and 1971.

—*Property Tax Relief.* I shall also submit recommendations for alleviating the crushing burdens which property taxes now create for older Americans.

—*Tax Credit for Nonpublic Schools.* I shall propose legislation which would provide for income tax credit for tuition paid to nonpublic elementary and secondary schools. These institutions are a valuable national resource, relieving the public school system of enrollment pressures, injecting a welcome variety into

our educational process, and expanding the options of millions of parents.

—*Trade Legislation.* Another item high on our agenda will be new trade proposals which I will soon send to the Congress. They would make it easier for us not only to lower our trade barriers when other countries lower theirs but also to raise our barriers when that is necessary to keep things fair.

—*Other Reforms.* To modernize and make them more equitable and beneficial, I shall also later submit recommendations for improving the performance of our private pension system, our unemployment compensation program, our minimum wage laws and the manner in which we deal with our transportation systems.

—*Spending Limits.* Finally, but most importantly, I ask the Congress to act this year to impose strict limits on Federal spending.

The cuts I have suggested in this year's budget did not come easily. Thus I can well understand that it may not be easy for the Congress to sustain them, as every special interest group lobbies with its own special Congressional committees for its own special legislation. But the Congress should serve more than the special interest; its first allegiance must always be to the public interest.

We must also recognize that no one in the Congress is now charged with adding all of our Federal expenditures together—and considering their total impact on taxes and prices. It is as if each member of a family went shopping on his own, without knowing how much money was available in the overall family budget or how much other members of the family were spending or charging on various credit accounts.

To overcome these problems, I urge

prompt adoption by the Congress of an overall spending ceiling for each fiscal year. This action would allow the Congress to work jointly with me in holding spending to \$250 billion in the current fiscal year, \$269 billion next year, and \$288 billion in fiscal year 1975. Beyond the adoption of an annual ceiling, I also recommend that the Congress consider internal reforms which would establish a regular mechanism for deciding how to maintain the ceiling.

I have no economic recommendation to make to the Congress which is more important to the economic well-being of our people.

I believe that most members of the House and Senate want to hold down spending. Most Congressmen voted for a spending ceiling in principle when the Senate and House approved a ceiling last fall. Unfortunately the two bodies could not get together on a final version. I believe they must get together soon—so that the Congress can proceed this year with a firm sense of budget discipline.

The stakes are high. If we do not restrain spending and if my recommended cuts are reversed, it would take a 15 percent increase in income taxes to pay for the additional expenditures.

The separation of powers between the President and the Congress has become a favorite topic of discussion in recent weeks. We should never, of course, lose our sharp concern for maintaining Constitutional balances.

But we should never overlook the fact we have joint responsibilities as well as separate powers.

There are many areas in which the

President and the Congress should and must work together in behalf of all the people—and the level of spending, since it directly affects the pocketbooks of every family in the land, is one of the most critical.

I have fulfilled my pledge that I would not recommend any programs that would require a general tax increase or would create inflationary pressures.

Now it is up to the Congress to match these efforts with a spending ceiling of its own.

MAKING A CHOICE

We stand on the threshold of a new era of prolonged and growing prosperity for the United States.

Unlike past booms, this new prosperity will not depend on the stimulus of war.

It will not be eaten away by the blight of inflation.

It will be solid; it will be steady; and it will be sustainable.

If we act responsibly, this new prosperity can be ours for many years to come. If we don't, then, as Franklin Roosevelt once warned, we could be "wrecked on (the) rocks of loose fiscal policy."

The choice is ours. Let us choose responsible prosperity.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

February 22, 1973.

NOTE: The message was the third in a series of six messages to the Congress on the state of the Union.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the message by Ezra Solomon, member of the Council of Economic Advisers.

54 Remarks on Receiving the Boy Scouts' Annual Report to the Nation. *February 22, 1973*

I WANT to express my appreciation to all of the delegation here, the outstanding representatives of Scouting in the United States, and I am glad you have finally recognized the importance of having some girls in Scouting, too.

Also, I want you to know that your projects are of very, very great interest to me personally and to all in the United States, I can assure you, including those who cover us in the press, because they have heard us often discuss the problem of drug abuse. They heard the speech, for example, last week of the problems of the environment. They, of course, are enormously interested in physical fitness. Our young people generally, and Scouts throughout this country, 6 million of them, and all of those who support them, are working toward those goals individually and voluntarily.

We, as a government, can do a great deal, but unless the people of the country cooperate, we can accomplish nothing.

I think there is no other organization—certainly there is none larger in the United States—which enlists more volunteers for these great goals than this one here.

The other thing I would like to say,

which I am sure all of you will appreciate, and particularly your mothers and fathers: This is the fifth time I have received this group, because, as you know, the President is the honorary president of the Boy Scouts of America. But this is the first time as President I have been able to receive you at a time when I could say to you, you no longer are confronted with the draft. You can have a choice now as to whether you want to enter the armed services. I hope some of you may, because it is a very honorable and important profession.

And also, it is the first time that I can meet with you, and I can say that the United States is at peace with all nations in the world. My greatest hope for you, in addition to progress on all of these fronts, which are so important at home, is that you and your brothers and your sons may grow up in a world of peace.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:05 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

Norton Clapp, national president of the Boy Scouts of America, introduced a group of 16 Scouts who presented the 1972 report and emblems of Scouting to the President.

55 Remarks at the Swearing In of Walter E. Washington as Mayor of the District of Columbia.

February 22, 1973

Mr. Mayor:

It is very significant that you are being sworn in on Washington's birthday, here in the city of Washington on Washington's birthday—to swear in Mayor Washington

for his third term, and also, he is, as we all know, the first mayor of Washington.

I think history may record—we can't write it instantly, but in the future—that he could well have been the best mayor

that Washington has had, because it will be very hard to exceed his record.

I am very proud of the progress that has been made since the Mayor has held this position. I think of the many problems we had in 1969. We haven't solved them all, but the people who visit Washington now have a somewhat different sense about the city than they had then. The city is safer than it was, the city is more beautiful. It has always been a beautiful city, but it is more beautiful than it was. The leadership that the Mayor has provided has been indispensable in this progress.

That is the beginning. We have 4 more years until that 200th anniversary, and, of course, Washington will be the center of that, and we expect to follow the Mayor's leadership in making Washington on that day, July 4, 1976, the most beautiful city in the world, the most beautiful capital.

Another point that you might be interested in with regard to the Mayor's accepting his third term: He had served so well that we considered him for other positions. He was particularly considered not only for some domestic positions, which he could have handled extremely well with his legal background and his experience in so many areas, but also in the foreign field.

I am enormously impressed with the way that Mayor Washington and Mrs. Washington have so splendidly welcomed the heads of state and the heads of government when they have come here. They made us very proud by the great dignity, the poise with which they have met these distinguished visitors from abroad and have shown them what Washington is really like, in terms of its warm heart toward the people who come from all the

nations of the world.

But as I looked over all the possibilities of other assignments here at home and as an ambassador abroad, I decided, and all of our staff agreed, that we need him here. This is the most important position, we think, that he can fill, and we are delighted he was willing to accept it. When the Mayor does decide—and we trust he has not decided—that he wants to give up his position, we have other assignments for you.

MAYOR WASHINGTON. Thank you so much, Mr. President. It is very beautiful and very generous of you, and I must say, I have the feeling, as you have indicated once, that we are in this together, that we are partners in making this great city even greater.

The achievements and improvements which you have spoken of could not possibly have been met without your full commitment to make this city the greatest. You have provided the resources, you have provided the encouragement, you have provided for me guidance that has made it possible for us to move ahead, and I would say to you, sir, that I look forward with a great deal of enthusiasm to your continued support through the next 4 years. And I am very sure that at the end of that time we will both be proud of this city as not only the greatest in this Nation, but the greatest in the world.

That is the objective that I am setting out on in my third term, and I know that we are going to achieve that objective, and this will be a model for the entire world as well as the Nation.

Mr. President, I pledge you that enthusiasm and that commitment.

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Mayor, I would only add, without bringing a note of too much levity in here, that when the Boy

Scouts were in a minute ago they referred to the fact that I was somewhat known as a sportsman. I know you are, too. Let us just hope and perhaps even predict that before that year 1976 comes around that Washington will have won the Super Bowl.

MAYOR WASHINGTON. I am charging them up.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:25 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

Following the remarks, Judge Edward Allen Tamm of the United States Court of Appeals, District of Columbia Circuit, administered the oath of office.

56 Statement on the Death of Winthrop Rockefeller. *February 22, 1973*

WINTHROP ROCKEFELLER was a man of many dimensions. A successful businessman—the son of a great American family—he also knew from personal experience the life of hard manual labor. He was a leading force in the struggle for racial justice, and he contributed significantly not only to the preservation of our cultural heritage, but also brought new thinking to bear on numerous domestic problems.

Winthrop Rockefeller gave greatly to

the people of his adopted State, Arkansas, and they returned his devotion with political honor and personal affection. He gave, as well, to this Nation through his quiet philanthropy, his public leadership, and his enterprising sense of adventure in making America a better country.

Mrs. Nixon and I join with all Americans in mourning the passing of a friend.

NOTE: Governor Rockefeller, 60, died in Palm Springs, Calif. He was Governor of Arkansas from 1967 to 1970.

57 Remarks on Receiving the Report on the Jobs for Veterans Program. *February 23, 1973*

ONE THING that I noted—and I, of course, am very gratified—is that our POW's who are returning have enormous potential and have, of course, great affection and respect, and if every one of them has the offer of a job many of them are going to stay in the service. Others, of course, have offers of jobs, and there will be no problem.

But we have to remember that in addition to the POW's there are 2½ million men who served in Vietnam. They also need jobs, and the very fact of the POW's returning reminds us of our obligation to

all veterans, because they were all fighting for the same cause, a cause which is one that we can be proud of and that they can be proud of and that our POW's can be proud of, and that is why this project is so vitally important. [*Inaudible*]

Why don't you tell us how you are coming along on this?

JAMES F. OATES, JR. [Chairman of Jobs for Veterans]. Well, Mr. President, I want to do that very much indeed, and I have been looking forward to this opportunity. But before I do, I would like to take just a minute and return to Jobs for

Veterans. I have called on Admiral Gayler and General Clay¹ and had a long talk with both of them, largely having to do with the prisoners who are returning [inaudible] and I was so thrilled and I know you will be enormously pleased. Those officers said that the prisoners of war on their arrival went out of their way to express their great respect for the President and [inaudible]. Those are the men who mean so much.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, our respect is for them. Yes, sir. And here is the report?

MR. OATES. This is the report, and I think you will find it is succinct and it has some good lingo and some better facts. It shows in the table there, and in the charts, how the unemployment ratio of veterans

¹ Adm. Noel A. M. Gayler, USN, Commander in Chief, Pacific, and Gen. Lucius D. Clay, Jr., USAF, Commander, Pacific Air Forces.

had gone below the unemployment rate for non-veterans in the same age group.*

THE PRESIDENT. We would like jobs for them, too.

MR. OATES. Absolutely. This involves women veterans, also. There are 60,000 women.

NOTE: The President met with Mr. Oates at 10:30 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. Mr. Oates presented the "1972 Annual Report: National Committee—Jobs for Veterans."

On the same day, the White House issued a report, entitled "Employment Services to Veterans—A Year of Action: Report for Fiscal Year 1972" (Government Printing Office, 27 pp.), which was prepared by the Manpower Administration, Department of Labor.

* The report presented to the President shows Vietnam-era veterans' unemployment (males aged 20–29) has been reduced from 9.1 percent in the second quarter of FY 1971 to 5.9 percent as of January, 1973.

58 Radio Address About the State of the Union Message on Human Resources. February 24, 1973

Good afternoon:

At the beginning of each new year, as we reflect on the state of our American Union, we seek again a definition of what America means. Carl Sandburg came close to capturing its real meaning in three simple words that became the title for one of his greatest poems: "The People, Yes."

America has risen to greatness because again and again when the chips were down, the American people have said yes—yes to the challenge of freedom, yes to the dare of progress, and yes to the hope of peace—even when defending the peace has meant paying the price of war.

America's greatness will endure in the future only if our institutions continually

rededicate themselves to saying yes to the people—yes to human needs and aspirations, yes to democracy and the consent of the governed, yes to equal opportunity and unlimited horizons of achievement for every American.

It is in this spirit of rededication that I will send to the Congress in the next few days the fourth section of my 1973 State of the Union report—a message on the progress we have made, the steps we now must take, in helping people to help themselves through our Federal programs for human resources.

Nineteen hundred seventy-three is a year full of opportunity for great advances on this front. After more than 10 years of

war, we have successfully completed one of the most unselfish missions ever undertaken by one nation in the defense of another, and now the coming of peace permits us to turn our attention more fully to the works of compassion, concern, and social progress at home.

The seriousness of your Government's commitment to make the most of this opportunity is evidenced by the record level of funding for human resources programs proposed in our new budget—\$125 billion—nearly twice the amount that was being spent on such programs when I took office in 1969.

Let us look behind this impersonal label, "human resources," let us see some examples of the way these programs are helping to provide a better life for the American people.

Social security cash benefits for the elderly and the disabled in fiscal year 1974 will be twice what they were 4 years ago.

Next year, 5 million additional poor, aged, and disabled persons will receive increased health benefits.

Hundreds of counties which previously had no food programs to assure nutrition for the needy have them now—hunger is being eliminated from American life.

Hundreds of school districts which were giving black or brown children inferior educations in separate school systems at the time we took office now give all their children an equal chance to learn together in the same schools.

A new student assistance system is being established to bring higher education within reach of every qualified student in America.

We have launched a national drive for the conquest of cancer. We have advanced a workable proposal to provide compre-

hensive health insurance for every American family.

Health and education benefits for our veterans have been substantially increased. High-priority job programs have decreased the unemployment rate among Vietnam-era veterans by almost one-third during the past year alone.

Sweeping reforms have been set in motion to assure our senior citizens of quality nursing home care and of a better chance to live with dignity in homes of their own.

Legislative proposals to increase self-determination and economic opportunity for the American Indian have been laid before the Congress. They will be resubmitted to the Congress this year.

Outlays for civil rights activities in 1974 will be more than \$3 billion—that's 3½ times what they were at the beginning of this Administration. With this support, we are closer today than ever before to the realization of a truly just society, where all men—and all women—are equal in the eyes of the law.

These achievements, and others that I will outline in my message to the Congress, constitute a record to be proud of, a good beginning to build on.

But there are certain other aspects of the state of our Union's human resources which urgently need reform.

During the 1960's, the Federal Government undertook ambitious, sometimes almost utopian, commitments in one area of social policy after another, elbowing aside the State and local governments and the private sector and establishing literally hundreds of new programs based on the assumption that any human problem could be solved simply by throwing enough Federal dollars at it.

The intention of this effort was laudable, but the results in case after case amounted to dismal failure. The money which left Washington in a seemingly inexhaustible flood was reduced to a mere trickle by the time it had filtered through all the layers of bureaucrats, consultants, and social workers, and finally reached those whom it was supposed to help. Too much money has been going to those who were supposed to help the needy and too little to the needy themselves. Those who make a profession out of poverty got fat, the taxpayer got stuck with the bill, and the disadvantaged themselves got little but broken promises.

We must do better than this. The American people deserve compassion that works—not simply compassion that means well. They deserve programs that say yes to human needs by saying no to paternalism, social exploitation, and waste.

In order to bring our programs up to this standard, we have carefully reviewed each of them with three questions in mind:

How can we reform the decisionmaking process to bring it closer to the people whom these decisions will affect?

How can we get more value and productivity out of every tax dollar devoted to human resources?

How can we reform our approach to the delivery of services so as to give people the assistance they need without taking away their freedom or decreasing their self-reliance and their self-respect?

Here are some of the reforms we propose:

To give the people served a better and greater voice in education and manpower training programs, we propose to convert them from narrow, fragmented, categori-

cal programs—closely controlled from Washington—into new special revenue sharing programs which will provide Federal funds to be used within broad areas as each State and community judges best to meet its own special needs.

To make the Federal health care dollar go further, we propose to eliminate programs whose job is done—such as hospital construction subsidies which if continued would only worsen the national oversupply of hospital beds and further inflate medical costs. The savings achieved would help to make possible increases in other areas—such as over \$100 million more next year in cancer and heart disease research.

To make the economic opportunity dollar go further, we propose to transfer most of the antipoverty programs now conducted by the Office of Economic Opportunity into the appropriate Cabinet departments, thereby making them more efficient by linking them with other related Federal activities.

To ensure that all of our people are provided with a decent income under circumstances that will increase human dignity rather than eroding such basic values as the family structure and the dignity of work, we will work with the Congress to improve the welfare system. A system which penalizes a person for going to work and rewards a person for going on welfare is totally alien to the American tradition of self-reliance and self-respect. That is why reforming the present welfare system has been, and will continue to be, one of our major goals.

The overall effect of these reforms will be the elimination of programs that are wasteful so that we can concentrate on programs that work. They will make pos-

sible the continued growth of Federal efforts to meet human needs—while at the same time helping to prevent a ballooning budget deficit that could lead to higher taxes, higher prices, higher interest rates for all Americans.

Despite what some people say, fiscal responsibility is not just a rich man's concern. If we were to spend our economy into a tailspin in the name of social welfare, we would only be punishing those we sought to help. Over the course of our history, the free American economy has done more to combat poverty and to raise our standard of living than any government program imaginable. The stable, healthy growth of our economy must remain the cornerstone of all of our human resources policies in the 1970's.

To our great credit we Americans are a restless and impatient people—we are a nation of idealists. We dream of eradicating poverty and hunger, discrimination, ignorance, disease, and fear, and we would like to do it all today. But in order to reach these goals, we need to connect this warmhearted impatience of ours with another equally American trait—and that is levelheaded common sense.

We need to forge a new approach to human services in this country—an approach which will treat people as more than just statistics—an approach which recognizes that problems like poverty and unemployment, health care and the costs of education are more than cold abstractions in a government file drawer.

I know how tough these problems are, because I grew up with them. But I also know that with the right kind of help and the right kind of spirit they can be overcome.

I believe that no American family

should be denied good health care because of inability to pay. But I also believe that no family should be deprived of the freedom to make its own health care arrangements without bureaucratic meddling.

I believe that no boy or girl should be denied a quality education. But I also believe that no child should have to ride a bus miles away from his neighborhood school in order to achieve an arbitrary racial balance.

I believe that no American family should have to suffer for lack of income or to break up because the welfare regulations encourage it. But I also believe that we should never make it more comfortable or more profitable to live on a welfare check than on a paycheck.

I believe that government must be generous and humane. But I also believe that government must be economically responsible. We must reform or end programs that do not work. We must discontinue those programs that have served their purpose, so that our limited resources can be applied to programs that produce 100 cents worth of human benefits for every tax dollar spent.

Working together to meet human needs and unlock human potential is the greatest adventure upon which any people can embark. I pledge continued, strong Federal leadership in this work. But we have learned the hard way that Washington cannot do the whole job by itself. State and local governments, private institutions, and each individual American must do their part as well.

Let us give all our citizens the help they need. But let us also remember that each of us bears a basic obligation to help ourselves and to help our fellow man, and no

one else can assume that obligation for us—least of all the Federal Government.

If we shirk our individual responsibility, the American dream will never be more than a dream. But if the people say yes to this challenge, and if government says

yes to the people, we can make that dream come true in the lives of all Americans.

Thank you and good afternoon.

NOTE: The President's address was recorded for broadcast at 1:06 p.m. on nationwide radio.

59 Message to the Congress Transmitting the Cost of Living Council's Quarterly Report on the Economic Stabilization Program. *February 26, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

The accompanying report of the Economic Stabilization Program covers the last quarter of 1972—the final months of Phase II and a period of marked economic progress.

As the year 1972 neared its end, the picture of improved conditions was unmistakably clear. The economy gathered strength, employment reached an all-time high, the rate of unemployment dropped, real earnings rose significantly after several years of sluggishness, and the rate of inflation was lower.

Overall, the goals of Phase II were either achieved, or results were close to the targets. Food prices were an exception, and remedies in the form of increased production and supply are being sought in that area. Wage-price controls, however, can be only a part of the program to combat inflation. Reductions in Federal spending and a responsible fiscal and monetary policy must be the main elements of the anti-inflation effort, and I intend to continue pressing for them.

To preserve our gains and to prepare the country for a full return to the competitive marketplace of peacetime, I instituted Phase III of the Economic Stabilization Program earlier this year.

Under the Cost of Living Council, this modified system has the resources to guard against the still-present threat of inflation. I am determined that we shall lower the rate of inflation to 2.5 percent or less by the end of 1973, and I am prepared to use the tools at my disposal to reach this goal.

The American people clearly want the rate driven as low as possible, and I believe we can do so if the Congress will extend the Economic Stabilization Act for another year beyond April 30 and if we can obtain the full cooperation of all segments of our society.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

February 26, 1973.

NOTE: The report, covering the period October 1, 1972, through January 10, 1973, is entitled "Economic Stabilization Program Quarterly Report" (Government Printing Office, 70 pp.).

On the same day, the White House released a statement on wage and price stabilization by George P. Shultz, Secretary of the Treasury and Chairman of the Cost of Living Council, and the transcript of a news briefing on economic stabilization measures by Secretary Shultz and John T. Dunlop, Director of the Cost of Living Council. The statement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 191).

60 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Convention on Ocean Dumping. *February 28, 1973*

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, the Convention on the Prevention of Marine Pollution by Dumping of Wastes and Other Matter, opened for signature at Washington, London, Mexico City and Moscow on December 29, 1972. The report of the Department of State is enclosed for the information of the Senate.

This Convention is designed to establish in each country which is a party to this Convention, a national system for regulating the ocean disposal of wastes comparable to the system for this country provided by Title I of Public Law 92-532 enacted October 23, 1972, the Marine Protection, Research, and Sanctuaries Act

of 1972.

International concern for the protection and effective management of our oceans has been growing in recent years. We expect this Convention to come into force in a relatively short period of time and to provide a significant and successful step in the international control of marine pollution. I recommend that the Senate give prompt consideration to this Convention and consent to its ratification.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

February 28, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the convention and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive C (93d Cong., 1st sess.).

61 State of the Union Message to the Congress on Human Resources. *March 1, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

"Information of the State of the Union," which our Constitution directs shall be communicated from time to time to the Congress by the President, must consist above all of information about the well-being of the American people.

As the opening words of the Constitution proclaim, America began with "We the People." The people *are* the Union, and its condition depends wholly on theirs.

While the Nation's land and resources, its communities, its economy, and its political institutions are also vital concerns to be addressed in my reports to the Congress this year, all of these in the final analysis are no more than means to a greater end. For each of them must ultimately

be measured according to a single standard: what will serve the millions of individual Americans for whom all public officials serve as trustees.

Too often in the past that standard has not prevailed. Too often public policy decisions have been founded not on the long-run interests of all the people, but on the short-run interests of special groups of people. Programs once set in motion tend to stay in motion—sometimes long after their useful life has ended. They acquire a constituency of their own, even within the Government, and they cannot easily be reformed or stopped. Means come to be regarded as ends in themselves. And no one suffers more than the people they were designed to serve.

Despite all of the factors which conspire to hinder both the executive and the legislative branches in being as objective and analytical as we should be about the soundness of activities that continue from year to year supposedly in the public interest, we can and must discipline ourselves to take a larger view.

As we consider the subject of human resources in this fourth section of my 1973 State of the Union Message, we must not confine ourselves solely to a discussion of the year past and the year ahead. Nor can we be content to frame the choices we face in strictly governmental and programmatic terms—as though Federal money and programs were the only variables that mattered in meeting human needs.

FULFILLING THE AMERICAN DREAM

I am irrevocably committed, as Presidents before me have been and as I know each Member of the Congress is, to fulfilling the American dream for all Americans.

But I also believe deeply that in seeking progress and reform we must neither underestimate our society's present greatness, nor mistake the sources of that greatness. To do so would be to run a serious risk of damaging, with unproven panaceas applied in excessive haste and zeal, the very institutions we seek to improve.

Let us begin then, by recognizing that by almost any measure, life is better for Americans in 1973 than ever before in our history, and better than in any other society of the world in this or any earlier age.

No previous generation of our people has ever enjoyed higher incomes, better health and nutrition, longer life-expectancy, or greater mobility and convenience

in their lives than we enjoy today. None before us has had a better chance for fulfillment and advancement in their work, more leisure time and recreational opportunities, more widespread access to culture and the arts, or a higher level of education and awareness of the world around them. None has had greater access to and control over the natural and human forces that shape their lives, or better protection against suffering, inhumanity, injustice, and discrimination. And none has enjoyed greater freedom.

Secondly, let us recognize that the American system which has brought us so far so fast is not simply a system of Government helping people. *Rather it is a system under which Government helps people to help themselves and one another.*

The real miracles in raising millions out of poverty, for example, have been performed by the free-enterprise economy, not by Government anti-poverty programs. The integration of one disadvantaged minority after another into the American mainstream has been accomplished by the inherent responsiveness of our political and social system, not by quotas and coercion. The dramatic gains in health and medical care have come primarily through private medicine, not from federally-operated systems.

Even where the public sector has played a major role, as in education, the great strength of the system has derived from State and local governments' primacy and from the diverse mixture of private and public institutions in the educational process—both factors which have facilitated grassroots influence and popular participation.

We should not tamper lightly, then, with the delicately balanced social, eco-

conomic, and political system which has been responsible for making this country the best place on earth to live—and which has tremendous potential to rectify whatever shortcomings may still persist.

But we Americans—to our great credit—are a restless and impatient people, a nation of idealists. We dream not simply of alleviating poverty, hunger, discrimination, ignorance, disease, and fear, but of eradicating them altogether—and we would like to do it all today.

During the middle and late 1960's, under the pressure of this impatient idealism, Federal intervention to help meet human needs increased sharply. Provision of services from Federal programs directly to individuals began to be regarded as the rule in human resources policy, rather than the rare exception it had been in the past.

The Government in those years undertook sweeping, sometimes almost utopian, commitments in one area of social concern after another. The State and local governments and the private sector were elbowed aside with little regard for the dislocations that might result. Literally hundreds of new programs were established on the assumption that even the most complex problems could be quickly solved by throwing enough Federal dollars at them.

Well-intentioned as this effort may have been, the results in case after case amounted to dismal failure. It was a classic case of elevating means to the status of ends in themselves. Hard evidence of actual betterment in people's lives was seldom demanded. Ever-larger amounts of funds, new agencies, and increased staff were treated as proof enough of success, simply because the motive was compassionate.

The American people deserve better than this. They deserve compassion that works—not simply compassion that means well. They deserve programs that say yes to human needs by saying no to paternalism, social exploitation and waste.

Protecting and enhancing the greatness of our society is a great goal. It is doubly important, therefore, that we not permit the worthiness of our objective to render us uncritical or careless in the means we select for attaining that objective.

It will increase our greatness as a society, for example, to establish the principle that no American family should be denied good health care because of inability to pay. But it will diminish our greatness if we deprive families of the freedom to make their own health care arrangements without bureaucratic meddling.

It will increase our greatness to ensure that no boy or girl is denied a quality education. But it will diminish our greatness if we force hundreds of thousands of children to ride buses miles away from their neighborhood schools in order to achieve an arbitrary racial balance.

It will increase our greatness to establish an income security system under which no American family will have to suffer for lack of income or break up because welfare regulations encourage it. But it would erode the very foundations of our stability and our prosperity if we ever made it more comfortable or more profitable to live on a welfare check than on a paycheck.

PRINCIPLES FOR THE 1970's

Consistently since 1969, this Administration has worked to establish a new human resources policy, based on a healthy

skepticism about Federal Government omniscience and omnicompetence, and on a strong reaffirmation of the right and the capacity of individuals to chart their own lives and solve their own problems through State and local government and private endeavor. We have achieved a wide variety of significant reforms.

Now the progress made and the experience gained over the past four years, together with the results of careful program reviews which were conducted over this period, have prepared us to seek broader reforms in 1973 than any we have requested before.

In the time since the outlines of these proposals emerged in the new budget, intense controversy and considerable misunderstanding about both their purposes and their effects have understandably arisen among persons of goodwill on all sides.

To provide a more rational, less emotional basis for the national debate which will—and properly should—surround my recommendations, I would invite the Congress to consider four basic principles which I believe should govern our human resources policy in the 1970's:

- Government at all levels should seek to support and nurture, rather than limit, the diversity and freedom of choice which are hallmarks of the American system. The Federal Government in particular must work to guarantee an equal chance at the starting line by removing barriers which might impede an individual's opportunity to realize his or her full potential.
- The Federal Government should concentrate more on providing incentives and opening opportunities, and less on delivering direct services.

Such programs of direct assistance to individuals as the Federal Government does conduct must provide evenhanded treatment for all, and must be carefully designed to ensure that the benefits are actually received by those who are intended to receive them.

- Rather than stifling initiative by trying to direct everything from Washington, Federal efforts should encourage State and local governments to make those decisions and supply those services for which their closeness to the people best qualifies them. In addition, the Federal Government should seek means of encouraging the private sector to address social problems, thereby utilizing the market mechanism to marshal resources behind clearly stated national objectives.
- Finally, all Federal policy must adhere to a strict standard of fiscal responsibility. Ballooning deficits which spent our economy into a new inflationary spiral or a recessionary tailspin in the name of social welfare would punish most cruelly the very people whom they seek to help. On the other hand, continued additions to a personal tax burden which has already doubled since 1950 would reduce incentives for excellence and would conflict directly with the goal of allowing each individual to keep as much as possible of what he or she earns to permit maximum personal freedom of choice.

The new post of Counsellor to the President for Human Resources, which I have recently created within the Executive Office of the President, will provide a much-needed focal point for our efforts to see

that these principles are carried out in all Federal activities aimed at meeting human needs, as well as in the Federal Government's complex relationships with State and local governments in this field. The coordinating function to be performed by this Counsellor should materially increase the unity, coherence, and effectiveness of our policies.

The following sections present a review of the progress we have made over the past four years in bringing each of the various human resources activities into line with these principles, and they outline our agenda for the years ahead.

HEALTH

I am committed to removing financial barriers that would limit access to quality medical care for all American families. To that end, we have nearly doubled Federal outlays for health since the beginning of this Administration. Next year, they will exceed \$30 billion.

Nearly 60 percent of these funds will go to finance health care for older Americans, the disabled, and the poor, through Medicare and Medicaid.

But we have taken significant steps to meet other priority needs as well. In the last four years, funding for cancer and heart and lung disease research has more than doubled; it will amount to more than three-quarters of a billion dollars in 1974.

We have supported reform of the health care delivery system and have proposed legislation to assist in the development of health maintenance organizations on a demonstration basis. We have increased funds for programs which help prevent illness, such as those which help carry out our pure food and drug laws and those which promote consumer safety.

We have declared total war on the epidemic problem of drug abuse—and we are winning that war. We have come a long way toward our goal of creating sufficient treatment services so that any addict desiring treatment can obtain it. We are also making substantial investments in research to develop innovative treatment approaches to drug abuse. I will report in greater detail on our anti-drug effort in a later section of this year's State of the Union message.

Strong measures have been taken to ensure that health care costs do not contribute to inflation and price people out of the care they need. The rate of increase in physicians' fees was cut by two-thirds last year alone, and hospital price rises have also been slowed. To build on these gains, controls on the health services industry have been retained and will be strengthened under Phase III of the Economic Stabilization Program.

A major goal of this Administration has been to develop an insurance system which can guarantee adequate financing of health care for every American family. The 92nd Congress failed to act upon my 1971 proposal to accomplish this goal, and now the need for legislation has grown still more pressing. *I shall once again submit to the Congress legislation to help meet the Nation's health insurance needs.*

Federal health policy should seek to safeguard this country's pluralistic health care system and to build on its strengths, minimizing reliance on Government-run arrangements. We must recognize appropriate limits to the Federal role, and we must see that every health care dollar is spent as effectively as possible.

This means discontinuing federally funded health programs which have served their purpose, or which have

proved ineffective, or which involve functions more suitably performed by State and local government or the private sector.

The Hill-Burton hospital grants program, for example, can no longer be justified on the basis of the shortage of hospital facilities which prompted its creation in 1946. That shortage has given way to a surplus—so that to continue this program would only add to the Nation's excess of hospital beds and lead to higher charges to patients. It should be terminated.

We are also proposing to phase out the community mental health center demonstration program while providing funding for commitments to existing arrangements extending up to eight years. This program has helped to build and establish some 500 such centers, which have demonstrated new ways to deliver mental health services at the community level.

Regional Medical Programs likewise can now be discontinued. The planning function they have performed can better be conducted by comprehensive State planning efforts. A second function of these programs, the continuing education of physicians who are already licensed, is an inappropriate burden for Federal taxpayers to bear.

EDUCATION

1973 must be a year of decisive action to restructure Federal aid programs for education. Our goal is to provide continued Federal financial support for our schools while expanding State and local control over basic educational decisions.

I shall again ask the Congress to establish a new program of Education Revenue Sharing. This program would replace the complex and inefficient tangle of approxi-

mately 30 separate programs for elementary and secondary education with a single flexible authority for use in a few broad areas such as compensatory education for the disadvantaged, education for the handicapped, vocational education, needed assistance in federally affected areas, and supporting services.

Education Revenue Sharing would enlarge the opportunities for State and local decision-makers to tailor programs and resources to meet the specific educational needs of their own localities. It would mean less red tape, less paper work, and greater freedom for those at the local level to do what they think is best for their schools—not what someone in Washington tells them is best.

It would help to strengthen the principle of diversity and freedom in education that is as old as America itself, and would give educators a chance to create fresher, more individual approaches to the educational challenges of the Seventies. At the same time, it would affirm and further the national interest in promoting equal educational opportunities for economically disadvantaged children.

If there is any one area of human activity where decisions are best made at the local level by the people who know local conditions and local needs, it is in the field of primary and secondary education. I urge the Congress to join me in making this year, the third in which Education Revenue Sharing has been on the legislative agenda, the year when this much-needed reform becomes law.

The time has also come to redefine the Federal role in higher education, by replacing categorical support programs for institutions with substantially increased funds for student assistance. *My budget proposals have already outlined a plan to*

channel much more of our higher education support through students themselves, including a new grant program which would increase funds provided to \$948 million and the number assisted to over 1,500,000 people—almost a five-fold increase over the current academic year.

These proposals would help to ensure for the first time that no qualified student seeking postsecondary education would be barred from attaining it by a lack of funds—and they would at the same time reinforce the spirit of competition among institutions that has made American higher education strong. I urge their prompt enactment.

As we work to eliminate the unnecessary bureaucratic constraints currently hampering Federal education aid, we will also be devoting more attention to educational research and development through the new National Institute of Education.

Funding for NIE will increase by almost 50 percent in fiscal year 1974, reaching \$162 million.

Finally, in order to enhance the diversity provided by our mixed educational system of public and private schools, I will propose to the Congress legislation to provide a tax credit for tuition payments made by parents of children who attend non-public elementary and secondary schools.

MANPOWER

The Federal manpower program is a vital part of our total effort to conserve and develop our human resources.

Up to the present time, however, the "manpower program" has been not a unified effort, but a collection of separate categorical activities, many of them overlapping. These activities now include such programs as Manpower Development and

Training Act Institutional Training programs, on-the-job training, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Public Service Careers, Operation Mainstream, and the Concentrated Employment Program. The net effect of several such programs operating in a single city seldom amounts to a coherent strategy for meeting the needs of people in that community.

While many well-run local programs are more than worth what they cost, many other individual projects are largely ineffective—and their failure wastes money which could be used to bolster the solid accomplishments of the rest.

Manpower programs ought to offer golden "second chances" for the less fortunate to acquire the skills and work habits which will help them become self-supporting, fully productive citizens. But as presently organized and managed, these second chance opportunities too often become just another dead-end exercise in frustration, rather than a genuine entree into a good job.

I believe that the answer to much of this problem lies in our program of Manpower Revenue Sharing—uniting several previously fragmented manpower activities under a single umbrella and then giving most of the responsibility for running this effort to those governments which are closest to the working men and women who need assistance. *In the next 16 months, administrative measures will be taken to institute this needed reform of the manpower system within the present legal framework.*

Manpower Revenue Sharing assistance will be freed from unnecessary Federal constraints, and aimed at developing jobs, equipping unemployed workers with useful work skills, and moving trainees into regular employment.

WELFARE

With the failure of the past two Congresses to enact my proposals for fundamental reform of the Nation's public assistance system, that system remains as I described it in a message last year—"a crazy quilt of injustice and contradiction that has developed in bits and pieces over the years."

The major existing program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), is as inequitable, inefficient, and inadequate as ever.

- The administration of this program is unacceptably loose. The latest national data indicate that in round numbers, one of every 20 persons on the AFDC rolls is totally ineligible for welfare; 3 more are paid more benefits than they are entitled to; and another is underpaid. About one-quarter of AFDC recipients, in other words, are receiving improper payments.
- Complex program requirements and administrative red tape at the Federal and State levels have created bureaucracies that are difficult to manage.
- Inconsistent and unclear definitions of need have diluted resources that should be targeted on those who need help most.
- Misguided incentives have discouraged employable persons from work and induced fathers to leave home so that their families can qualify for welfare.

After several years of skyrocketing increases, however, outlays for this program have begun to level off. This results from the strong resurgence of our economy and expansion of the job market,

along with some management improvements in the AFDC program and strengthened work requirements which were introduced into the program last year.

Since the legislative outlook seems to preclude passage of an overall structural reform bill in the immediate future, I have directed that vigorous steps be taken to strengthen the management of AFDC through administrative measures and legislative proposals.

Under these reforms, Federal impediments to efficient State administration of the current AFDC system will be removed wherever possible. Changes will be proposed to reduce the complexities of current eligibility and payment processes. Work will continue to be required of all those who can reasonably be considered available for employment, while Federal funds to help welfare recipients acquire needed job skills will increase.

One thing is certain: the welfare mess cannot be permitted to continue. A system which penalizes a person for going to work and rewards a person for going on welfare is totally alien to the American tradition of self-reliance and self-respect. That is why welfare reform has been and will continue to be one of our major goals; and we will work diligently with the Congress in developing ways to achieve it.

NUTRITION

During the past four years, Federal outlays for food assistance have increased more than three-fold. Food stamp and food distribution programs for needy families have been extended to virtually every community in the country. More than 15 million persons are now receiving food stamps or distributed foods, more than

double the 1969 total. More than 8 million schoolchildren are now being provided with free or reduced-price lunches—up from only 3 million in 1969.

We have made great strides toward banishing hunger and malnutrition from American life—and we shall continue building on that progress until the job is done.

OLDER AMERICANS

One measure of the Nation's devotion to our older citizens is the fact that programs benefitting them—including Social Security and a wide range of other activities—now account for nearly one-fourth of the entire Federal budget.

Social Security benefits levels have been increased 51 percent in the last four years—the most rapid increase in history. Under new legislation which I initially proposed, benefits have also become inflation-proof, increasing automatically as the cost of living increases.

Over 1½ million older Americans or their dependents can now receive higher Social Security benefits while continuing to work. Nearly 4 million widows and widowers are also starting to receive larger benefits—\$1 billion in additional income in the next fiscal year. And millions of older Americans will be helped by the new Supplemental Security Income program which establishes a Federal income floor for the aging, blind, and disabled poor.

Nevertheless, we are confronted with a major item of unfinished business. Approximately two-thirds of the twenty million persons who are 65 and over own their own homes. A disproportionate amount of their fixed income must now be used for property taxes. *I will submit to the Congress recommendations for al-*

leviating the often crushing burdens which property taxes place upon many older Americans.

I also ask the cooperation of the Congress in passing my 1974 budget request for \$200 million to fund the programs of the Administration on Aging—a funding level more than four times that appropriated for AoA programs in fiscal year 1972. Half of this amount will be devoted to nutrition projects for the elderly, with the remainder going to assist States and localities in developing comprehensive service programs for older Americans.

In 1973, we shall continue to carry out the commitment I made in 1971 at the White House Conference on Aging: to help make the last days of our older Americans their best days.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

No one who started life in a family at the bottom of the income scale, as I did and as many Members of the Congress did, can ever forget how that condition felt, or ever turn his back on an opportunity to help alleviate it in the lives of others.

We in the Federal Government have such an opportunity to help combat poverty. Our commitment to this fight has grown steadily during the past decade, without regard to which party happened to be in power, from under \$8 billion in total Federal anti-poverty expenditures in 1964 to more than \$30 billion in my proposed budget for 1974.

And we have moved steadily closer to the goal of a society in which all our citizens, regardless of economic status, will have both the resources and the opportunity to fully control their own destinies.

At the beginning of this period, when Government found itself unprepared to respond to the sharp new national awareness of the plight of the disadvantaged, creation of an institutional structure separate from the regular machinery of Government and specifically charged with helping the poor seemed a wise first step to take. Thus the Office of Economic Opportunity was brought into being in 1964.

A wide range of useful anti-poverty programs has been conceived and put into operation over the years by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Some programs which got their start within OEO have been moved out into the operating departments and agencies of the Government when they matured, and they are thriving there. VISTA, for example, became part of ACTION in 1971, and Head Start was integrated with other activities focused on the first five years of life under HEW's Office of Child Development. OEO's other programs have now developed to a point where they can be similarly integrated.

Accordingly, in keeping with my determination to make every dollar devoted to human resources programs return 100 cents worth of real benefits to the people who most need those benefits, I have decided that most of the anti-poverty activities now conducted by the Office of Economic Opportunity should be delegated or transferred into the Cabinet departments relating to their respective fields of activity. Adhering strictly to statutory procedures, and requesting Congressional approval whenever necessary, I shall take action to effect this change.

This reorganization will increase the efficiency of the various programs by grouping them with other functionally related Federal efforts and by minimizing

the overhead costs which in the past have diverted too much money from human needs into staff payrolls and administrative expenses. Funding for the transferred activities will stay level, or in many cases will even increase.

The only major OEO program for which termination of Federal funding is recommended in my budget is Community Action. New funding for Community Action activities in fiscal year 1974 will be at the discretion of local communities.

After more than 7 years of existence, Community Action has had an adequate opportunity to demonstrate its value within the communities it serves, and to build locally based agencies. OEO has taken steps to help Community Action agencies put down local roots through a program of incentives and training, and has incorporated the basic community action concept—participation in programs by the people whom the programs seek to serve—into all Federal anti-poverty activities. Further Federal spending on behalf of this concept, beyond the \$2.8 billion which has been spent on it since 1965, no longer seems necessary or desirable.

LEGAL SERVICES

One other economic opportunity effort deserving special mention is the Legal Services Program. Notwithstanding some abuses, legal services has done much in its seven-year history to breathe new life into the cherished concept of equal justice for all by providing access to quality legal representation for millions of Americans who would otherwise have been denied it for want of funds.

The time has now come to institutionalize legal services as a permanent,

responsible, and responsive component of the American system of justice.

I shall soon propose legislation to the Congress to form a legal services corporation so constituted as to permit its attorneys to practice according to the highest professional standards, provided with safeguards against politicization of its activities, and held accountable to the people through appropriate monitoring and evaluation procedures.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Protecting the civil rights of every American is one of my firmest commitments as President. No citizen should be denied equal justice and equal opportunity in our society because of race, color, sex, religion, or national origin.

This Administration has steadily increased the Federal financial commitment in this field. Outlays for civil rights and equal opportunity in 1974 will pass \$3 billion—3½ times what they were when we took office.

We have worked hard—and with good results—to end *de jure* school segregation, to promote equal job opportunity, to combat housing discrimination, to foster minority business enterprise, to uphold voting rights, to assist minority higher education, to meet minority health problems like sickle cell anemia, and to make progress on many other fronts.

Now that equal opportunity is clearly written into the statute books, the next and in many ways more difficult step involves moving from abstract legal rights to concrete economic opportunities. We must ensure real social mobility—the freedom of all Americans to make their own choices and to go as far and as high as their abilities will take them. Legislation

and court decisions play a major part in establishing that freedom. But community attitudes, government programs, and the vigor of the economic system all play large parts as well.

I believe that we have made progress, and we shall continue building on that progress in the coming year:

- The Department of Justice will expand its efforts to guarantee equal access to, and equal benefit from, Federal financial assistance programs.
- The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will receive additional resources to carry out its expanded responsibilities.
- The Civil Service Commission will expand its monitoring of equal employment opportunities within the Federal Government.
- Efforts to assure that Federal contractors provide equal access to job opportunities will be expanded.
- The Small Business Administration will expand its loan program for minority business by nearly one-third.
- The Commission on Civil Rights will receive additional resources to carry out its newly granted responsibilities.

Additionally, in the year ahead, we will continue to support ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution so that American women—not a minority group but a majority of the whole population—need never again be denied equal opportunity.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN

For Indian people the policy of this Administration will continue to be one of advancing their opportunities for self-

determination, without termination of the special Federal relationship with recognized Indian tribes.

Just as it is essential to put more decision-making in the hands of State and local governments, I continue to believe that Indian tribal governments should assume greater responsibility for programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare which operate on their reservations. *As I first proposed in 1970, I recommend that the Congress enact the necessary legislation to facilitate this take-over of responsibility. Also, I recommend that the 1953 termination resolution be repealed.* Meanwhile the new statutory provisions for Indian tribal governments under General Revenue Sharing will assist responsible tribal governments in allocating extra resources with greater flexibility.

I shall also propose new legislation to foster local Indian self-determination by developing an Interior Department program of bloc grants to Federally recognized tribes as a replacement for a number of existing economic and resource development programs. The primary purpose of these grants would be to provide tribal governments with funds which they could use at their own discretion to promote development of their reservations.

Indian tribal organizations and Indians seeking to enter business need easier access to loan and credit opportunities; I proposed in 1970 and will again propose legislation to accomplish this objective.

Because Indian rights to natural resources need better protection, I am again urging the Congress to create an Indian Trust Counsel Authority to guarantee that protection.

In the two and one-half years that In-

dians have been waiting for the Congress to enact the major legislation I have proposed, we have moved ahead administratively whenever possible. We have restored 21,000 acres of wrongfully acquired Government land to the Yakima Tribe. We have filed a precedent-setting suit in the Supreme Court to protect Indian water rights in Pyramid Lake. My fiscal year 1974 budget proposes total Federal outlays of \$1.45 billion for Indian affairs, an increase of more than 15 percent over 1973.

To accelerate organizational reform, I have directed the Secretary of the Interior to transfer day to day operational activities of the Bureau of Indian Affairs out of Washington to its field offices. *And I am again asking the Congress to create a new Assistant Secretary position within the Interior Department to deal with Indian matters.*

VETERANS

With the coming of peace, the Nation's inestimable debt to our veterans and their dependents will continue to command a high priority among the human resource efforts of this Administration.

During the past four years, I have twice signed legislation increasing the allowances for educational assistance to veterans. Nearly 2 million veterans are now in some form of training under the GI Bill for Vietnam-era veterans. Pension payments to veterans or their survivors who need income support have also been raised twice and the test of need has been greatly improved, including a more equitable formula for adjusting the VA pension rate when other sources of income, such as Social Security, are increased. The VA pension program now directly benefits over 2 million individuals.

Compensation payments for service-

related disabilities have been raised on two occasions, and more than 2 million veterans of all wars now receive this benefit. The service-disabled veteran deserves special concern. In addition to top-priority consideration in medical care, my budget calls for VA outlays to provide disabled Vietnam-era veterans with vocational rehabilitation, housing grants, and specially equipped automobiles to be nearly doubled in 1974 compared to their 1971 level. Disability compensation is also being intensively reviewed to ensure that disabled veterans will receive compensation payments which fully recognize their earnings impairment.

VA guaranteed home loans for veterans have risen by almost two-thirds since we took office. And high-priority job programs have decreased the unemployment rate among Vietnam-era veterans by almost one-third during the past year alone.

Dramatic progress has been made in the veterans medical care program. A high level of construction and modernization of VA medical facilities has been carried on. The total number of medical care personnel staffing VA facilities has increased by one-sixth since 1969. The total number of veterans treated—both in VA facilities and as outpatients—has risen to new highs. Beneficiaries treated as hospital inpatients will go over the million mark in fiscal 1974 for the first time. Outpatient visits will climb to almost 14,000,000—about twice the level of 1969.

Since 1969, there has also been a steady shortening of the average length of stay in VA hospitals, a highly desirable objective from every viewpoint. This means that VA hospitals have fewer patients in bed on an average day, with shorter waiting lists, even though the total number of patients treated has gone up.

Misunderstanding these statistics, some have sought to establish by law a numerical minimum average daily patient census in VA hospitals. But such a fixed daily census would represent a backward step: it would force a sharply increased length-of-stay—an effect that is medically, economically, and socially undesirable. It is far better that our veterans be restored to their families and jobs as rapidly as feasible, consistent with good medical care. A fixed patient census would tie the hands of those seeking to serve veterans' health needs; I urge the Congress not to enact such a requirement.

The Congress is now studying several bills involving the VA pension program and cemetery and burial benefits for veterans. I hope that the Congress will work to see that the veterans pension program is realistically structured and compatible with other major income maintenance programs. On the burial benefits question, I urge that legislative action be deferred until completion of a study currently being conducted by the Administrator of Veterans Affairs to determine the most equitable approach to improving burial and cemetery benefits for veterans. The Administrator's recommendations will be made available to the Congress in the near future.

CONSUMER AFFAIRS

The self-reliance and resourcefulness of our people when they enter the marketplace as consumers, the generally high standard of ethics and social responsibility upheld by business and industry, and the restrained intervention of government at various levels as a vigorous but not heavyhanded referee of commerce—that combination of factors, in

that order, has been largely responsible for confounding predictions that American capitalism would breed its own downfall in the 20th century. We must build on each of these strengths in our efforts to protect the rights of the consumer as well as the vigor of the free enterprise economy in the 1970's.

Early in 1971, after the Congress had failed to act on my "Buyer's Bill of Rights" proposal for a new Office of Consumer Affairs directly under the President, I established such an office by executive order. Under the direction of my Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs, OCA has helped to create a stronger consumer consciousness throughout the executive branch.

This office is now ready to integrate its operations more fully with the line departments of the Government, and has accordingly been transferred into the Department of Health, Education and Welfare—the logical base for an agency concerned with human well-being.

From this new base the Office of Consumer Affairs will continue its policy formation role and educational efforts, and will also take on additional responsibilities, including representing consumer interests in testimony before the Congress and acting as a general ombudsman for the individual consumer.

VOLUNTARY ACTION

Many thousands of Americans already are volunteering their time to meet human needs in their communities—fighting disease, teaching children to read, working to solve local social problems. But now we must do more to tap the enormous reservoir of energy represented by

millions of other potential citizen volunteers.

That is why three years ago I encouraged a number of our leading citizens to create the National Center for Voluntary Action to support private volunteer efforts; that is why two years ago I established the new ACTION agency to strengthen Federal volunteer programs.

We must now continue seeking new avenues of citizen service. As we turn from the concerns of war, may all Americans accept the challenge of peace by volunteering to help meet the needs of their communities—so that we can mobilize a new army of concerned, dedicated, able volunteers across the Nation.

ARTS AND HUMANITIES

I know that many in the Congress share the concern I have often expressed that some Americans, particularly younger people, lost faith in their country during the 1960's. I believe this faith is now being reborn out of the knowledge that our country is moving toward an era of lasting peace in the world, toward a healthier environment, and toward a new era of progress and equality of opportunity for all our people.

But renewed faith in ourselves also arises from a deeper understanding of who we are, where we have come from, and where we are going—an understanding to which the arts and the humanities can make a great contribution.

Government has a limited but important function in encouraging the arts and the humanities—that of reinforcing local initiatives and helping key institutions to help themselves. With the approach of our Bicentennial, we have a special op-

portunity to draw on the enrichment and renewal which cultural activity can provide in our national life. With this in mind, my 1974 budget requests further expansion of the funds for the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, to a new high of \$168 million. I ask continued full support from the Congress for this funding.

SAYING YES

Carl Sandburg spoke volumes about this country's past and future in three simple words that became the title for one of his greatest poems: "The People, Yes."

America has risen to greatness because again and again when the chips were down, the American people have said yes—yes to the challenge of freedom, yes to the dare of progress, and yes to the hope of peace—even when defending the peace has meant paying the price of war.

America's greatness will endure in the future only if our institutions continually rededicate themselves to saying yes to the people—yes to human needs and aspirations, yes to democracy and the consent of the governed, yes to equal opportunity and unlimited horizons of achievement for every American.

1973 is a year full of opportunity for great advances on this front. After more than a decade of war, we have successfully completed one of the most unselfish missions ever undertaken by one nation in the defense of another. Now the coming of peace permits us to turn our attention more fully to the works of compassion, concern, and social betterment here at home.

The seriousness of my commitment to

make the most of this opportunity is demonstrated by the record level of funding for human resource programs proposed in our new budget—\$125 billion in all—nearly twice the amount that was being spent on such programs when I took office in 1969.

This is both a generous budget and a reform budget. The reforms it proposes will put muscle behind the generosity it intends. The overall effect of these reforms will be the elimination of programs that are wasteful so that we can concentrate on programs that work. They will make possible the continued growth of Federal efforts to meet human needs—while at the same time helping to prevent a runaway deficit that could lead to higher taxes, higher prices, and higher interest rates for all Americans.

The opportunity is ours, executive and legislative branches together, to lead America to a new standard of fairness, of freedom, and of vitality within our federal system. We can forge a new approach to human services in this country—an approach which will treat people as more than mere statistics—an approach which recognizes that problems like poverty and unemployment, health care and the costs of education are more than cold abstractions in a government file drawer.

We know how tough these problems are, because many of us grew up with them ourselves. But we also know that with the right kind of help and the right kind of spirit they can be overcome.

Let us give all our citizens the help they need. But let us remember that each of us also bears a basic obligation to help himself and to help our fellowman, and that no one else can assume that obliga-

tion for us—least of all the Federal Government.

If we shirk our individual responsibility, the American dream will never be more than a dream.

But if the people say yes to this challenge, if government says yes to the people—and if all of us in Washington say no to petty quarrels and partisanship and yes to our public trust—then we can truly bring that dream to life for all Americans

in the new day of peace that is dawning.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
March 1, 1973.

NOTE: The message was the fourth in a series of six messages to the Congress on the state of the Union.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the message by Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Caspar W. Weinberger.

62 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Golda Meir of Israel. *March 1, 1973*

Madam Prime Minister and our distinguished guests:

As I am sure you have noted, the tables are rather crowded tonight, and I can let you in on a little secret about how White House invitations are issued and what happens on an occasion like this.

Normally invitations go out, as you know, about 3 to 4 weeks in advance, and because we want to be sure that for our distinguished guests we have all of the places filled, we usually send 20 more invitations than the 110 that this room will seat, and always the cancellations make it possible not only for us to have not just the 110 that the room will seat, but we can add a few more at the last minute.

This time, all 120 accepted and invited a few friends.

I don't know of a dinner we have had, Madam Prime Minister, in this house since we have had the honor of being here, in which more people wanted to come and in which we could make fewer friends and more enemies than we did by inviting the group that we have here. But this company is one that is very distinguished. It represents our Government, our Congress; it

represents also this whole Nation.

As you noted, they came from Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, the South, the North, the East, and the West. And that tells us something. It tells us about the respect and the admiration they have for your country, for you, personally, and for your people.

Before proposing the formal toast to you, I think it is only appropriate on this occasion to say a word about one who has served your country so well and the cause of good relations between our two countries so well.

Ambassador [Yitzhak] Rabin came to Washington as Ambassador 4 years ago as one of the most respected military leaders in the world. He leaves Washington on his 51st birthday, which is tonight, as one of the most respected and able ambassadors ever to serve in the Washington Capital—as a matter of fact, if you want to give up your citizenship, we have a job for you.

And now, to our distinguished guest, there is so little we can say to this audience made up of her friends and her admirers. I can, however, speak for all of us by saying that we appreciate what she has done

for her country; we are proud of the fact that she began in our country. We also are aware of the fact that she has played a great role in the past and will play a great role in the years to come, not only in the future of her country but of the Mideast and, therefore, of the world.

I was reading a little background before this evening's dinner, and a statement by Ben-Gurion about our distinguished guest tonight in which he said that history will record that, thanks to a Jewish woman, the Jewish State came into existence. And that is an enormous compliment to one who had contributed as much as he had to the creation of and the initiation of the State of Israel.

We don't need to go into that background with this company. I will simply say that as we look at the problems today, and as we look at what our distinguished guest has accomplished through the years, we can have hope as to the future.

All of us remember that when Israel became independent, there were those who said it was impossible. All of us remember that after Israel became independent, there were those who said it was impossible that they could defend that independence surrounded as they were by implacable enemies. And now today it is said that it is impossible that there is any chance to build any kind of a stable or lasting peace in the area.

Well, our distinguished guest has played a great role, first, in proving that it was not impossible that Israel could become independent, that it was not impossible that Israel would develop the strength to maintain and defend its independence. And also I certainly believe that she can and will play a great role in the future in building that peace which seems to be impossible, but which is her dream, the dream of

all people in the world, in the Mideast and in all the areas around it.

I would not suggest that it is easy. I would not suggest that it will be soon or instant. But I do suggest that the kind of leadership, enlightened, courageous and strong, that built an independent Israel, that has defended its independence, has the genius within it to contribute to the kind of peace in that troubled part of the world which will provide real security for the states involved, as well as peace.

And it is this, of course, which has been the dream of the Prime Minister. It is this goal which we have discussed and toward which we are working. And it is in that spirit that I know that all of you will tonight want to rise with me, and as you rise, I would suggest that we are proud to have her here again as she has been in this house before, 4 years ago, proud because she is the Prime Minister of Israel, proud because of everything she has done for her country, proud because she had her roots in our country. And may our two countries always stand together in the cause of peace and independence and freedom for all people.

To Prime Minister Meir. To the Prime Minister.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:01 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Earlier in the day, the President and Prime Minister Meir met at the White House.

Prime Minister Meir responded to the President's toast as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, dear friends:

Several times in my life I thought there were certain moments when one can wish for nothing else to come, and yet, I have had the privilege to live quite long, but I have had things happen and goals reached and hopes and dreams come true.

I wonder, Mr. President, whether even you can realize what it means for a little tiny coun-

try, certainly in comparison with this great country of the United States, tucked away far from your people and your country, somewhere in a corner where not everybody in the world knows exactly where it is—is Israel in Jerusalem, or is Jerusalem in Israel? Some people, for instance, like the United Nations, still have Palestine on the agenda.

You don't know probably what it means that this great Nation and this great people has shown so much friendship, so much consideration, so much understanding—and has come to our aid at most critical moments—what this means to our people, to the young and old.

Very often in our long history, we said to ourselves, "We are alone." At moments when nobody else disproved the fact that we were alone, we drew courage from the fact that we can be alone altogether and not give up.

We had a very, very tragic history. And yet, every one of us that studies our history, the history of the Jewish people, the one thing that stands out, I believe, which made it possible for us to be what we are back in our own home, back to our sovereignty, with difficulties, with dangers, with worries, with disasters, all this is true—and a long, long history was never free of all these elements—but somehow we remained what we are.

We remained ourselves. We didn't run away from ourselves; we didn't look for easy solutions to run away from facing sometimes very dangerous situations and very difficult facts. And even since Israel was reborn, there were moments when we felt all alone.

When moments like that faced us, we faced up to it, but no people in the world really wishes to be all alone, and we are not an exception.

Mr. President, I don't know whether you know what it means to Israel today when we don't have to say we are all alone, when we know that the greatest country in the world, the country that understands and practices freedom more than anywhere else in the world, a country who still remembers its forefathers that fought for one thing, for this very simple thing—to be free, to be free to believe in what they believed, to practice their faith and to believe in it, and to practice a life of difficulties and hardships and pioneering and to build for the future.

If we had the choice, if people would say to us, "Look, you can only have one friend in this world. Choose," I have no doubt whom we would have chosen. Throughout the years, in these very recent years, you know very well what you and your people mean to Israel.

I have personally very many things to be thankful for in my long life. I include even the difficulties that I had to face, because I can honestly say at least one thing: I never ran away from a difficult situation. I have more courage to face our young men and women at home.

We discussed at the table the heroes, the heroes of the wives and parents of your prisoners of war, the joy that we feel, all of us in the world, that they are coming back to their families. The difficulty to sit around at home for me with a group of these young wives—not very many, thank God, only 13 men in Egypt and in Syria—but I look at these young women, with their little children, and their husbands torn away from them, brave, courageous, or when I have to face widows, orphans, mothers, and fathers who have lost their dear ones—in moments of that kind, I have been able to be stronger in my ability to face these real heroes of all nations, because, Mr. President, you have made it possible for us to know we are not alone.

And again, I have been privileged—I don't know why—that in the last few years I should be the messenger to bring this great message to my people, young and old, and say to my people, "We are not alone; we have a friend." This people, through the man who carries the greatest burden and highest office, through its President, made it possible for us to know in the dangerous position that we still are, that we are not alone.

For this, Mr. President, for all that you have done, for your understanding of what we are striving for, for your not doubting that what we really want is an honest and real and true and lasting peace with our neighbors, that the greatest dream that we are dreaming is to cooperate with our neighbors, to cross the borders not with tanks but with tractors, to help, together with our neighbors, to build the area that has known so much bloodshed and so much war and so much destruction, to build together with our neighbors an area where

people, men and women and little children, will be happy and will live and will find all this worthwhile.

When that great day comes—I said the other night to a group of friends, we have a song about peace, what will happen when peace comes, and the song has a refrain: This is not a fantasy, this is not a dream, this is true; if it won't happen today, then tomorrow; if not

tomorrow, then the next day; but this is not a fantasy and not a dream.

Mr. President, when that great day comes, and I am convinced that it will come, we will always remember that in days of sorrow and difficulty and danger, we were not alone, we had a friend.

Ladies and gentlemen, to the President.

63 The President's News Conference of *March 2, 1973*

THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT THIEU OF SOUTH VIETNAM

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] I have one announcement for those who are members of the traveling press.

We have now set the date for the San Clemente meeting with President Thieu, and it will be April 2 and 3. Those of you who desire to go should make your plans, if you could, to leave on the Friday before, because I am going to California to attend a dinner on that occasion for John Ford on Saturday night, the 31st, and then the meetings will start the following Tuesday and will be concluded that week.

I will take any other questions you have.

QUESTIONS

CEASE-FIRES IN LAOS AND CAMBODIA

[2.] Q. Mr. President, there has been considerable speculation and interpretation after the Laos cease-fire pact to the effect that the Communists gained more out of this than they did out of the Geneva Accords, and also a situation in Cambodia that no one seems to be able to interpret. Originally you hinged your peace settlement on all of Indochina.

What is your expectation in these areas, and how much confidence do you have that stability will be maintained?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Sheldon [Courtney R. Sheldon, *Christian Science Monitor*], first, with regard to Laos, the agreement there was made by the Royal Laotian Government, and it is an agreement which we, of course, supported and we accept. I have noted that various elements within Laos have questioned the decision by Souvanna Phouma to make the agreement that he did. But the key to that agreement and what will make the cease-fire work is an unequivocal provision in the agreement that we made and that is for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Laos. We expect that to be adhered to, and when that is adhered to, we believe that the chances for peace in Laos will be very considerable, and considerably more than after the '54 accords.

As I have pointed out, and as Dr. Kissinger has also pointed out, the situation in Cambodia is much more complex because you don't have the governmental forces there that can negotiate with each other. However, there has been an attempt on the part of the Cambodian Government to have a unilateral cease-fire that has not been reciprocated on the part

of the opposition forces in that area. Once a cease-fire is agreed to or adhered to, we will observe it. Until it is adhered to, we, of course, will provide support for the Cambodian Government.

I would not want to indicate that the prospects in Cambodia are as, shall we say, positive as those in Laos. But we do believe that there, too, the withdrawal of the North Vietnamese forces, which has been agreed to in our agreement with the North Vietnamese, from Cambodia is the key thing.

If those forces are out and if the Cambodians then can determine their own future, we believe the chances for a viable cease-fire in Cambodia will be very substantial.

ECONOMIC AID TO NORTH VIETNAM

[3.] Q. Mr. President, could I ask you whether aid to North Vietnam was a condition of the cease-fire agreement? There seems to be some confusion about that.

THE PRESIDENT. No, Mr. Lisagor [Peter Lisagor, *Chicago Daily News*], it was not. The provision for assistance to North Vietnam on the economic side is one that we believe is in the interest of creating lasting peace and stability in the area.

That is a provision which we, of course, will have to have Congressional support for. We realize, as I pointed out previously in the meeting with you ladies and gentlemen of the press, there is considerable opposition to aid to North Vietnam. It is rather reminiscent to me of what I went through when I first came to Congress and when you, Mr. Lisagor, were covering in the Congress.

The opposition to aiding Germany and aiding Japan—Japan being the most

militaristic and aggressive force in Asia and Germany being the most militaristic people in Europe at that time—the opposition was very substantial.

I remember at that time my own district—I polled it as that was the time when Congressmen were starting the business of polling their constituents. And it was 68 percent against any aid to our former enemies. I voted for it. I voted for it, even though it was submitted by a Democratic President, because I was convinced that the chances for having peace in Asia and the chance for having peace in Europe would be considerably increased if the Germans and the Japanese, the two strongest, most vigorous people in those two respective areas, were turned toward peaceful pursuits, rather than being left in a position of either hopelessness which would lead to frustration and another war, or confrontation.

I think that decision was right. I don't mean that the situation with regard to North Vietnam is on all fours with it, but I do say that if the North Vietnamese, after 25 years of war, continue to think that their future will only be meaningful if they engage in continuing war, then we are going to continue to have war in that part of the world, and it would not only threaten South Vietnam but Cambodia and Laos and Thailand, the Philippines, the whole area.

If, on the other hand, the people of North Vietnam have a stake in peace, then it can be altogether different. And so we believe that once the Congress, both Democrats and Republicans, considers this matter—and we want them to consider it and give their judgment on it—that they will decide, as they did 25 years ago, based on that precedent and what happened then, that the interests of peace

will be served by providing the aid.

The costs of peace are great, but the costs of war are much greater. And, incidentally, with regard to costs, I know that some of you have raised a question that I would like to address myself to as to whether whatever assistance we eventually do agree to and that we do present to the Congress, whether or not that assistance will require a cutting back on domestic programs.

The answer is no. As far as any assistance program is concerned, it will be covered by the existing levels for the budget which we have in for national security purposes. It will not come out of the domestic side of the budget.

Q. Mr. President—

THE PRESIDENT. By national security, I mean the whole area of defense and foreign assistance.

Q. Is this the area that the money for North Vietnam will come out of, the defense budget?

THE PRESIDENT. It will come out of the national security budget, which means the area of foreign assistance and defense—both. As you know, the two are interlocked because the Defense Department has some foreign aid programs, and there are some outside the Defense Department. But the whole national security area will absorb all of the assistance programs which we may agree to in terms of that.

Q. Can you say how much it will be?

THE PRESIDENT. No, that is something to be negotiated.

BLACK AMERICANS

[4.] Mr. Alexander [Holmes Alexander, McNaught Syndicate] was on his feet

a moment ago and then I will go to the rest of you.

Q. Mr. President, I apologize for this question before I ask it.

THE PRESIDENT. Nobody else does. [Laughter]

Q. The only reason I do so is because I think you should have a chance to answer it. But I was in Richmond shortly after your reelection, at a public meeting, and a State senator, who was a Negro, got up and asked me, when is Mr. Nixon going to stop kicking the blacks around? And I thought you might like to respond to that.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I could not stop unless I started it, and I have not, I believe.

I think it is very important, Mr. Alexander, that the people who happen to be black Americans in this country understand that the President of this Nation is one who, first, would not, of course, ever say that he would ever admit, and I trust there would be nothing in the record to indicate that he had kicked any group in the population around and particularly one that deserved far better than that because of what they have been exposed to through the years.

The second point I would make is that there has been some speculation I know in some of the press and particularly in the black press to the effect that because I did not get a substantial number of black votes, although greater than in 1968, that, therefore, now we don't owe anything to them.

Let me say that is not the issue at all. The issue is doing what is right. This Nation owes something to all of its people, and it owes something particularly to those who have been disadvantaged.

We, I believe, have done a very effective

tive job in that respect in terms of what we have done—maybe not, in terms of what we have said, so well—and we are going to continue to do well, and we hope, eventually, that our citizens will recognize that we have done so.

RELEASE OF POW'S AND TROOP
WITHDRAWALS

[5.] Q. Mr. President, could you give us your own delineation of what really entered into the recent agreement on the POW return and the resumption of troop withdrawal?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Theis [J. William Theis, Hearst Newspapers and Hearst Headline Service], I don't think that any useful purpose would be served by indicating what the content of the various messages were which went between the governments involved at that time.

Just let me say that Mr. Ziegler covered that, after a consultation with me, when he was first asked that question.¹

As far as the POW's are concerned, that provision and the withdrawal provision cannot be linked to anything else. The suggestion, for example, that what brought about the POW return was some action on the part of the United States or some assurance on the part of the United States that we would do something with regard to getting better compliance with the cease-fire, that suggestion is completely wrong. That provision stands on its own, too.

It is in our interests and we are doing everything that we can to get both parties,

North and South, to comply with the cease-fire, but as far as the POW's are concerned, the agreement clearly provides that in return for withdrawal, the POW's will be returned. We expect that agreement to be complied with.

We made our position known publicly very clearly and privately very clearly. We accomplished our goal, and now to go into how we did it, I don't think would be helpful.

I want to say, too, that I have noted that in the morning press there was some concern expressed about the 30 POW's that are held by the PRG [Provisional Revolutionary Government]. I am not going to speculate about how that is to be accomplished, except to say that we had been assured that within 48 hours from yesterday that the POW's held by the North, this particular segment, and by the PRG, would be released.

Now, where they will be released and how is something else again, but we expect them to be released within the time frame, and I will not comment about what we will do if they are not, because we expect that they will comply.

AMNESTY

[6.] Yes, Mr. Deakin [James Deakin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch].

Q. After your last press conference, Senator Scott suggested to some of us that we ask you again about the question of amnesty for draft evaders, as opposed to those who deserted military service after being inducted. Have you something further to tell us on your stand on amnesty?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I think I have made my position abundantly clear. I realize that many people disagree with it. I would suggest, incidentally, that if Mem-

¹ Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler's remarks about the release of American prisoners of war are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 193).

bers of the Senate and the House disagree with it, they should put it up for a vote in the Senate and House. I think that the Members of the Senate and the House would overwhelmingly approve my position.

Let me say it is not said with any sense of vengeance; it is not said with any lack of compassion—but I take this position because these men have broken the law. And if, at the end of the war, we broke every precedent that this country has had, this would be the first time in history that amnesty was provided for those who deserted or evaded the draft, broke the law rather than complied with it as conscientious objectors. If we did that, we could not have a viable force in the future.

I would also say I can think of no greater insult to the memories of those who have fought and died, to the memories of those who have served, and also to our POW's, to say to them that we are now going to provide amnesty for those who deserted the country or refused to serve. We are not going to do so, and I do not intend to change my position.

JOHN CONNALLY

[7.] Q. Mr. President, are you going to send John Connally on a mission around the world?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, he has been traveling around the world a great deal already, as you know. And I want you to know, Miss McClendon [Sarah McClendon, Sarah McClendon News Service], seriously, that as Secretary Connally has traveled around the world, he, of course, has been traveling in his private capacity as an attorney, but he has, at my request, undertaken some informal discussions with leaders in various parts of the world.

Secretary Connally, as you know, is very knowledgeable in the field of energy, and without getting involved in anything involving his client-attorney relationship, he is studying the situation with regard to energy from the private sector, and is making recommendations to me and to our energy group.

As far as any future trips are concerned, there are none officially planned, but if he travels privately, and if I can prevail upon him to undertake a mission that would be semipublic in purpose, I can think of no better man to undertake it.

WELFARE REFORM

[8.] Q. Mr. President.

Q. Mr. President, Mr. Weinberger yesterday—I am sorry.

THE PRESIDENT. Either one. You start.

Q. Mr. Weinberger—

THE PRESIDENT. He will always get his; don't worry.

Q. —said that the Administration was never comfortable about the family assistance plan, and he seemed to include you in that. I wonder if you could give us your views on that, and why you introduced it in the first place if you were not comfortable with it?

THE PRESIDENT. No, Mr. Weinberger is expressing, I think, the views that we had after we ran into a situation in the Senate which clearly indicated that we were up against an impossible legislative problem.

First, with regard to family assistance, I thought at the time that I approved it—and this view has not changed—that it was the best solution to what I have termed, and many others have termed before me, the welfare mess. I believe that it is essential that we develop a new pro-

gram and a new approach to welfare in which there is a bonus not for welfare but a bonus, if there is to be one, for work.

That may be over-simplifying, but basically, in our welfare system today, because of varying standards and because the amounts for food stamps and other fringes have gone up so much, we find that in area after area of this country it is more profitable to go on welfare than to go to work. That is wrong. It is unfair to the working poor. The family assistance program, I thought then and I think now, is the best answer.

Now, there are many who object to it, and because of those objections there is no chance—and we have checked this out; I have made my own judgment of the political situation, and I have talked to [Clark] MacGregor, and I have talked to [William E.] Timmons, and I have talked to Bryce Harlow about it—there is no chance we can get it through the Senate because of objections, on the one side, to any family assistance program at all, on principle, and to actions, on the other side, if we put up the program, to raise the price tag so high that we could not possibly afford it.

So we have to find a different way. I have told Secretary Weinberger, therefore, to go back to the drawing board and also to go to the Members of the Senate on both sides and to bring me back a program which will stop this unconscionable situation where people who go on welfare find it more profitable to go on welfare than to go to work. And I think we will find an answer. Family assistance may be part of that answer, but I know we are going to have to change it in order to get a vote—a proposition that will get the votes.

L. PATRICK GRAY III

[9.] Now Mr. Mollenhoff [Clark R. Mollenhoff, Des Moines Register and Tribune].

Q. Mr. President, Mr. Gray has been up before the Senate Judiciary Committee,² and he has been under attack for political speeches in 1972, and there is a controversy about whether those are or are not political speeches. I wonder if you have looked at those, whether you have a view on that? And it seemed to me the most vulnerable point was a memo from Patrick O'Donnell from the White House, that was distributed to all the surrogates for the President, that went to Pat Gray on the Cleveland situation, and it involved a setting out of how crucial Ohio was in the campaign in 1972. And I wonder if you felt that was a breach of your instructions relative to the politics of Pat Gray and whether you had investigated this?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Mollenhoff, that is a very proper question. I mean I would not suggest other questions are improper, but it is a very proper question, because when I appointed Mr. Gray, as you remember, I said I was not going to send his name last year because I felt that we should wait until we got past the political campaign so that the Senate could consider it in a nonpolitical and nonpartisan atmosphere, and the Senate is now doing that.

As far as Mr. Gray is concerned—and not the individual, but the Director of the FBI—he must be, as Mr. Hoover was before him, a nonpartisan figure. He

² On February 21, 1973, the President nominated Mr. Gray to be Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Mr. Gray had been designated Acting Director on May 3, 1972.

should not be involved in making political statements, and that does not mean, if we look at Mr. Hoover's record, that he will not say some things that may sound political at times, but it means that he must not become involved in partisan politics, supporting a candidate, opposing a candidate, and Mr. Gray, on the basis of what I have seen, had no intention of doing so. If there was anything indicating that during the campaign that we were trying to enlist him in that, it certainly didn't have my support and would not have it now.

I would also say, too, that the current Senate investigation or hearing, I should say, of Mr. Gray, is altogether proper. They should ask him all these questions. I want the people of this country to have confidence in the Director of the FBI. I had confidence in him when I nominated him.

I believe that the Senate will find, based on his record since he was nominated, that he has been fair, he has been efficient, and that he will be a good, shall we say, lawman in the tradition of J. Edgar Hoover, and I am sure that the Senate will overwhelmingly approve him.

Q. Mr. President, do you think it is fair and efficient for Mr. Gray and the FBI not to question Mrs. Mitchell when they think there was cause to because her husband was a former Attorney General and campaign official of yours?

THE PRESIDENT. With regard to other questions on Mr. Gray, it has always been my practice, as you ladies and gentlemen know, not to comment on a hearing while it is in process. This is a matter that was brought up in the hearing.

I am sure that if the Members of the Senate feel that that was an improper activity on his part, they will question him

about it, and he will answer on it. But whether it is this hearing or any other hearing, I will not comment on a hearing while it is in progress.

My answer to Mr. Mollenhoff stated a principle. Your question goes to a matter that the committee has a right to look into, and the answer should come from the committee.

HOSTAGES IN THE SUDAN

[10.] Q. Mr. President, we have a crisis, of course, in the Sudan where a U.S. Ambassador is being held hostage,³ and one of the ransom demands is that Sirhan Sirhan be released. I wonder if you have any comment on this, particularly on that demand?

THE PRESIDENT. Last night I was sitting by the wife of Mr. Rabin, and we were saying that the position of ambassador, once so greatly sought after, now, in many places, becomes quite dangerous.

As you know, we had a problem in Latin America last year; we have one here this year. I don't mean to suggest it is that hazardous everywhere, but it is a problem and it is a risk that an ambassador has to take.

As far as the United States as a government giving in to blackmail demands, we cannot do so and we will not do so.

Now, as to what can be done to get these people released, Mr. Macomber⁴ is

³ On March 1, 1973, Ambassador Cleo A. Noel, Jr., Deputy Chief of Mission George Curtis Moore, and Belgian Chargé d'Affaires Guy Eid were seized at a reception at the Saudi Arabian Embassy in Khartoum, by members of the Arab terrorist organization, Black September.

⁴ Deputy Under Secretary of State for Management William B. Macomber, Jr.

on his way there for discussions. The Sudanese Government is working on the problem. We will do everything that we can to get them released, but we will not pay blackmail.

OBSERVANCE OF THE VIETNAM CEASE-FIRE

[11.] Q. Mr. President, are you disappointed or are you concerned that the cease-fire agreement in Vietnam has not been observed as scrupulously as you might have liked up to now?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, let's look at what has happened. A cease-fire agreement is always difficult. You may recall I have mentioned that on occasion, that it is particularly difficult in the case of a guerrilla war. I have often been, as some of you gentlemen and ladies have, at the demarcation line in Korea. Many people forget that 20 years after the Korean cease-fire, where you have a demarcation line, a clear line between the one side and the other, where they have no guerrilla war, there are still incidents, not many, but there are still incidents. They were running as high 3 years ago as 100 a year.

Now, in Vietnam, where you have a guerrilla war situation, where the lines are not so clearly drawn as to which side is held by the PRG and which side is held by the South Vietnamese, there will continue to be violations until the situation becomes settled between the two sides.

What is important, however, is to note that the number of violations, the intensity of the fighting, has been reduced. It is not zero yet. I doubt if it will become zero in any time in the foreseeable future because of the fact that a guerrilla war having been fought for 25 years, off and on, is not going to be ended by one agreement, not in 1 month, not in 2 months, but the main

point is, it is going down. And we expect adherence to the agreement from both sides. We will use our influence on both sides to get adherence to the agreement.

WAGE-PRICE GUIDELINES

[12.] Q. Mr. President, may I ask you about the 5.5 percent wage settlement? The leaders of labor seem to feel that that 5.5 percent ceiling is now more flexible in Phase III than it was in Phase II, but Secretary Shultz and the Director of the Cost of Living Council, Mr. Dunlop, the other day told us it is not more flexible, that it is just as hard a ceiling as it was before. Could you straighten this out for us?

THE PRESIDENT. What we have here as most important is not the 5.5, but the bottom line, which is 2.5. Now on that there is unanimity. The leaders of labor, the leaders of management, this very prestigious and powerful committee representing strong elements in both areas, agreed to the goal toward which we would work in our wage-price discussions this year, to achieve an inflation level at the consumer level, retail level, of 2.5.

Now, in order to get to that level, it is going to be necessary that wage demands be within the ballpark which will reach that level. As far as the wage guidelines are concerned, and the price guidelines, the same guidelines are in effect now as were before January 11. However, what we have done is to recognize what we found in Phase II. In Phase II, actually the wage settlements in all of the various settlements, and I have examined them, a great number of them, you had very few that were 5.5. Some were as high as 7. Some were as low as 3. But what mattered was that in the end, the average worked out

so that we almost achieved our goal of 3 percent. We got to 3.4.

Now, what we are concerned about is to see that in the negotiations in the year 1973, those negotiations are undertaken with enough flexibility—some will go a little higher, some will go a little lower—but with enough flexibility so that we don't have a wage-price push which would destroy the goal that everybody unanimously agrees we should try to achieve of 2.5 at the end of the year at the retail level. I am sure that confuses you.

THE AMERICAN DOLLAR

[13.] Q. Mr. President, what kind of trouble is the American dollar in in Europe, in your judgment?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the American dollar, I think, is being attacked by international speculators. I know that when I use that term my sophisticates in the Treasury Department shudder because they believe these great forces are not determined by speculation and the rest. But as I look at the American economy, as I look at the American rate of inflation, I would say that the dollar is a good bet in the world markets today.

The United States has the lowest rate of inflation of any major industrial country. The United States has certainly the strongest economy of the major industrial countries. The United States also has a program, which we believe is going to work, for continuing to control inflation.

We have a very tight budget, or I should say a responsible budget. Let me point out, it is not a budget which is cut; it is a budget, however, which does not go up as much as some would want it to go, and therefore, one that will continue to cool the inflationary fires. And, of course, under

these circumstances, we believe that the dollar is a sound currency and that this international attack upon it by people who make great sums of money by speculating—one time they make a run on the mark, and the next time it is on the yen, and now it is on the dollar—we will survive it.

Let me say there will not be another devaluation. I would say, second, we are going to continue our program of fiscal responsibility so that the dollar will be sound at home and, we trust as well, abroad. And we also are going to continue our efforts to get the other major countries to participate more with us in the goal that we believe we should all achieve, which we set out at the time of the Smithsonian and the other agreements, and that is of getting an international monetary system which is flexible enough to take care of these, what I believe are, temporary attacks on one currency or another.

Q. Can we do anything to bring these speculators under control?

THE PRESIDENT. We cannot because, I would say, for the most part they are operating in the international area, and all that we can do is to keep our dollar as sound as we can at home, to keep our economy as sound as we can, to be as responsible as we can so that the run on the dollar does not mean a weakness of the American economy or of the dollar, in fact, that we spend here at home.

RENT CONTROLS

[14.] Q. Mr. President, are you possibly giving any thought to reviving the Rent Control Board?

THE PRESIDENT. No, we are not. Rent controls have an enormous public appeal,

particularly when you see some of the gouging that goes on in individual cases. The difficulty with rent control, however—and any of you who have visited Paris or some of the other major cities which have had rent control almost since World War II and see what has happened to rents, particularly of new dwellings, know what I am talking about—the difficulty with rent control, if you put a rent control ceiling on that is not economically viable so that the builders and those who will rent apartments and so forth cannot and will not make their investment, all that happens is that you get a shortage of housing, the pressures go up, and also you find that the landlords don't keep up the places.

No, I do not think that rent controls is the right answer. I think the answer to the problem of rents is production of housing which will deal with it.

THE WATERGATE CASE

[15.] Q. Mr. President, now that the Watergate case is over, the trial is over, could you give us your view on the verdict⁵ and what implications you see in the verdict on public confidence in the political system?

THE PRESIDENT. No, it would not be proper for me to comment on the case when it not only is not over, but particularly when it is also on appeal.

⁵ On January 30, 1973, G. Gordon Liddy and James W. McCord, Jr., were convicted in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia on charges of burglary, wiretapping, and conspiracy in connection with the illegal entry into the Democratic National Committee headquarters on June 17, 1972. Earlier in January, five other defendants had pleaded guilty to charges connected with the break-in before Chief Judge John J. Sirica of the court.

I will simply say with regard to the Watergate case what I have said previously, that the investigation conducted by Mr. Dean, the White House Counsel, in which, incidentally, he had access to the FBI records on this particular matter because I directed him to conduct this investigation, indicates that no one on the White House Staff, at the time he conducted the investigation—that was last July and August—was involved or had knowledge of the Watergate matter. And, as far as the balance of the case is concerned, it is now under investigation by a Congressional committee and that committee should go forward, conduct its investigation in an even-handed way, going into charges made against both candidates, both political parties. And if it does, as Senator Ervin has indicated it will, we will, of course, cooperate with the committee just as we cooperated with the grand jury.

CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS AND EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGE

[16.] Q. Mr. President, yesterday at the Gray hearings, Senator Tunney suggested he might ask the committee to ask for John Dean to appear before that hearing to talk about the Watergate case and the FBI-White House relationship. Would you object to that?

THE PRESIDENT. Of course.

Q. Why?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, because it is executive privilege. I mean you can't—I, of course—no President could ever agree to allow the Counsel to the President to go down and testify before a committee.

On the other hand, as far as any committee of the Congress is concerned, where information is requested that a member of

the White House Staff may have, we will make arrangements to provide that information, but members of the White House Staff, in that position at least, cannot be brought before a Congressional committee in a formal hearing for testimony. I stand on the same position there that every President has stood on.

FRANK CORMIER [Associated Press]. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Mr. President, on that particular point, if the Counsel was involved—

THE PRESIDENT. He always gets two. [Laughter]

Q. —if the Counsel was involved in an illegal or improper act and the prima facie case came to light, then would you change the rules relative to the White House Counsel?

THE PRESIDENT. I do not expect that

to happen, and if it should happen, I would have to answer that question at that point.

Let me say, too, that I know that, since you are on your feet, Clark [Mollenhoff], that you had asked about the executive privilege statement, and we will have that available toward the end of next week or the first of the following week, for sure, because obviously, the Ervin committee is interested in that statement, and that will answer, I think, some of the questions with regard to how information can be obtained from a member of the White House Staff, but consistent with executive privilege.

MR. CORMIER. Thank you again.

NOTE: President Nixon's thirtieth news conference was held at 11:08 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House on Friday, March 2, 1973.

64 Remarks on Receiving the "Heart-of-the-Year" Award. *March 2, 1973*

DR. PAUL N. YU [president of the American Heart Association]. Mr. President, each year the American Heart Association has been privileged to honor a distinguished American with the "Heart-of-the-Year" Award. For the past 4 years, Mr. President, you have graciously consented to present the award in our name. This year we would like very much to have you keep it.

Mr. President, we are really extremely pleased and proud to present the 1973 "Heart-of-the-Year" Award to you in recognition of your consistent support and encouragement of the voluntary action in the health field. Your support has made it possible for us to expand the role of the volunteers and the voluntary health

agency to fight the number one health problem—heart and blood diseases.

As you know, the goal of the American Heart Association is to conquer heart and blood vessel diseases through the support of cardiovascular research, education, and commingled services. We are very confident that with your sustained guidance, support, and encouragement we will achieve our goals.

So, Mr. President, please accept this award as a small token of our great appreciation.

The citation reads: "1973 Heart-of-the-Year Award. Presented by the American Heart Association to President Richard M. Nixon for his consistent support and encouragement of voluntary programs

combating the nation's most serious health problem—heart and blood vessel diseases.”

Thank you very much.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much, Dr. Yu.

In accepting this award, Doctor, I want to accept it on behalf of those of you who deserve it, and that is the volunteers both here in the District of Columbia and all over this Nation.

I noted in my talking papers that I was to mention the fact that I should accept it because, and make note of the fact that, this Administration has committed approximately \$100 million to research in the field of heart disease and the rest.

But I cannot take credit for that. The taxpayers of America, all of the American people, have made it possible for this research to go forward.

That is the governmental side, but what is done on the voluntary side, which you represent here today, is equally important. This is the seed money, and then the volunteers will go far beyond that in finding, certainly, a solution to this problem.

Just let me say one thing personally. As you presented this, here in this Oval Office of the President, I think about the two Presidents—the three Presidents—who preceded me in this office. President Eisen-

hower, of course, had a heart attack in 1955, and eventually that was the cause of death; and that President Johnson had a heart attack while he was in the Senate and that that was the cause of death.

I think back over my public life of going to visit President Eisenhower in Denver right after his heart attack, which is something that I will never forget, and also going to visit President Johnson when he was in Bethesda Hospital. I am not suggesting by that that Presidents are particularly susceptible to heart attacks, but I do know that those who carry rather heavy burdens in offices like this, even the doctors say might be more susceptible to a heart attack than some others.

And so on behalf of President Johnson, President Eisenhower, and all the American people, and particularly on behalf of the volunteers, I accept this.

And I am glad Mrs. Nixon is here, because she has made talks all over the country for various affairs where money is raised for this in the voluntary sector, so I give her the award.

NOTE: The exchange of remarks began at 12:15 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on Administration actions in the field of heart research.

65 Statement on the Slaying of Two American Diplomats by Terrorists in Khartoum, The Sudan. *March 2, 1973*

IT WAS with the deepest sense of grief that I have learned of the acts of terrorism which took the lives of Ambassador Cleo A. Noel and Deputy Chief of Mission George Curtis Moore. The United States is emphasizing its strong feeling that the

perpetrators of this crime must be brought to justice.

This tragic event underscores once again the need for all nations to take a firm stand against the menace of international terrorism. I know the American

people join me in expressing our deepest sympathy to the families of these diplomats who have given the last full measure of devotion in service to their country.

NOTE: Ambassador Noel and Mr. Moore, along with Belgian Chargé d'Affaires Guy Eid, were slain a day after they had been captured and held hostage by members of the Black September terrorist group in the Saudi Arabian Em-

bassy. Two days later, the terrorists surrendered to Sudanese officials, releasing unharmed the Saudi Arabian Ambassador and the Jordanian Chargé d'Affaires.

The White House announced that the President ordered the White House flag to be flown at half-staff, together with the flags of the Department of State and all American consular posts abroad, until the interment of Ambassador Noel and Mr. Moore.

66 Remarks at the Swearing In of G. Bradford Cook as Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission. *March 3, 1973*

WE ARE here for the swearing in of the new Chairman of the SEC.

[At this point, Kevin Duffy, United States District Judge for the Southern District of New York, administered the oath of office. The President then resumed speaking.]

Ladies and gentlemen, as you can see from his appearance, Mr. Cook is one of the youngest men ever to be appointed Chairman of this very important Commission. The reason he is receiving this appointment is that his predecessor, Bill Casey, who is now in the State Department, recommended him as the best man to carry on the reforms that Mr. Casey initiated so effectively when he was the Chairman.

Mr. Cook has served, as you know, as General Counsel for the Commission, and his appointment indicates two things, among many others: first, our belief that a young man who has the experience and the ability should not have his age be a bar to his going up to a high position of

this sort, and second, that an individual who works within a department, who proves himself there, can be and should be promoted to a higher position after he has proved himself.

So, Mr. Cook, you are going to have to fill some pretty big shoes, but I think you can do it.

MR. COOK. Thank you. First of all, I am honored sir, for probably the greatest privilege of my life, to serve you. You have made a lot of tough decisions in the last 4 years, and I hope that mine aren't quite as tough as yours. I am, of course, honored, also, to be able to follow Bill Casey, whom I greatly admired, and hope I can continue his programs. So I consider this a great honor and I won't let you down.

THE PRESIDENT. I am sure of that. Good luck.

MR. COOK. Thank you, sir.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12 noon in the Oval Office at the White House.

67 Memorandum Urging Support of the Red Cross. *March 3, 1973*

Memorandum for Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies:

March is Red Cross Month, a time when Americans can reaffirm and renew their support for this vital organization and the role it plays in our lives. Each year, the range and scope of the Red Cross grows with the growth of our country and the needs of our people. In the past year the Red Cross has helped to alleviate suffering from disasters such as Hurricane Agnes, trained hundreds of thousands to deal effectively in matters of community health and safety and, through its blood donor program, brought help to untold numbers of ill and injured. The Red Cross has also provided valuable services for our men and women in uniform and their families.

As President of the United States and

Honorary Chairman of the American National Red Cross, I have officially designated March, 1973, as Red Cross Month. By so doing, I am indicating my strong support for the important work of the Red Cross—America's Good Neighbor. I hope that you—as citizens and leaders—also will want to endorse the work of the Red Cross by asking every member of the Armed Forces and every Federal employee to be a good neighbor—and to help the Good Neighbor. In this way we can ensure that the Red Cross will have the means to continue its important service to the Nation.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: On the same day, the President signed Proclamation 4191, designating March as Red Cross Month, 1973.

68 Radio Address About the State of the Union Message on Community Development. *March 4, 1973*

Good afternoon:

I want to report to you today on the quality of life in our cities and towns.

A few years ago we constantly heard that urban America was on the brink of collapse. It was one minute to midnight, we were told, and the bells of doom were beginning to toll. One history of America in the 1960's was even given the title "Coming Apart."

Today, America is no longer coming apart.

One of the most difficult problems of the 1960's was the alarming increase in crime—up 122 percent from 1960 to 1968.

Today, the rate of crime is dropping in more than half of our major cities.

Civil disorders have also declined.

The air is getting cleaner in most of our major cities.

The number of people living in substandard housing has been cut by more than 50 percent since 1960.

The Nation's first new transit system in more than 20 years has just been opened in San Francisco. Another is under construction in Washington, D.C.; others are planned in Atlanta and Baltimore.

City governments are no longer on the verge of financial catastrophe. Once

again the business world is investing in our downtown areas.

What does all this mean for community life in America? Simply this: The hour of crisis has passed. The ship of state is back on an even keel, and we can put behind us the fear of capsizing.

We should be proud of our achievements, but we should never be complacent. Many challenges still remain. In approaching them, we must recognize that some of the methods which have been tried in the past are not appropriate to the 1970's.

One serious error of the past was the belief that the Federal Government should take the lead in developing local communities. America is still recovering from years of extravagant, hastily passed measures, designed by centralized planners and costing billions of dollars, but producing few results.

I recently learned of a city where \$30 million was paid for an urban renewal project. But instead of getting better, the physical condition of the target neighborhood actually got worse.

In one of our huge, high-rise public housing projects, less than one-third of the units are now fit for human habitation and less than one-fifth are even occupied.

In another city, urban renewal was supposed to salvage and improve existing housing. Thirty million dollars was spent over 12 years, but the results were so meager that the planners finally gave up and called in the bulldozers. Now almost half of the project's 200 acres lies vacant, unsold.

Some of our programs to help people buy or improve housing are also backfiring. Too many of the owners fail to meet their payments, and the taxpayer

gets stuck with the bill. He also gets stuck with the house and the added expense of looking out for it. As a result, over 90,000 federally subsidized housing units are now owned by the Federal Government—your Government—over 14,000 in one metropolitan area alone.

Now these examples are not unusual. This does not mean that the people in charge of these programs were dishonest or incompetent. What it does mean is that they are human, and that no human being, accountable only to an office in Washington, can successfully plan and manage the development of communities which are often hundreds or thousands of miles away.

There are too many leaks in the Federal pipeline. It is time to plug them up. That is why we are changing our entire approach to human and community development. We are putting an end to wasteful and obsolete programs and replacing them with ones that work.

Our 1974 budget would eliminate seven outmoded urban development programs. It would suspend four ineffective housing programs.

We are not pulling the rug out from under anyone who has already been promised assistance. Under commitments already made, we will subsidize an estimated 300,000 housing starts this year and will provide housing assistance to more than 2 million low- and moderate-income families.

But we are stopping programs which have failed. We are determined to get a dollar's worth of service out of every dollar's worth of taxes. The high-cost, no-result boondoggling by the Federal Government must end.

This means we will continue to press for greater efficiency and better manage-

ment in Federal programs. But it also means giving the lead role back to grassroots governments again. The time has come to reject the patronizing notion that Federal planners, peering over the point of a pencil in Washington, can guide your lives better than you can.

Last October, at Independence Hall in Philadelphia, I signed into law a general revenue sharing bill. This bill allocates 30 billion Federal dollars over the next 5 years for State and local governments to use however they like.

Revenue sharing represents a new Declaration of Independence for State and local governments. It gives grassroots governments a new chance to stand on their own feet.

Revenue sharing money can be used to put more policemen on the beat, to build new schools, to lower property taxes, or for whatever other purpose you and your local leaders think best.

Let me emphasize one point which is often misunderstood. General revenue sharing money is new money. It was never intended to replace programs we are now cutting back. To replace those programs, I am asking the Congress to create four new special revenue sharing programs.

One of these new revenue sharing bills, the Better Communities Act, would provide \$2.3 billion in its first year of operation. This aid will have no strings attached as long as it is used for community development. Your local leaders can go on spending it the way Washington was spending it if they like. But they would also be free to work out better plans without having to get Washington's approval.

We have several other proposals which deserve the support of every American taxpayer.

One is our recommendation for a new Department of Community Development. This department will pull together programs which are now scattered among different departments or agencies. It would put them under a single roof. I first made this proposal nearly 2 years ago. It is time for the Congress to act on it. As a first step toward getting better coordination in this field, I have already appointed a Counsellor to the President for Community Development [James T. Lynn].

Another key recommendation is our \$110 million proposal to help State and local governments build up their administrative skills and planning expertise.

In the field of housing, we must stop programs that have been turning the Federal Government into a nationwide slumlord. One of my highest domestic priorities this year will be the development of new policies that eliminate waste and target aid to genuinely needy families.

One of our highest priorities must be to improve transportation. In the past 20 years, Federal money has helped build the world's best system of modern highways. Our Administration has committed \$19 billion to this goal. Now we must concentrate on moving people within our cities as effectively as we move them between our cities. We must help our communities develop urban mass transit systems of which America can truly be proud.

I propose that our States and communities be given the right to use a designated portion of the Highway Trust Fund for capital improvements in urban public transportation, including improvements in bus and rapid rail systems.

Changing the way we use the Highway Trust Fund should be one of the top items on our national agenda. If we do not act

now, our children will grow up in cities which are strangled by traffic, raked by noise, choked by pollution.

By opening up the Highway Trust Fund today, we can open up great new vistas for our cities tomorrow.

I have also asked that Federal funding authority for mass transit capital grants be doubled—from \$3 billion to \$6 billion. And I recommended that the Federal share of mass transit projects be raised to 70 percent.

All of these steps will help us meet the challenge of mass transit.

Perhaps no program means more to those it helps than does disaster aid. But it is not enough for Government merely to respond to disasters. We should also take actions to prevent disasters, to reduce their effect.

I will soon send recommendations to the Congress to revamp and improve disaster aid. I hope the Congress will also support an important proposal I have already made—moving disaster assistance out of the Executive Office of the President and into the Department of Housing and Urban Development, where it can be coordinated with other community aid.

Too often, people think of community development solely in terms of the big city. In fact, less than 30 percent of our people live in places with a population of more than 100,000. This is approximately the same number who live in rural America. The proportion of our people living in cities with a population of over 1 million is no greater today than it was 50 years ago.

In an age when people move a great deal, the growth of our great cities and that of our smaller communities are di-

rectly linked. A balanced approach to community development must keep small-town America clearly in sight.

Our Administration will use every effective means to help develop smaller communities, to bring new vitality to the American countryside.

Perhaps the most important factor in the crisis mentality of the 1960's was the growing sense on the part of the average individual that the circumstances of his life were increasingly beyond his control. Nothing is more important in improving our communities than giving people a sense of control again, letting them know that they can make a difference in shaping the places where they live.

If the spirit of community means anything, it means a spirit of belonging, a spirit of responsibility, a spirit of participation. Restoring this "spirit of community" is the ultimate purpose of all the community development efforts of our Administration.

"A great city," Walt Whitman wrote, "is that which has the greatest men and women." Only by appealing to the greatness that lies within our people can we build and sustain the kind of communities we want for America.

Thank you and good afternoon.

NOTE: The President's address was recorded for broadcast at 12:06 p.m. on nationwide radio.

On the following day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by six mayors who had met with the President to discuss revenue sharing and urban development. They were Mayors Pete Wilson of San Diego, Calif.; John Driggs of Phoenix, Ariz.; Ben R. Boo of Duluth, Minn.; Stephen May of Rochester, N.Y.; George Sullivan of Anchorage, Alaska; and Carlos Romero Barcelo of San Juan, P.R.

On March 6, 1973, the White House released

the transcript of a news briefing on their meeting with the President to discuss Federal-city relations by Mayor Roman S. Gribbs of Detroit, Mich., president, and Allen E. Pritchard, Jr.,

executive vice president, National League of Cities; and John J. Gunther, executive director, U.S. Conference of Mayors.

69 Statement on the Death of Pearl S. Buck.

March 6, 1973

IN LIFE Pearl Buck was a human bridge between the civilization of the East and West. With simple eloquence she translated her personal love for the people and culture of China into a rich literary heritage, treasured by Asians and Westerners alike.

She lived a long, full life as artist, wife, mother, and philanthropist. Through her eyes, millions of readers were able to see the beauty of China and its people at a time when direct personal contact was impossible. It is fitting that Pearl Buck lived

to see two peoples she loved so much draw closer together during her last years. Mrs. Nixon and I join all Americans in extending our sympathy to her family, and in mourning the passing of a great artist and a sensitive, compassionate human being.

NOTE: Mrs. Buck, 80, died in Danby, Vt. Winner of the Nobel and Pulitzer prizes in literature, she established the Welcome Home, which later became the Pearl S. Buck Foundation, to aid in the care and adoption of Amerasian children.

70 Remarks During a Meeting With District of Columbia Police Chief Jerry V. Wilson. *March 6, 1973*

I AM meeting with the Chief, incidentally, ladies and gentlemen, for two purposes. He has already given us his written report, and he is updating greatly on what he is doing in the law enforcement field, because we want to pass some of his experience on to other cities in the country who are interested in techniques which have worked here.

I am also meeting with him for the purpose of trying to prevail upon him to continue in this very arduous and important task where he is probably the most overworked, underpaid law enforcement official in the country, considering the importance of his job. I am not going to ask him to give his answer publicly here, but

after I work him over, I hope he says yes. *[Laughter]*

CHIEF WILSON. Don't you work me over. *[Laughter]*

THE PRESIDENT. I don't have a rubber hose. *[Laughter]* You don't have one either, do you?

CHIEF WILSON. Everyone gets these middle-age blahs, you know. Most people have to go to a psychiatrist, and I get to go to the President. *[Laughter]*

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:18 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Chief Wilson on his meeting with the President and his decision to continue as Chief of the Metropolitan Police Department.

71 Remarks at a Ceremony Honoring Slain Foreign Service Officers. March 6, 1973

Secretary Rogers, Mr. Boyatt, and ladies and gentlemen of the Foreign Service, and all of those who are here from the State Department:

I am very pleased to have the opportunity to come here to express appreciation to all of you who have worked in the cause of peace in this Department, some for many years and some, of course, more recently.

I, of course, regret that my presence here is on an occasion which is mingled also with sadness. You will note the plaque that we have just witnessed here a moment ago, and you will note the last two names on the plaque.

We have all read what has happened and heard about it over these past few days. I think you should know that tomorrow, in respect to these men who have died in the service of their country and in service of the cause of peace for the whole world, that the flags, not only in embassies abroad and in the State Department but all over America, have been ordered to be at half-mast.¹ I have taken this extraordinary action of lowering flags even though the individuals involved were not Members of the Congress or members of the Cabinet, where normally such action is only taken, because I think it is well for the Nation to be reminded of how much we owe to the men and women who serve America in the cause of peace as members of our Foreign Service, in the civilian activities that we have in farflung areas around the world.

I think of these two men, Ambassador

Noel, Mr. Moore, of the country to which they are accredited, the Sudan; I think of the Minister from the Sudan whom I saw this morning. I know that they were there in the cause of peace, and I know that the incident which led to their death was one that was not of this country's making and not of theirs, and yet, they were willing to take this risk. And for their bravery and for their courage, our country can be very thankful.

Secretary Rogers had told me a few months ago that a survey made of the Foreign Service, in which he had asked what would be the attitude of a member of the Foreign Service in the event he were captured and held hostage—what would be the attitude as to what our Government should do. It was unanimous that the United States Government should not submit to demands for blackmail or ransom.

That is a reaction of courageous men and women. That was the attitude of these two men. They were willing to risk their own lives in order that others might live. They were willing also to have their Government take a position of no compromise with terrorism, because they knew that once that compromise was entered into that it could lead to consequences that would be far worse in the years ahead.

I was noting a well-intentioned comment by one individual who raised a question as to whether the United States, in this instance, might have been better advised to bring pressure on another government to release 60 who were held in prison in order to save the lives of 2.

I disagree with that. All of us would have liked to have saved the lives of these

¹ By Executive Order 11705 of March 6, 1973.

two very brave men, but they knew and we knew that in the event we had paid international blackmail in this way, it would have saved their lives, but it would have endangered the lives of hundreds of others all over the world, because once the individual, the terrorist, or the others, has a demand that is made, that is satisfied, he then is encouraged to try it again. And that is why the position of your Government has to be one in the interest of preserving life, of not submitting to international blackmail or extortion anywhere in the world.

That is our policy and that is the policy we are going to continue to have.

Ladies and gentlemen, today we honor two brave men and all of the others here on this plaque and the one on the other side, who have given their lives for their country while serving in the Foreign Service. And today, too, we not only express the policy of the United States of America, but we use this opportunity respectfully to suggest that other governments throughout the world, rather than standing aside, should join with us in taking this firm line against extortion and against international blackmail by terrorist groups.

I am quite aware of the fact that there are some governments who take the line that since they are not the targets of the terrorists, they can stand aside and not join in any international effort to be firm against terrorism, whether it is in the United Nations or bilaterally or multilaterally with other nations.

I would only suggest this: The nation that compromises with the terrorists today could well be destroyed by the terrorists tomorrow. And as far as we are concerned, we therefore feel we are on very sound ground in calling upon the whole world

community to join together in a firm stand against international outlaws who today endanger the nationals of one country, maybe the United States, and tomorrow will endanger the lives of others.

Finally, on this particular day, may I close as I began, by expressing the deep appreciation of the President of the United States and all that the President represents in his office for your service to the country.

I must say that just having had lunch in the State Department for the first time, at least in this building, for the first time since I have been President, I was thinking of how many times I freeloaded around the world at various embassies abroad.

Secretary Rogers, I have probably visited more countries in the world than any public figure in America today, and I know what a burden it is to have a Congressman, a Senator, a prominent private citizen, a Vice President, a VIP, or a President to come visit you.

I can only say I have always been proud of those who represent America abroad in the Foreign Service, proud of your service to the Nation. We stand behind you all the way.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:25 p.m. in the lobby of the Department of State, where he viewed the American Foreign Service Association plaque listing those who have lost their lives in the Foreign Service.

Thomas D. Boyatt, Director for Cyprus Affairs, Department of State, was chairman of the board of directors of the American Foreign Service Association.

Earlier in the day, Abdel Rahman Abdallah, Minister of Public Service and Administrative Reform of the Sudan, and Sudanese Ambassador Abdel Aziz al-Nasri Hamza called on the President at the White House to express, on behalf of President Jaafar M. Nimeiri, condo-

lences on the deaths of Ambassador Cleo A. Noel, Jr., and Deputy Chief of Mission George Curtis Moore.

Prior to his remarks, the President had at-

tended a working luncheon at the Department of State where he held a discussion with Department officials on ways of combating international terrorism.

72 Remarks to Recipients of the Federal Woman's Award. *March 7, 1973*

WE congratulate you.

The one thing I was going to say to Pat Hitt and to Anne Armstrong¹ is that this event allows us to make some, shall we say, claims that should be widely reported, and that is that the number of women in top positions in Government—that is, other than simply the positions that usually have been available to them—has quadrupled in the past 4 years.

We think that is quite a record, and if we can, in the next 4 years, quadruple again, that would be by a factor of 16 over the period of 8 years.

Now, that is a very, very high goal. The problem we have here is not so much finding the jobs. Many times it is the problem of finding women who are willing to and who want to take the job, because the need for top personnel in the Government is

¹ Patricia Reilly Hitt, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for Community and Field Services, and chairman of the board of trustees of the Federal Woman's Award; and Anne L. Armstrong, Counsellor to the President.

always there for the top people.

So, we would hope that your awards will lead others to go out and do likewise, knowing that they can go to the top. And if you have any trouble going to the top and you feel that you are being discriminated against, you let me know. [*Laughter*] I am sure you will.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:11 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

The six recipients of the Federal Woman's Award were: Bernice L. Bernstein, Director, Region II, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; Marguerite S. Chang, research chemist, Naval Ordnance Systems Command, Department of the Navy; Janet Hart, Assistant Director, Division of Supervision and Regulation, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System; Marilyn E. Jacox, research chemist, National Bureau of Standards, Department of Commerce; Isabella L. Karle, research physicist, Office of Naval Research, Department of the Navy; and Marjorie R. Townsend, project manager, Small Astronomy Satellite, National Aeronautics and Space Administration. They received their awards at a banquet in their honor at the Shoreham Hotel on March 6.

73 State of the Union Message to the Congress on Community Development. *March 8, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

Today, in this fifth report to the Congress on the State of the Union, I want to discuss the quality of life in our cities and

towns and set forth new directions for community development in America.

Not long ago we became accustomed to the constant rhetorical drumbeat of the

"crisis of our cities." Problems were multiplying so rapidly for our larger urban areas that some observers said our cities were doomed as centers of culture, of commerce, and of constructive change.

Many of these problems still persist, but I believe we have made sufficient progress in recent years that fears of doom are no longer justified.

What is needed today is calm reflection upon the nature of modern community life in the United States, a reassessment of the manner in which we are trying to solve our remaining problems, and a firm resolve to get on with the task.

America's communities are as diverse as our people themselves. They vary tremendously in size—from massive cities to medium-sized urban and suburban areas, to small towns and rural communities.

Just as importantly, each of our communities has built up strong individual characteristics over the years, shaped by region, climate, economic influences, ethnic origins and local culture.

Of course, communities do share common needs and concerns. People in every community want adequate housing, transportation, and jobs, a clean environment, good health, education, recreation facilities, security from crime and fear, and other essential services. But local priorities differ; the intensity and order of local needs vary.

Clearly, no single, rigid scheme, imposed by the Federal Government from Washington, is capable of meeting the changing and varied needs of this diverse and dynamic Nation.

There is no "best" way, no magic, universal cure-all, that can be dispensed from hundreds or thousands of miles away.

What is good for New York City is not necessarily good for Chicago, or San Fran-

cisco, much less for smaller communities with entirely different economies, traditions and populations.

Too often in the past we have fallen into the trap of letting Washington make the final decisions for St. Louis, Detroit, Miami and our other cities. Sometimes the decisions were right, and programs have succeeded. Too often they were wrong, and we are still paying the price.

The time has come to recognize the errors of past Federal efforts to support community development and to move swiftly to correct them.

The results of past errors form a disturbing catalogue:

—They have distorted local priorities.

—They have spawned a massive glut of red tape.

—They have created an adversary climate between local communities and Washington which has often led to waste, delay and mutual frustration.

—They have contributed to a lack of confidence among our people in the ability of both local and national governments to solve problems and get results.

—They have led to the creation of too many complex and often competing Federal programs.

—Perhaps worst of all, they have undercut the will and the ability of local and State governments to take the initiative to mobilize their own energies and those of their citizens.

The Federal policy that will work best in the last third of this century is not one that tries to force all of our communities into a single restrictive mold. The Federal policy that will work best is one that helps people and their leaders in each community meet their own needs in the way they think best.

It is this policy which binds together

the many aspects of our community development programs.

THE BETTER COMMUNITIES ACT

In the near future, I will submit to the Congress the Better Communities Act to provide revenue sharing for community development. Beginning July 1, 1974, this act would provide \$2.3 billion a year to communities to be spent as they desire to meet their community development needs. In the interim period before the legislation becomes effective, funds already available to the Department of Housing and Urban Development will be used to maintain and support community development.

The Better Communities Act is intended to replace inflexible and fragmented categorical grant-in-aid programs, and to reduce the excessive Federal control that has been so frustrating to local governments.

Rather than focusing and concentrating resources in a coordinated assault on a set of problems, the categorical system scatters these resources, and diminishes their impact upon the most needy. Excessive Federal influence also limits the variety and diversity of development programs. Local officials should be able to focus their time, their resources and their talents on meeting local needs and producing results, instead of trying to please Washington with an endless torrent of paperwork.

I first proposed such legislation in 1971, and although the Congress failed to enact it, significant support was expressed in both the Senate and the House. Since that time, members of my Administration have been consulting with Congressional leaders, mayors, Governors, other local offi-

cials and their representatives. Many constructive suggestions have been received and will be incorporated in my new legislative proposal. As a result, I believe the Better Communities Act will represent our best hope for the future of community development and will deserve rapid approval by the Congress.

Among the most significant features of the Better Communities Act are these:

—*Hold-Harmless Provision*: The flow of money to cities and urban counties is to be based on a formula reflecting community needs, as determined by objective standards. In the years immediately following enactment, funds would be used to assure that no city receives less money for community development than it has received under the categorical grant programs.

—*Assistance for Smaller Communities*: Funding is also to be provided for our smaller communities, recognizing the vital importance of small towns and rural communities to the future of the Nation.

—*The Role of State Government*: State governments have always played an important part in meeting the community development needs of their communities. The Act will recognize this role.

—*Local Decision Making*: While each of the activities now supported by categorical grants may be continued, it would be up to local leaders to determine how that money will be spent.

—*Minimizing Red Tape*: Recipients would be required to show the Federal Government only that they are complying with Federal statutes in the way they are spending their revenue sharing money.

—*Elimination of Matching*: Shared revenues would not have to be matched by local funds.

—*Protection for Minorities*: Under no

circumstances could funds provided under the Better Communities Act be used for purposes that would violate the civil rights of any person.

A DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

One of the most serious deficiencies in the effort of the Federal Government to assist in community development has been the fragmentation and scattering of Federal programs among a variety of departments and agencies. All too often State or local officials seeking help for a particular project must shuttle back and forth from one Federal office to another, wasting precious time and resources in a bureaucratic wild goose chase.

In order to coordinate our community development activities more effectively, I proposed nearly two years ago that we create a Department of Community Development which would pull under one roof various programs now in the Departments of Housing and Urban Development, Transportation, Agriculture, and other agencies.

After extensive hearings on this proposal, the Committee on Government Operations of the House of Representatives reached this conclusion:

"The Department of Community Development will be a constructive center in the Federal Government for assistance to communities, large and small. It will facilitate rational planning, orderly growth, and the effective employment of resources to build viable communities throughout the United States. It will help to strengthen the physical and institutional bases for cooperative action by Federal, State and local governments."

This Administration fully agrees, of

course, and will continue to work with the Congress for the prompt creation of a Department of Community Development.

In the interim, I recently appointed a Presidential Counsellor on Community Development who will coordinate community development programs and policies in the executive branch. But only when the Congress approves the basic departmental reorganization proposed by the Administration can our efforts to eliminate waste, confusion and duplication, and to promote community betterment more efficiently, be fully effective.

THE RESPONSIVE GOVERNMENTS ACT

For nearly 20 years, the Federal Government has provided assistance to State and local governments in order to strengthen their planning and management capabilities.

This aid, provided under the Comprehensive Planning Assistance Program, has always been helpful, but the program itself has several major flaws. It has tended, for instance, to stress one aspect of public administration—planning—without adequately recognizing other essential features such as budgeting, management, personnel administration, and information-gathering. Planning has often been irrelevant to the problems and the actual decisions. State and local governments have also found it difficult to coordinate their planning because of the fragmented way in which funds have been sent from Washington.

This Administration proposed new planning and management legislation to the 92nd Congress, but it was not approved. In the meantime, we took what steps we could to improve the existing program. Some progress has been made,

but corrective legislation is still needed.

I shall therefore propose that the 93rd Congress enact a new Responsive Governments Act. I shall also propose that we provide \$110 million for this act in fiscal year 1974—almost one-fifth of the entire amount that has been spent under the present law in the last two decades.

This Responsive Governments Act would assist State and local governments in meeting several important goals:

- Developing reliable information on their problems and opportunities;
- Developing and analyzing alternative policies and programs;
- Managing the programs;
- And evaluating the results, so that appropriate adjustments can be made.

The ability to plan and manage is vital to effective government. It will be even more important to State and local governments as they are freed from the restraints of narrow categorical Federal programs and must decide how to spend revenue sharing funds. Thus the Responsive Governments Act is a vitally necessary companion piece to the Better Communities Act.

HOUSING

This Administration is firmly committed to the goal first set forth for America in the 1949 Housing Act: "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family." While we believe that some of our housing programs have failed and should be replaced, we should never waiver in our commitment.

During the past four years, the Federal Government has provided housing assistance to an additional 1.5 million American families of low and moderate income. This represents more housing assistance

than the total provided by the Federal Government during the entire 34-year history of our national housing program preceding this Administration.

In addition, a healthy, vigorous, private housing industry has provided 6 million new unsubsidized units of housing for Americans in the last four years. Housing starts for each of the last three years have reached record high levels—levels, in fact, that are more than double the average for the preceding 21 years.

Most importantly, the percentage of Americans living in substandard housing has dropped dramatically from 46 percent in 1940 to 37 percent in 1950 to 18 percent in 1960 to 8 percent in 1970. Americans today are better housed than ever before in our history.

At the same time, however, there has been mounting evidence of basic defects in some of our housing programs. It is now clear that all too frequently the needy have not been the primary beneficiaries of these programs; that the programs have been riddled with inequities; and that the cost for each unit of subsidized housing produced under these programs has been too high. In short, we shall be making far more progress than we have been and we should now move to place our housing policies on a much firmer foundation.

That is why we suspended new activity under Federal subsidized housing programs effective January 5th of this year. I would emphasize, however, that commitments that were made under these programs prior to their suspension will be honored. This will mean that approximately 300,000 units of new subsidized housing will be started in 1973.

In pursuing our goal of decent homes for all Americans, we know that better means are needed—that the old and

wasteful programs, programs which have already obligated the taxpayer to payments of *between \$63 billion and \$95 billion* during the next 40 years, are not the answer.

One of my highest domestic priorities this year will be the development of new policies that will provide aid to genuinely needy families and eliminate waste.

A major housing study is now underway within the Government, under the direction of my Counsellor for Community Development. Within the next six months, I intend to submit to the Congress my policy recommendations in this field, based upon the results of that study.

TRANSPORTATION

To thrive, a community must provide for the efficient movement of its people and its products. Yet in recent years, the growing separation of the city from its suburbs and changing employment patterns have made transportation more of a community problem than a community asset. To improve community development we must meet the challenge of transportation planning and provide more flexible means for communities to meet their transportation needs.

Without better transportation, our communities will either stagnate or choke.

Four years ago we initiated programs to renew and redirect our transportation systems. We took action to expand the capacity of our airways, to preserve and improve intercity rail passenger service, to continue the Nation's highway program with greater emphasis on safety, and to bring needed progress to our surface public transportation. The Federal commitment has been substantial:

—The enlarged Airport Development Aid Program established under the Airport-Airways Development Act of 1970 has quadrupled Federal assistance to airports to \$295 million per year.

—Under the Rail Passenger Service Act of 1970 we have begun to rejuvenate rail service as part of a balanced transportation system.

—From 1970 through 1974 we will have invested some \$23 billion in highways. In 1972 alone we committed \$3.3 billion to the Interstate system, which is now 80 percent complete. In that same year, \$870 million was designated for primary and secondary roads. Equally important, we have emphasized safety on our highways, both in their design and use.

—We have progressively increased the levels of Federal funding for transportation research, development, and demonstration projects. This support focuses on new transportation technology. It is designed to encourage private industry to join aggressively in the search for better transportation.

—Concurrent with our programs to improve transportation between our cities, we have undertaken programs to develop freeflowing corridors for people and commerce *within* our cities.

—Since 1970, when I proposed and the Congress passed the Urban Mass Transportation Assistance Act, we have committed more than 2 billion Federal dollars to preserve and upgrade public transportation. Nationally, urban public transportation has become a billion-dollar-a-year Federal program.

—Over the past four years, Federal dollars have helped 60 American cities to help those who depend on public systems for transportation to jobs, hospitals, shops and

recreational centers. Now we must deal even more aggressively with community development challenges in transportation by building on the strong foundations we have laid.

Nothing can do more to lift the face of our cities, and the spirit of our city dwellers, than truly adequate systems of modern transportation. With the best highway system in the world, and with 75 percent of our people owning and operating automobiles, we have more transportation assets per capita than any other people on earth. Yet the commuter who uses a two-ton vehicle to transport only himself to and from work each day is not making the most efficient use of our transportation system and is himself contributing to our transportation and environmental problems.

Good public transportation is essential not only to assure adequate transportation for all citizens, but to forward the common goal of less congested, cleaner and safer communities. As I pointed out a few weeks ago in my message on the environment and natural resources, effective mass transit systems that relieve urban congestion will also reduce pollution and the waste of our limited energy resources.

As we build such systems, we must be aware of the two special challenges in coordinating the needs of the inner city and the suburb and in alleviating potential disruptions which new transportation systems can bring to neighborhood life.

To further these efforts I again continue to urge Congress to permit a portion of the Highway Trust Fund to be used in a more flexible fashion, thus allowing mass transit capital investments where communities so desire.

I recommend that the Congress au-

thorize the expenditure by State and local governments of \$3.65 billion over the next three years from the Highway Trust Fund for urban transportation needs, including capital improvements for bus and rapid rail systems. I also recommend continuing the rural highway program at the \$1 billion a year level, and providing ample resources to advance the Interstate system as it approaches its 1980 funding completion date. This legislation can meet old needs while at the same time addressing new ones.

Some communities now feel unduly obligated to spend Federal monies on controversial Interstate highway segments in urban areas. I urge the Congress to allow States and localities to transfer such funds to the construction of other Federal-aid highways and mass transit capital improvements. In this way, we can help resolve controversies which have slowed work on a number of Interstate links in urban areas.

It is very important to recognize that this proposal does not represent an arbitrary Federal shift of funds from highways to transit. What it does stress is the right of local governments to choose the best solutions for their urban transportation problems.

This year, in a companion measure to our Federal Highway Bill, I am also proposing that funding for mass transit capital grants be increased by \$3 billion, bringing the obligational authority for the mass transit program to \$6.1 billion. This provision would maintain a forward looking mass transit program through at least 1977. I am also asking the Congress to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Assistance Act, increasing the Federal share for urban mass transit capital grant

assistance programs to 70 percent and thereby achieving parity with Federal aid for urban and rural road building projects.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Community Development is sometimes thought of primarily in terms of urban areas. However, as this Administration has often pointed out—and will continue to emphasize—no element of our national well-being is more important than the health and vitality of our rural communities. Thus, in pursuing a policy of balanced development for our community life, we must always keep the needs of rural America clearly in sight.

Twice in the last two years, I have recommended legislation which would provide new revenues for rural development. Under my latest proposal, loans and guarantees would have been made for projects selected and prepared by the States.

While the 92nd Congress did not enact either of these proposals, it did enact the Rural Development Act of 1972, establishing additional lending authority for rural needs. Like the Administration's proposals, this lending authority provides for insured loans and guaranteed loans which allow maximum participation of the private sector.

Several new programs are proposed to be funded under the Rural Development Act. One is a \$200 million loan program to assist communities with a population of less than 50,000 in developing commercial and industrial facilities. A previously existing loan program has been increased by \$100 million—to a total of \$445 million—and, under the new law, can now be used to construct a wide variety of essential community facilities. In addition,

grants and other programs under the act will be funded at a level of \$33 million.

This Administration will implement the Rural Development Act in a manner consistent with the revenue sharing concept, allowing major project selections and priority decisions to be made by the State and local governments whenever possible. It is our intent, after fully evaluating the effectiveness of this approach, to seek whatever additional legislation may be needed.

DISASTER ASSISTANCE

To a community suffering the ravages of a natural disaster, nothing is more important than prompt and effective relief assistance. As our population grows and spreads, each storm, earthquake, drought or freeze affects larger numbers of people.

During the past four years, we have tried to reduce personal injury, deaths, and property damage by emphasizing adequate preventive measures. During the same period, however, I have had to declare 111 major disasters in 39 States and three Territories. This past year alone set a tragic record for major disaster activity, as I had to declare 48 major disasters—43 caused by storms and floodings. There were a number of especially devastating disaster emergencies in this period: the flooding in Buffalo Creek, West Virginia; flash flood in Rapid City, South Dakota; and, of course, Tropical Storm Agnes which rampaged through the eastern United States. Agnes alone caused 118 deaths and some \$3 billion in property damage.

Until now, disaster relief efforts have involved a number of different agencies and have been coordinated by the Execu-

tive Office of the President. The experience of the past few years has demonstrated that:

—We are not doing nearly enough to prepare in advance for disasters.

—States, local governments and private individuals should assume a larger role in preparing for disasters, and in relieving the damage after they have occurred.

—Responsibility for relief is presently too fragmented among too many authorities.

—At the Federal level, disaster relief should be managed by a single agency.

I intend to make 1973 a turning point in the quality of governmental response to natural disasters.

To achieve this goal, I have already proposed Reorganization Plan Number 1 of 1973, which is now before the Congress. It calls for the delegation of all responsibility for coordinating disaster relief to the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, who is also my Counsellor for Community Development. This transfer of operations would take place at the beginning of the new fiscal year and would be carried out in such a way that the effective relations which now exist with State disaster officials would in no way be harmed, while a new sense of unity and mobility at the Federal level would be fostered.

If the Congress enacts my proposal for a new Department of Community Development, that new department would be responsible for directing *all* Federal disaster activities, including those of several other agencies which perform disaster roles.

In addition to the improvements I have proposed in Reorganization Plan Number 1, I will shortly submit a new Disaster As-

sistance Act to the Congress. This new act is designed to improve the delivery of Federal assistance, to provide a more equitable basis for financing individual property losses, and to forge a more balanced partnership for meeting disasters head-on—a partnership not only among governments at all levels but also between governments and private citizens.

Under these proposals, each level of government would accept responsibility for those things it can do best. While the Federal Government would continue to assist with financing, State and local governments would have far more latitude and responsibility in the use of those funds. They would also be encouraged to assert stronger leadership in efforts to minimize the damage of future disasters.

For homeowners, farmers and businessmen who have suffered disaster losses, the Federal Government would continue to provide direct assistance.

I will also recommend to the Congress an expansion of the national flood insurance program to allow participation by more communities in flood-prone areas and to increase the limits of coverage.

CONCLUSION

As reflected by the proposals set forth here, I believe that we must strike out on broad, new paths of community development in America.

During the last few years, we have taken genuine, measurable strides toward better communities.

All of this is good; it is not good enough.

It is clear that we can and should be accomplishing more in the field of community development. There are too many programs that have been tried and found

wanting. There are too many programs that strengthen the bureaucracy in Washington but sap the strength of our State and local governments.

People today want to have a real say in the way their communities are run. They want to feel that, once again, they can play a significant role in shaping the kind of world their children will inherit. And they expect their institutions to respond to their needs and aspirations.

That feeling will never flourish if the Federal Government, however vast its financial resources and however good its intentions, tries to direct the pattern of our lives. That feeling cannot be manufactured in Washington, it must come from within.

But the Federal Government can and should eliminate some of the barriers that have impeded the development of that

feeling by returning resources and initiatives to the people and their locally elected leaders. It is in that spirit that I urge the 93rd Congress to give favorable consideration to my proposals for community development.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

March 8, 1973.

NOTE: The message was the fifth in a series of six messages to the Congress on the state of the Union.

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the message. Participants in the news briefing were James T. Lynn, Secretary, and Floyd H. Hyde, Assistant Secretary for Community Development, Department of Housing and Urban Development; and Theodore C. Lutz, Deputy Under Secretary of Transportation for Budget and Program Review.

74 Radio Address About the State of the Union Message on Law Enforcement and Drug Abuse Prevention. *March 10, 1973*

Good afternoon:

Nothing is so precious to Americans as the freedoms provided in our Constitution. In order that these freedoms may be enjoyed to their fullest, there must be another freedom—freedom from the fear of crime.

The senseless shooting of Senator John Stennis in January gave tragic emphasis to the fact that there is still a high risk of crime on our Nation's streets. These acts of violence are the natural residue of an atmosphere in America that for years encouraged potential lawbreakers.

Americans in the last decade were often told that the criminal was not responsible

for his crimes against society, but that society was responsible.

I totally disagree with this permissive philosophy. Society is guilty of crime only when we fail to bring the criminal to justice. When we fail to make the criminal pay for his crime, we encourage him to think that crime will pay.

Such an attitude will never be reflected in the laws supported by this Administration, nor in the manner in which we enforce those laws. The jurisdiction of the Federal Government over crime is limited, but where we can act, we will act to make sure that we have the laws, the enforcement agencies, the courts, the judges, the

penalties, the correctional institutions, and the rehabilitation programs we need to do the job.

Next week I will propose a revision of the entire Federal Criminal Code, modernizing it and strengthening it, to close the loopholes and tailor our laws to present day needs. When I say "modernize," incidentally, I do not mean to be soft on crime; I mean exactly the opposite.

Our new Code will give us tougher penalties and stronger weapons in the war against dangerous drugs and organized crime. It will rationalize the present patchwork quilt of punishments for crime. It will substantially raise current limits on monetary fines. And it will restrict the present absurd use of the insanity defense.

I am further proposing that the death penalty be restored for certain Federal crimes. At my direction, the Attorney General has drafted a statute consistent with the Supreme Court's recent decision on the death penalty. This statute will provide capital punishment for cases of murder over which the Federal Government has jurisdiction, and for treason and other war-related crimes.

Contrary to the views of some social theorists, I am convinced that the death penalty can be an effective deterrent against specific crimes. The death penalty is not a deterrent so long as there is doubt whether it can be applied. The law I will propose would remove this doubt.

The potential criminal will know that if his intended victims die, he may also die. The hijacker, the kidnaper, the man who throws a firebomb, the convict who attacks a prison guard, the person who assaults an officer of the law—all will know that they may pay with their own lives for any lives that they take.

This statute will be a part of my proposed reform of the Federal Criminal Code. However, because there is an immediate need for this sanction, I have directed the Attorney General to submit a death penalty statute as a separate proposal so that the Congress can act rapidly on this single provision.

Drug abuse is still public enemy number one in America. Let me tell you about some of the tragic letters I have received at the White House from victims of drugs.

One tells about a 5-year-old boy hospitalized in Missouri. Someone gave him LSD.

One is from a boy 18 years old who had spent 11 months in a mental hospital trying to get rid of his drug addiction. He started with marijuana. He is asking me for help because his 14-year-old brother has begun to use drugs.

Another is from a mother in California. Her son committed suicide. He could not end his drug habit, so he ended his life.

One of the things that comes through so forcefully in these letters is the sense of despair of people who feel they have no place to turn for help, and so they write to the White House. I intend to help them.

We have already made encouraging progress in the war against drug abuse. Now we must consolidate that progress and strike even harder.

One area in which I am convinced of the need for more immediate action is that of putting heroin pushers in prison and keeping them there. A recent study by the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs revealed that more than 70 percent of those accused of being narcotics violators are freed on bail for a period of 3 months to 1 year between the time of arrest and the time of trial. They are thus given the opportunity to go out and create more

misery, generate more violence, commit more crimes while they are waiting to be tried for these same activities.

The same study showed that over 25 percent of the federally convicted narcotics violators were not even sentenced to jail. When permissive judges are more considerate of the pusher than they are of his victims, there is little incentive for heroin pushers to obey the law, and great incentive for them to violate it. This is an outrage. It is a danger to every law-abiding citizen, and I am confident that the vast majority of Americans will support immediate passage of the heroin trafficking legislation I will propose to the Congress next week.

This legislation will require Federal judges to consider the danger to the community before freeing on bail a suspect for heroin trafficking. That is something they cannot legally do now. It will require a minimum sentence of 5 years in prison for anyone convicted of selling heroin. It will require a minimum sentence of 10 years to life imprisonment for major traffickers in drugs. And for offenders with a prior conviction for a drug felony, those who persist in living off the suffering of others, it will require life imprisonment without parole.

This is tough legislation, but we must settle for nothing less. The time has come for soft-headed judges and probation officers to show as much concern for the rights of innocent victims of crime as they do for the rights of convicted criminals.

In recent days, there have been proposals to legalize the possession and the use of marijuana. I oppose the legalization of the sale, possession, or use of marijuana. The line against the use of dangerous drugs is now drawn on this side of marijuana. If we move the line to the other

side and accept the use of this drug, how can we draw the line against other illegal drugs? Or will we slide into an acceptance of their use as well?

My Administration has carefully weighed this matter. We have examined the statutes. We have taken the lead in making sanctions against the use of marijuana more uniform, more reasonable. Previously, these sanctions were often unrealistically harsh. Today, 35 States have adopted our model statute on drugs, including marijuana. I hope others will.

But there must continue to be criminal sanctions against the possession, sale, or use of marijuana.

Law enforcement alone will not eliminate drug abuse. We must also have a strong program to treat and assist the addict. Two-thirds of my proposed antinarcotics budget goes for treatment, rehabilitation, prevention, and research. We are approaching the point where no addict will be able to say that he commits crimes because there is no treatment available for him.

By providing drug offenders with every possible opportunity to get out of the drug culture, we need feel no compunction about applying the most stringent sanctions against those who commit crimes in order to feed their habits.

The crimes which affect most people most often are not those under Federal jurisdiction, but those in which State and local governments have jurisdiction. But while the Federal Government does not have full jurisdiction in the field of criminal law enforcement, it does have a broad, constitutional responsibility to insure domestic tranquillity. That is why I am doing everything I can to help strengthen the capacity of State and local governments to fight crime.

Since I took office, Federal assistance for State and local law enforcement authorities has grown from over \$100 million to over \$1 billion. We are training over 40,000 local law enforcement officers in the control and prevention of drug abuse.

This year more than 1,200 State and local police officers will graduate from the new FBI Academy, and I plan to increase assistance next year to local law enforcement to over \$1,200 million.

Crime costs Americans twice. It costs first in lives lost, in injuries, in property loss, in increased insurance rates, in being fearful for your own safety as you go about your work.

And second, crime costs in the taxes that go to maintain police forces, courts, jails, other means of enforcement.

It is a breach of faith with those who are paying the cost of crime, human as well as financial, to be lenient with the criminal. There are those who say that law and order are just code words for repression and bigotry. That is dangerous nonsense. Law and order are code words for goodness and decency in America.

Crime is color blind. Let those who doubt this talk to the poor, the minorities, the inner-city dwellers, who are the most frequent victims of crime. There is nothing disgraceful, nothing to be ashamed of, about Americans wanting to live in a law-abiding country.

I intend to do everything in my power to see that the American people get all the law and order they are paying for. Our progress in this effort has been encouraging. The latest FBI figures show that for the first 9 months of 1972, the growth rate of serious crime in America was reduced to 1 percent. That is the lowest rate of increase since 1960.

In 83 of our major cities, serious crime has actually been reduced, and in the District of Columbia it has been cut in half since 1969. Convictions for organized crime have more than doubled in the last 4 years. The rate of new heroin addiction has dramatically decreased.

These are the positive results of refusing to compromise with the forces of crime, refusing to accept the notion that lawlessness is inevitable in America. We have the freedom to choose the kind of nation we want, and we do not choose to live with crime.

The Federal Government can help provide resources. It can help provide leadership. It can act with its own jurisdiction. But in the end, one of the best resources we have, one of the greatest safeguards to public peace, is the active concern of the law-abiding American citizen. The war against crime is not just the job of the FBI and the State and local police; it is your job, everybody's job. It is the very essence of good citizenship to act when and where we see crime being committed.

Citizens in some high crime areas have gathered together to work with the police to protect lives and property, to prevent crime. They have recognized the simple fact that we are going to have a crime problem as long as we are willing to put up with it, and most Americans are not willing to put up with it any longer.

When I saw and heard the remarks of our returning prisoners of war, so strong and confident and proud, I realized that we were seeing men of tough moral fiber, men who reflected, despite their long absence from America, what America is all about.

Just as they are returning home to America, I believe that today we see America returning to the basic truths that

have made us and kept us a strong and a free people. I am encouraged by that vision. It points the way toward a better, safer future for all Americans. It points the way to an America in which men and women and children can truly live free from fear in the full enjoyment of their most basic rights.

To accept anything less than a nation free from crime is to be satisfied with something less than America can be and ought to be for all our people.

Thank you and good afternoon.

NOTE: The President's address was recorded for broadcast at 12:30 p.m. on nationwide radio.

75 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the National Science Foundation. *March 12, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress the Twenty-Second Annual Report of the National Science Foundation, covering the fiscal year 1972.

During the period covered by this report, the Foundation continued to make an important contribution to the strengthening of our economy and our society through science. It increased its support for scientific research in all disciplines and further expanded its involvement in research focused on domestic problems.

The report should be of special interest to the Congress at this time, in view of the additional responsibilities that would

be transferred to the Director of the National Science Foundation from the Office of Science and Technology by Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1973, which I proposed last month. I believe that this account of the Foundation's outstanding work during 1972 helps to confirm its fitness to undertake a broader role in the national science effort in 1973.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

March 12, 1973.

NOTE: The report is entitled "National Science Foundation—Twenty-Second Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1972" (Government Printing Office, 102 pp.).

76 Statement About Executive Privilege. *March 12, 1973*

DURING my press conference of January 31, 1973, I stated that I would issue a statement outlining my views on executive privilege.

The doctrine of executive privilege is well established. It was first invoked by President Washington, and it has been recognized and utilized by our Presidents for almost 200 years since that time. The doctrine is rooted in the Constitution,

which vests "the Executive Power" solely in the President, and it is designed to protect communications within the executive branch in a variety of circumstances in time of both war and peace. Without such protection, our military security, our relations with other countries, our law enforcement procedures, and many other aspects of the national interest could be significantly damaged and the decision-

making process of the executive branch could be impaired.

The general policy of this Administration regarding the use of executive privilege during the next 4 years will be the same as the one we have followed during the past 4 years and which I outlined in my press conference: Executive privilege will not be used as a shield to prevent embarrassing information from being made available but will be exercised only in those particular instances in which disclosure would harm the public interest.

I first enunciated this policy in a memorandum of March 24, 1969, which I sent to Cabinet officers and heads of agencies. The memorandum read in part:

"The policy of this Administration is to comply to the fullest extent possible with Congressional requests for information. While the Executive branch has the responsibility of withholding certain information the disclosure of which would be incompatible with the public interest, this Administration will invoke this authority only in the most compelling circumstances and after a rigorous inquiry into the actual need for its exercise. For those reasons Executive privilege will not be used without specific Presidential approval."

In recent weeks, questions have been raised about the availability of officials in the executive branch to present testimony before committees of the Congress. As my 1969 memorandum dealt primarily with guidelines for providing information to the Congress and did not focus specifically on appearances by officers of the executive branch and members of the President's personal staff, it would be useful to outline my policies concerning the latter question.

During the first 4 years of my Presidency, hundreds of Administration offi-

cials spent thousands of hours freely testifying before committees of the Congress. Secretary of Defense Laird, for instance, made 86 separate appearances before Congressional committees, engaging in over 327 hours of testimony. By contrast, there were only three occasions during the first term of my Administration when executive privilege was invoked anywhere in the executive branch in response to a Congressional request for information. These facts speak not of a closed Administration, but of one that is pledged to openness and is proud to stand on its record.

Requests for Congressional appearances by members of the President's personal staff present a different situation and raise different considerations. Such requests have been relatively infrequent through the years, and in past administrations they have been routinely declined. I have followed that same tradition in my Administration, and I intend to continue it during the remainder of my term.

Under the doctrine of separation of powers, the manner in which the President personally exercises his assigned executive powers is not subject to questioning by another branch of Government. If the President is not subject to such questioning, it is equally appropriate that members of his staff not be so questioned, for their roles are in effect an extension of the Presidency.

This tradition rests on more than constitutional doctrine: It is also a practical necessity. To insure the effective discharge of the executive responsibility, a President must be able to place absolute confidence in the advice and assistance offered by the members of his staff. And in the performance of their duties for the President, those staff members must not be inhibited by

the possibility that their advice and assistance will ever become a matter of public debate, either during their tenure in Government or at a later date. Otherwise, the candor with which advice is rendered and the quality of such assistance will inevitably be compromised and weakened. What is at stake, therefore, is not simply a question of confidentiality but the integrity of the decisionmaking process at the very highest levels of our Government.

The considerations I have just outlined have been and must be recognized in other fields, in and out of government. A law clerk, for instance, is not subject to interrogation about the factors or discussions that preceded a decision of the judge.

For these reasons, just as I shall not invoke executive privilege lightly, I shall also look to the Congress to continue this proper tradition in asking for executive branch testimony only from the officers properly constituted to provide the information sought, and only when the eliciting of such testimony will serve a genuine legislative purpose.

As I stated in my press conference on January 31, the question of whether circumstances warrant the exercise of executive privilege should be determined on a case-by-case basis. In making such decisions, I shall rely on the following guidelines:

1. In the case of a department or agency, every official shall comply with a reasonable request for an appearance before the Congress, provided that the performance of the duties of his office will not be seriously impaired thereby. If the official believes that a Congressional request for a particular document or for testimony on a particular point raises a substantial question as to the need for invoking executive privilege, he shall com-

ply with the procedures set forth in my memorandum of March 24, 1969. Thus, executive privilege will not be invoked until the compelling need for its exercise has been clearly demonstrated and the request has been approved first by the Attorney General and then by the President.

2. A Cabinet officer or any other Government official who also holds a position as a member of the President's personal staff shall comply with any reasonable request to testify in his non-White House capacity, provided that the performance of his duties will not be seriously impaired thereby. If the official believes that the request raises a substantial question as to the need for invoking executive privilege, he shall comply with the procedures set forth in my memorandum of March 24, 1969.

3. A member or former member of the President's personal staff normally shall follow the well-established precedent and decline a request for a formal appearance before a committee of the Congress. At the same time, it will continue to be my policy to provide all necessary and relevant information through informal contacts between my present staff and committees of the Congress in ways which preserve intact the constitutional separation of the branches.

NOTE: The text of the memorandum to which the statement refers was issued by the White House on the same day and read as follows:

March 24, 1969

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies:

SUBJECT: Establishing a Procedure to Govern Compliance With Congressional Demands for Information

The policy of this Administration is to comply to the fullest extent possible with Congressional requests for information. While the Executive

branch has the responsibility of withholding certain information the disclosure of which would be incompatible with the public interest, this Administration will invoke this authority only in the most compelling circumstances and after a rigorous inquiry into the actual need for its exercise. For those reasons Executive privilege will not be used without specific Presidential approval. The following procedural steps will govern the invocation of Executive privilege:

1. If the head of an Executive department or agency (hereafter referred to as "department head") believes that compliance with a request for information from a Congressional agency addressed to his department or agency raises a substantial question as to the need for invoking Executive privilege, he should consult the Attorney General through the Office of Legal Counsel of the Department of Justice.

2. If the department head and the Attorney General agree, in accordance with the policy set forth above, that Executive privilege shall not be invoked in the circumstances, the information shall be released to the inquiring Congressional agency.

3. If the department head and the Attorney General agree that the circumstances justify the invocation of Executive privilege, or if either of them believes that the issue should be sub-

mitted to the President, the matter shall be transmitted to the Counsel to the President, who will advise the department head of the President's decision.

4. In the event of a Presidential decision to invoke Executive privilege, the department head should advise the Congressional agency that the claim of Executive privilege is being made with the specific approval of the President.

5. Pending a final determination of the matter, the department head should request the Congressional agency to hold its demand for the information in abeyance until such determination can be made. Care shall be taken to indicate that the purpose of this request is to protect the privilege pending the determination, and that the request does not constitute a claim of privilege.

RICHARD NIXON

On March 14, 1973, the White House issued the text of a letter from John W. Dean III, Counsel to the President, to Senator James O. Eastland, chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, declining the invitation of the committee to appear and testify formally. The text of the letter is printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 9, p. 255).

77 Remarks at a Reception for the Association of American Foreign Service Women. *March 13, 1973*

AS MOST of you here in this room are perhaps aware, there is perhaps never a day that goes by in the White House that a reception doesn't take place. Many times, of course, because they are considered social receptions, they get very little coverage in the papers and that sort, but they are not really held for that purpose. They are held for those who come and because of our desire and Mrs. Nixon's desire, particularly, to recognize the contributions of so many people in Government and outside of Government to our national life.

I normally don't get to these receptions. I don't mean that I am doing more important things, necessarily. As a matter of fact, I was just meeting with the Cost of Living Council. [*Laughter*]

Somebody said, "You don't live by hamburger alone." I said, "I used to."

But anyway, we are working on that problem which affects all of you, and others.

I noted that you were going to be here, and I just wanted to come by to express a personal word to you, just as I had an opportunity to express a personal word to

some of your husbands and others who were at the State Department the other day.

A few nights ago here at a meeting of more or less political types—by a political type, that means somebody who thinks enough of politics to either run or to contribute, and both, of course, at a very great risk. [*Laughter*] But whatever the case might be, as I was speaking to them, I told them that I thought that because their wives were also present—as a matter of fact, I should say it was the Governors and their wives—and I, of course, paid respect to the Governors, but I thought, as I considered the role of women in America today, that the most difficult assignment a woman could have would be to be married to a politician.

I think of my wife and all of the others. I think back of 27 years and of the hundreds and, yes, thousands of speeches that I made. I think of the receiving lines going on and on and on and all of these meetings that we have attended. But really, what is beyond the call of duty, I think of her sitting on the platform with me, hearing that same speech over and over again, and acting as if she is hearing it for the first time. [*Laughter*]

And this is, of course, true. The political wife not only meets people, and she works hard, and she shows an interest in what her husband is doing, she gives him good advice, like “Don’t run,” and “Do run.” [*Laughter*]

She, incidentally, told me not to run for Governor of California, you see. But, as a matter of fact, as good as that advice was, if I had not run for Governor of California, I wouldn’t be here now.

So whatever the case might be, coming now to you, there is perhaps if anything,

one assignment that is more difficult for a woman than being the wife of a political figure and that is to be the wife of a diplomat, a wife of somebody in the Foreign Service.

I say this based not simply on the trips we have taken as President, because those are at such a high level that we don’t really have the contact with the people in the Foreign Service and their wives that we would like to have and that we used to have. But I think back to the time when I was a freshman Congressman. One of the most exciting trips I ever took—I went to Europe in 1947, spent time in the Embassy in Rome. Jimmy Dunn was the Ambassador then, and he was kind enough to have this freshman Congressman, along with a few others in the committee, to dinner, and that was very impressive.

But I remember, also, a second man there. His name was Jimmy Jones, and Jimmy Jones’ wife was a lovely person. I remember that the nights that Ambassador Dunn did not entertain us, then it was Mr. Jones’ job. I didn’t realize until later what a burden that was for him, how little his representation allowance was, and I realize that he must have liked us.

And then I thought, just think of the Congressmen and the Senators that had gone through Rome at that time, ’47, ’48, that he had to entertain.

Now later on he became an Ambassador, of course, and that was, I suppose, some reward.

I think of him. I think of, in 1956 when I was Vice President, going to, at that point, the Hungarian border at Andau to welcome the returning people—those who were escaping from Communist

Hungary—coming over into Austria, and I remember staying on that occasion in the Embassy with the Thompsons, Mr. Tommy Thompson and his wife.

And I remember that I, on my trips, usually worked rather hard and never found much time for shopping, and Mrs. Thompson came in and said, "You really ought to get something for your little girls." I said, "But I don't have any time." She said, "Let me try." So she sent out, and she bought two jackets for them, these sort of Austrian jackets, you know, that little girls wear, whatever they are, and she brought them to us, and that made me a real hero when I came home.

I paid her, incidentally, but for the jackets, but not the gasoline. *[Laughter]* But she did get that.

I think of those things, but also I think of other things, and this gets to perhaps more important things. Certainly the entertainment that you must do of Congressmen and Senators and others who come, businessmen, all of this must sometimes be boring, sometimes it is quite exciting. It is interesting to have people come in. But the work also that people in the Foreign Service—I am speaking now abroad, and of course, most of you have been abroad or will be going—the work that the wives do in helping their husbands communicate with the people of the countries to which they are accredited is something that many are not aware of.

We hear so much about the fact that our diplomats are aloof, and they don't know the language, and all that sort of thing. That is baloney. I would say that as I look at American diplomats in terms of their training, in terms of their ability, and in terms of their interest in the peoples of the countries to which they are

accredited—I am speaking of our Foreign Service, our career people—there are none better in the world. I know that.

And there are no better wives in the world. I know what you do. I know what you have done. Let me mention one—to show you how very important it is—who was not in our Foreign Service, but who set such a marvelous example and made a strong impression on me.

It was our first trip abroad as Vice President. It was a long one, 70 days. That was 70 days, black tie every night, champagne every night—I have never liked it since. *[Laughter]* And we visited all of the Asian countries, and I remember visiting one of the great heroes of World War II. He was then in Malaysia. His name was General [Sir Gerald W. R.] Templer. He was a remarkable man. I stayed up very late to talk to him at night after looking at some of the problems of the insurgency in Malaysia, which, as you know, fortunately has been worked out, and both Malaysia and Singapore are now independent and free countries.

But I also heard, in talking to my Malaysian friends there, about Lady Templer, and Lady Templer had a language school. She also was the primary leader in the community there, in all sorts of volunteer activities that reached the hearts of the people. I could tell the people of Kuala Lumpur loved Lady Templer, not because she was the wife of a great general, not because she had that title, but because she was a kind and lovely woman and did these things from the heart.

I mention her. She was British. I could give you examples of our own. I can remember, for example, a wife of an American diplomat in Ethiopia.

Well, without getting into specific coun-

tries, whether it is in Africa, Asia, Latin America, all of these countries, there are just many unsung heroines. They are the wives of our Foreign Service at all levels who do the job of the entertaining and all that sort of thing, which, to me, would be the most difficult of all—you may have to eat with somebody you don't particularly care for—[laughter]—but in addition to that, who go out and engage in these volunteer activities, volunteer activities working with the local people, communicating with them in a way that sometimes their husbands really can't do. And for this we are very grateful.

I want to say that we are proud of our Foreign Service, and I would only close by saying something to you that you should say to your husbands.

I was talking to a good friend of mine in the Foreign Service recently, and I said, "What are you doing?" He said, "Oh, it is not very important." He was working on some problem, I think, that had to do with a Latin American country, and so forth, a desk officer and the like.

He said, "You know, it is really not very important when you think of what has happened in the last year, the trip to Peking, and the trip to Moscow, and the ending of the war in Vietnam, these great big plays." And he was working on this little problem in Latin America.

All that I can say, and I think all of you know, is, the world is inseparable, and little problems today can become very big ones tomorrow.

I remember sitting in the only air-conditioned room that I recall in Southeast Asia in 1953. It belonged to Ambassador Heath. Let me say, the Government hadn't paid for it, he had put in his own air-conditioning. It was in his bed-

room, and we sat there and talked because it was terribly hot. It was in Saigon.

I remember talking to Ambassador Heath at that time about the problems there, and so forth, and he said, "Well, you are visiting some really exciting countries." I was going from there to India, I had just been to Indonesia, both much bigger than Vietnam. At that time Vietnam was one country. We also went to Hanoi. We never stayed in the Hilton, but we went to Hanoi.

And I remember Heath, a fine Ambassador. He didn't say that his job was not important, because he could see the great forces that were beginning to work even then. But he was pointing out, this is a small country. It may not be the most important country, and yet that was a country that played a great role in the future of America.

Who knows what is the important job? Who knows what is one that is going to matter? Everything matters. Every country matters. And we want all of your husbands to know that while they all didn't go to Peking or to Moscow, that if we are able to build a structure of peace in the world, it is because our Foreign Service—far-flung, representing America all over the world—our Foreign Service and their wives have all helped to lay each of those bricks that was so important in the foundation, without which we wouldn't have a real foundation. And if it is built, and we hope it will be, and we will continue to make progress, you can all take a lot of credit.

That is what I wanted to say to you.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:20 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House to members of the association.

During his remarks, the President referred to James Clement Dunn, United States Ambassador to Italy (1946-52); John W. Jones, First Secretary of the Embassy in Rome

(1945-48); Llewellyn E. Thompson, Jr., United States Ambassador to Austria (1955-57); and Donald R. Heath, United States Ambassador to Cambodia and Vietnam (1952).

78 Remarks During a Meeting With Customs Officials. *March 14, 1973*

WE JUST had a report in regard to these remarkable narcotics agents here, they are actually customs agents, I believe, working in the field of narcotics. We have all heard of the Ricord case, of Ricord, one of the big international smugglers, I understand.

What impressed me was the effect of his activities, what it really means in human, personal terms. For example, the number that was given to me was 15 tons of heroin that he had smuggled into the United States. That adds up to about 30,000 pounds. And I understand from one of the agents that each pound provides 37,000 doses or shots, or what have you.

So we have here, as a result of the efforts of these men and their colleagues in the Bureau of Customs, the apprehension of an individual who was the head of a heroin ring that brought in nine billion doses of heroin. And when I think of what one can do, or several can do, in destroying the life of a person, I would say these men have saved many, many lives.

I have noted with interest that the judge, when he pronounced sentence at the end of this trial, said that actually when you consider that figure of nine billion doses of heroin, that what these men have done has really affected the lives of more than those, for example, who lost

their lives in Vietnam.

So, this battle is important and we are having these men here, not because of just their own individual bravery and their competence and the rest, but to pay our respects to the hundreds of agents in the customs office and in our other enforcement areas in the battle against narcotics.

And now, I think they are all glad to know we are going to have stiffer penalties. We are going to have mandatory sentences. This individual received 20 years and our concern would be what happens to him after 2 years with a probation officer who feels perhaps he has had a record of good conduct while in prison. Any individual of this type, it seems to me, has to have a mandatory prison sentence for a period of years, and I find no disagreement among the group here.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:53 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House where he was meeting with Vernon D. Acree, Commissioner of Customs, and Customs Agents Paul Boulad, Robert P. Nunnery, Albert W. Seeley, Richard J. Hopkins, and Gustave Fassler.

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the Ricord case.

Joseph Auguste Ricord was arrested in Paraguay in March 1971 and was extradited to face trial in New York City on Federal charges of conspiring to smuggle narcotics. He was convicted on December 15, 1972.

79 State of the Union Message to the Congress on Law Enforcement and Drug Abuse Prevention.

March 14, 1973

To the Congress of the United States:

This sixth message to the Congress on the State of the Union concerns our Federal system of criminal justice. It discusses both the progress we have made in improving that system and the additional steps we must take to consolidate our accomplishments and to further our efforts to achieve a safe, just, and law-abiding society.

In the period from 1960 to 1968 serious crime in the United States increased by 122 percent according to the FBI's Uniform Crime Index. The rate of increase accelerated each year until it reached a peak of 17 percent in 1968.

In 1968 one major public opinion poll showed that Americans considered lawlessness to be the top domestic problem facing the Nation. Another poll showed that four out of five Americans believed that "Law and order has broken down in this country." There was a very real fear that crime and violence were becoming a threat to the stability of our society.

The decade of the 1960s was characterized in many quarters by a growing sense of permissiveness in America—as well intentioned as it was poorly reasoned—in which many people were reluctant to take the steps necessary to control crime. It is no coincidence that within a few years' time, America experienced a crime wave that threatened to become uncontrollable.

This Administration came to office in 1969 with the conviction that the integrity of our free institutions demanded stronger and firmer crime control. I

promised that the wave of crime would not be the wave of the future. An all-out attack was mounted against crime in the United States.

—The manpower of Federal enforcement and prosecution agencies was increased.

—New legislation was proposed and passed by the Congress to put teeth into Federal enforcement efforts against organized crime, drug trafficking, and crime in the District of Columbia.

—Federal financial aid to State and local criminal justice systems—a forerunner of revenue sharing—was greatly expanded through Administration budgeting and Congressional appropriations, reaching a total of \$1.5 billion in the three fiscal years from 1970 through 1972.

These steps marked a clear departure from the philosophy which had come to dominate Federal crime fighting efforts, and which had brought America to record-breaking levels of lawlessness. Slowly, we began to bring America back. The effort has been long, slow, and difficult. In spite of the difficulties, we have made dramatic progress.

In the last four years the Department of Justice has obtained convictions against more than 2500 organized crime figures, including a number of bosses and under-bosses in major cities across the country. The pressure on the underworld is building constantly.

Today, the capital of the United States no longer bears the stigma of also being the Nation's crime capital. As a result of decisive reforms in the criminal justice

system the serious crime rate has been cut in half in Washington, D.C. From a peak rate of more than 200 serious crimes per day reached during one month in 1969, the figure has been cut by more than half to 93 per day for the latest month of record in 1973. Felony prosecutions have increased from 2100 to 3800, and the time between arrest and trial for felonies has fallen from ten months to less than two.

Because of the combined efforts of Federal, State, and local agencies, the wave of serious crime in the United States is being brought under control. Latest figures from the FBI's Uniform Crime Index show that serious crime is increasing at the rate of only one percent a year—the lowest recorded rate since 1960. A majority of cities with over 100,000 population have an actual reduction in crime.

These statistics and these indices suggest that our anti-crime program is on the right track. They suggest that we are taking the right measures. They prove that the only way to attack crime in America is the way crime attacks our people—without pity. Our program is based on this philosophy, and it is working.

Now we intend to maintain the momentum we have developed by taking additional steps to further improve law enforcement and to further protect the people of the United States.

LAW ENFORCEMENT SPECIAL REVENUE SHARING

Most crime in America does not fall under Federal jurisdiction. Those who serve in the front lines of the battle against crime are the State and local law enforcement authorities. State and local police are supported in turn by many

other elements of the criminal justice system, including prosecuting and defending attorneys, judges, and probation and corrections officers. All these elements need assistance and some need dramatic reform, especially the prison systems.

While the Federal Government does not have full jurisdiction in the field of criminal law enforcement, it does have a broad, constitutional responsibility to insure domestic tranquility. I intend to meet that responsibility.

At my direction, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) has greatly expanded its efforts to aid in the improvement of State and local criminal justice systems. In the last three years of the previous Administration, Federal grants to State and local law enforcement authorities amounted to only \$22 million. In the first three years of my Administration, this same assistance totaled more than \$1.5 billion—more than 67 times as much. I consider this money to be an investment in justice and safety on our streets, an investment which has been yielding encouraging dividends.

But the job has not been completed. We must now act further to improve the Federal role in the granting of aid for criminal justice. Such improvement can come with the adoption of Special Revenue Sharing for law enforcement.

I believe the transition to Special Revenue Sharing for law enforcement will be a relatively easy one. Since its inception, the LEAA has given block grants which allow State and local authorities somewhat greater discretion than does the old-fashioned categorical grant system. But States and localities still lack both the flexibility and the clear authority they need in spending Federal monies to meet their law enforcement challenges.

Under my proposed legislation, block grants, technical assistance grants, manpower development grants, and aid for correctional institutions would be combined into one \$680 million Special Revenue Sharing fund which would be distributed to States and local governments on a formula basis. This money could be used for improving any area of State and local criminal justice systems.

I have repeatedly expressed my conviction that decisions affecting those at State and local levels should be made to the fullest possible extent at State and local levels. This is the guiding principle behind revenue sharing. Experience has demonstrated the validity of this approach and I urge that it now be fully applied to the field of law enforcement and criminal justice.

THE CRIMINAL CODE REFORM ACT

The Federal criminal laws of the United States date back to 1790 and are based on statutes then pertinent to effective law enforcement. With the passage of new criminal laws, with the unfolding of new court decisions interpreting those laws, and with the development and growth of our Nation, many of the concepts still reflected in our criminal laws have become inadequate, clumsy, or outmoded.

In 1966, the Congress established the National Commission on Reform of the Federal Criminal Laws to analyze and evaluate the criminal Code. The Commission's final report of January 7, 1971, has been studied and further refined by the Department of Justice, working with the Congress. In some areas this Administration has substantial disagreements with the Commission's recommendations.

But we agree fully with the almost universal recognition that modification of the Code is not merely desirable but absolutely imperative.

Accordingly, I will soon submit to the Congress the Criminal Code Reform Act aimed at a comprehensive revision of existing Federal criminal laws. This act will provide a rational, integrated code of Federal criminal law that is workable and responsive to the demands of a modern Nation.

The act is divided into three parts:

- 1—general provisions and principles,
- 2—definitions of Federal offenses, and
- 3—provisions for sentencing.

Part 1 of the Code establishes general provisions and principles regarding such matters as Federal criminal jurisdiction, culpability, complicity, and legal defenses, and contains a number of significant innovations. Foremost among these is a more effective test for establishing Federal criminal jurisdiction. Those circumstances giving rise to Federal jurisdiction are clearly delineated in the proposed new Code and the extent of jurisdiction is clearly defined.

I am emphatically opposed to encroachment by Federal authorities on State sovereignty, by unnecessarily increasing the areas over which the Federal Government asserts jurisdiction. To the contrary, jurisdiction has been relinquished in those areas where the States have demonstrated no genuine need for assistance in protecting their citizens.

In those instances where jurisdiction is expanded, care has been taken to limit that expansion to areas of compelling Federal interest which are not adequately dealt with under present law. An example of such an instance would be the present

law which states that it is a Federal crime to travel in interstate commerce to bribe a witness in a State court proceeding, but it is not a crime to travel in interstate commerce to threaten or intimidate the same witness, though intimidation might even take the form of murdering the witness.

The Federal interest is the same in each case—to assist the State in safeguarding the integrity of its judicial processes. In such a case, an extension of Federal jurisdiction is clearly warranted and is provided for under my proposal.

The rationalization of jurisdictional bases permits greater clarity of drafting, uniformity of interpretation, and the consolidation of numerous statutes presently applying to basically the same conduct.

For example, title 18 of the criminal Code as presently drawn, lists some 70 theft offenses—each written in a different fashion to cover the taking of various kinds of property in different jurisdictional situations. In the proposed new Code, these have been reduced to 5 general sections. Almost 80 forgery, counterfeiting, and related offenses have been replaced by only 3 sections. Over 50 statutes involving perjury and false statements have been reduced to 7 sections. Approximately 70 arson and property destruction offenses have been consolidated into 4 offenses.

Similar changes have been made in the Code's treatment of culpability. Instead of 79 undefined terms or combinations of terms presently found in title 18, the Code uses four clearly defined terms.

Another major innovation reflected in Part One is a codification of general defenses available to a defendant. This change permits clarification of areas in which the law is presently confused and,

for the first time, provides uniform Federal standards for defense.

The most significant feature of this chapter is a codification of the "insanity" defense. At present the test is determined by the courts and varies across the country. The standard has become so vague in some instances that it has led to unconscionable abuse by defendants.

My proposed new formulation would provide an insanity defense only if the defendant did not know what he was doing. Under this formulation, which has considerable support in psychiatric and legal circles, the only question considered germane in a murder case, for example, would be whether the defendant knew that he was pulling the trigger of a gun. Questions such as the existence of a mental disease or defect and whether the defendant requires treatment or deserves imprisonment would be reserved for consideration at the time of sentencing.

Part Two of the Code consolidates the definitions of all Federal felonies, as well as certain related Federal offenses of a less serious character. Offenses and, in appropriate instances, specific defenses, are defined in simple, concise terms, and those existing provisions found to be obsolete or unusable have been eliminated—for example, operating a pirate ship on behalf of a "foreign prince," or detaining a United States carrier pigeon. Loopholes in existing law have been closed—for example, statutes concerning the theft of union funds, and new offenses have been created where necessary, as in the case of leaders of organized crime.

We have not indulged in changes merely for the sake of changes. Where existing law has proved satisfactory and where existing statutory language has re-

ceived favorable interpretation by the courts, the law and the operative language have been retained. In other areas, such as pornography, there has been a thorough revision to reassert the Federal interest in protecting our citizens.

The reforms set forth in Parts One and Two of the Code would be of little practical consequence without a more realistic approach to those problems which arise in the post-conviction phase of dealing with Federal offenses.

For example, the penalty structure prescribed in the present criminal Code is riddled with inconsistencies and inadequacies. Title 18 alone provides 18 different terms of imprisonment and 14 different fines, often with no discernible relationship between the possible term of imprisonment and the possible levying of a fine.

Part Three of the new Code classifies offenses into 8 categories for purposes of assessing and levying imprisonment and fines. It brings the present structure into line with current judgments as to the seriousness of various offenses and with the best opinions of penologists as [to] the efficacy of specific penalties. In some instances, more stringent sanctions are provided. For example, sentences for arson are increased from 5 to 15 years. In other cases penalties are reduced. For example, impersonating a foreign official carries a three year sentence, as opposed to the 10 year term originally prescribed.

To reduce the possibility of unwarranted disparities in sentencing, the Code establishes criteria for the imposition of sentence. At the same time, it provides for parole supervision after all prison sentences, so that even hardened criminals who serve their full prison terms will receive supervision following their release.

There are certain crimes reflecting such a degree of hostility to society that a decent regard for the common welfare requires that a defendant convicted of those crimes be removed from free society. For this reason my proposed new Code provides mandatory minimum prison terms for trafficking in hard narcotics; it provides mandatory minimum prison terms for persons using dangerous weapons in the execution of a crime; and it provides mandatory minimum prison sentences for those convicted as leaders of organized crime.

The magnitude of the proposed revision of the Federal criminal Code will require careful detailed consideration by the Congress. I have no doubt this will be time-consuming. There are, however, two provisions in the Code which I feel require immediate enactment. I have thus directed that provisions relating to the death penalty and to heroin trafficking also be transmitted as separate bills in order that the Congress may act more rapidly on these two measures.

DEATH PENALTY

The sharp reduction in the application of the death penalty was a component of the more permissive attitude toward crime in the last decade.

I do not contend that the death penalty is a panacea that will cure crime. Crime is the product of a variety of different circumstances—sometimes social, sometimes psychological—but it is committed by human beings and at the point of commission it is the product of that individual's motivation. If the incentive not to commit crime is stronger than the incentive to commit it, then logic suggests that crime will be reduced. It is in part

the entirely justified feeling of the prospective criminal that he will not suffer for his deed which, in the present circumstances, helps allow those deeds to take place.

Federal crimes are rarely "crimes of passion." Airplane hi-jacking is not done in a blind rage; it has to be carefully planned. The use of incendiary devices and bombs is not a crime of passion, nor is kidnapping; all these must be thought out in advance. At present those who plan these crimes do not have to include in their deliberations the possibility that they will be put to death for their deeds. I believe that in making their plans, they should have to consider the fact that if a death results from their crime, they too may die.

Under those conditions, I am confident that the death penalty can be a valuable deterrent. By making the death penalty available, we will provide Federal enforcement authorities with additional leverage to dissuade those individuals who may commit a Federal crime from taking the lives of others in the course of committing that crime.

Hard experience has taught us that with due regard for the rights of all—including the right to life itself—we must return to a greater concern with protecting those who might otherwise be the innocent victims of violent crime than with protecting those who have committed those crimes. The society which fails to recognize this as a reasonable ordering of its priorities must inevitably find itself, in time, at the mercy of criminals.

America was heading in that direction in the last decade, and I believe that we must not risk returning to it again. Accordingly, I am proposing the re-institution of the death penalty for war-related

treason, sabotage, and espionage, and for all specifically enumerated crimes under Federal jurisdiction from which death results.

The Department of Justice has examined the constitutionality of the death penalty in the light of the Supreme Court's recent decision in *Furman v. Georgia*. It is the Department's opinion that *Furman* holds unconstitutional the imposition of the death penalty only insofar as it is applied arbitrarily and capriciously. I believe the best way to accommodate the reservations of the Court is to authorize the automatic imposition of the death penalty where it is warranted.

Under the proposal drafted by the Department of Justice, a hearing would be required after the trial for the purpose of determining the existence or nonexistence of certain rational standards which delineate aggravating factors or mitigating factors.

Among those mitigating factors which would preclude the imposition of a death sentence are the youth of the defendant, his or her mental capacity, or the fact that the crime was committed under duress. Aggravating factors include the creation of a grave risk of danger to the national security, or to the life of another person, or the killing of another person during the commission of one of a circumscribed list of serious offenses, such as treason, kidnapping, or aircraft piracy.

The hearing would be held before the judge who presided at the trial and before either the same jury, or, if circumstances require, a jury specially impaneled. Imposition of the death penalty by the judge would be mandatory if the jury returns a special verdict finding the existence of one or more aggravating factors and the absence of any mitigating factor. The death

sentence is *prohibited* if the jury finds the existence of one or more mitigating factors.

Current statutes containing the death penalty would be amended to eliminate the requirement for jury recommendation, thus limiting the imposition of the death penalty to cases in which the legislative guidelines for its imposition clearly require it, and eliminating arbitrary and capricious application of the death penalty which the Supreme Court has condemned in the *Furman* case.

DRUG ABUSE

No single law enforcement problem has occupied more time, effort and money in the past four years than that of drug abuse and drug addiction. We have regarded drugs as "public enemy number one," destroying the most precious resource we have—our young people—and breeding lawlessness, violence and death.

When this Administration assumed office in 1969, only \$82 million was budgeted by the Federal Government for law enforcement, prevention, and rehabilitation in the field of drug abuse.

Today that figure has been increased to \$785 million for 1974—nearly 10 times as much. Narcotics production has been disrupted, more traffickers and distributors have been put out of business, and addicts and abusers have been treated and started on the road to rehabilitation.

Since last June, the supply of heroin on the East Coast has been substantially reduced. The scarcity of heroin in our big Eastern cities has driven up the price of an average "fix" from \$4.31 to \$9.88, encouraging more addicts to seek medical treatment. At the same time the heroin

content of that fix has dropped from 6.5 to 3.7 percent.

Meanwhile, through my Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control, action plans are underway to help 59 foreign countries develop and carry out their own national control programs. These efforts, linked with those of the Bureau of Customs and the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, have produced heartening results.

Our worldwide narcotics seizures almost tripled in 1972 over 1971. Seizures by our anti-narcotics allies abroad are at an all-time high.

In January, 1972, the French seized a half-ton of heroin on a shrimp boat headed for this country. Argentine, Brazilian and Venezuelan agents seized 285 pounds of heroin in three raids in 1972, and with twenty arrests crippled the existing French-Latin American connection. The ringleader was extradited to the U.S. by Paraguay and has just begun to serve a 20-year sentence in Federal prison.

Thailand's Special Narcotics Organization recently seized a total of almost eleven tons of opium along the Burmese border, as well as a half-ton of morphine and heroin.

Recently Iran scored the largest opium seizure on record—over 12 tons taken from smugglers along the Afghanistan border.

Turkey, as a result of a courageous decision by the government under Prime Minister Erim in 1971, has prohibited all cultivation of opium within her borders.

These results are all the more gratifying in light of the fact that heroin is wholly a foreign import to the United States. We do not grow opium here; we do

not produce heroin here; yet we have the largest addict population in the world. Clearly we will end our problem faster with continued foreign assistance.

Our domestic accomplishments are keeping pace with international efforts and are producing equally encouraging results. Domestic drug seizures, including seizures of marijuana and hashish, almost doubled in 1972 over 1971. Arrests have risen by more than one-third and convictions have doubled.

In January of 1972, a new agency, the Office of Drug Abuse Law Enforcement (DALE), was created within the Department of Justice. Task forces composed of investigators, attorneys, and special prosecuting attorneys have been assigned to more than forty cities with heroin problems. DALE now arrests pushers at the rate of 550 a month and has obtained 750 convictions.

At my direction, the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) established a special unit to make intensive tax investigations of suspected domestic traffickers. To date, IRS has collected \$18 million in currency and property, assessed tax penalties of more than \$100 million, and obtained 25 convictions. This effort can be particularly effective in reaching the high level traffickers and financiers who never actually touch the heroin, but who profit from the misery of those who do.

The problem of drug abuse in America is not a law enforcement problem alone. Under my Administration, the Federal Government has pursued a balanced, comprehensive approach to ending this problem. Increased law enforcement efforts have been coupled with expanded treatment programs.

The Special Action Office for Drug

Abuse Prevention was created to aid in preventing drug abuse before it begins and in rehabilitating those who have fallen victim to it.

In each year of my Administration, more Federal dollars have been spent on treatment, rehabilitation, prevention, and research in the field of drug abuse than has been budgeted for law enforcement in the drug field.

The Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention is currently developing a special program of Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime (TASC) to break the vicious cycle of addiction, crime, arrest, bail, and more crime. Under the TASC program, arrestees who are scientifically identified as heroin-dependent may be assigned by judges to treatment programs as a condition for release on bail, or as a possible alternative to prosecution.

Federally funded treatment programs have increased from sixteen in January, 1969, to a current level of 400. In the last fiscal year, the Special Action Office created more facilities for treating drug addiction than the Federal Government had provided in all the previous fifty years.

Today, federally funded treatment is available for 100,000 addicts a year. We also have sufficient funds available to expand our facilities to treat 250,000 addicts if required.

Nationwide, in the last two years, the rate of new addiction to heroin registered its first decline since 1964. This is a particularly important trend because it is estimated that one addict "infects" six of his peers.

The trend in narcotic-related deaths is also clearly on its way down. My advisers report to me that virtually complete

statistics show such fatalities declined approximately 6 percent in 1972 compared to 1971.

In spite of these accomplishments, however, it is still estimated that one-third to one-half of all individuals arrested for street crimes continue to be narcotics abusers and addicts. What this suggests is that in the area of enforcement we are still only holding our own, and we must increase the tools available to do the job.

The work of the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention has aided in smoothing the large expansion of Federal effort in the area of drug treatment and prevention. Now we must move to improve Federal action in the area of law enforcement.

Drug abuse treatment specialists have continuously emphasized in their discussions with me the need for strong, effective law enforcement to restrict the availability of drugs and to punish the pusher.

One area where I am convinced of the need for immediate action is that of jailing heroin pushers. Under the Bail Reform Act of 1966, a Federal judge is precluded from considering the danger to the community when setting bail for suspects arrested for selling heroin. The effect of this restriction is that many accused pushers are immediately released on bail and are thus given the opportunity to go out and create more misery, generate more violence, and commit more crimes while they are waiting to be tried for these same activities.

In a study of 422 accused violators, the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs found that 71 percent were freed on bail for a period ranging from three months to more than one year between the time of arrest and the time of trial. Nearly 40 percent of the total were free

for a period ranging from one-half year to more than one year. As for the major cases, those involving pushers accused of trafficking in large quantities of heroin, it was found that one-fourth were free for over three months to one-half year; one-fourth were free for one-half year to one year; and 16 percent remained free for over one year prior to their trial.

In most cases these individuals had criminal records. One-fifth had been convicted of a previous drug charge and a total of 64 percent had a record of prior felony arrests. The cost of obtaining such a pre-trial release in most cases was minimal; 19 percent of the total sample were freed on personal recognizance and only 23 percent were required to post bonds of \$10,000 or more.

Sentencing practices have also been found to be inadequate in many cases. In a study of 955 narcotics drug violators who were arrested by the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs and convicted in the courts, a total of 27 percent received sentences other than imprisonment. Most of these individuals were placed on probation.

This situation is intolerable. I am therefore calling upon the Congress to promptly enact a new Heroin Trafficking Act.

The first part of my proposed legislation would increase the sentences for *heroin* and *morphine* offenses.

For a first offense of *trafficking* in less than four ounces of a mixture or substance containing heroin or morphine, it provides a mandatory sentence of not less than five years nor more than fifteen years. For a first offense of trafficking in four or more ounces, it provides a mandatory sentence of not less than ten years or for life.

For those with a prior felony narcotic conviction who are convicted of trafficking in less than four ounces, my proposed legislation provides a mandatory prison term of ten years to life imprisonment. For second offenders who are convicted of trafficking in *more* than four ounces, I am proposing a mandatory sentence of life imprisonment without parole.

While four ounces of a heroin mixture may seem a very small amount to use as the criterion for major penalties, that amount is actually worth 12-15,000 dollars and would supply about 180 addicts for a day. Anyone selling four or more ounces cannot be considered a small time operator.

For those who are convicted of *possessing* large amounts of heroin but cannot be convicted of trafficking, I am proposing a series of lesser penalties.

To be sure that judges actually apply these tough sentences, my legislation would provide that the mandatory minimum sentences cannot be suspended, nor probation granted.

The second portion of my proposed legislation would deny pre-trial release to those charged with trafficking in heroin or morphine unless the judicial officer finds that release will not pose a danger to the persons or property of others. It would also prohibit the release of anyone convicted of one of the above felonies who is awaiting sentencing or the results of an appeal.

These are very harsh measures, to be applied within very rigid guidelines and providing only a minimum of sentencing discretion to judges. But circumstances warrant such provisions. All the evidence shows that we are now doing a more effective job in the areas of enforcement

and rehabilitation. In spite of this progress, however, we find an intolerably high level of street crime being committed by addicts. Part of the reason, I believe, lies in the court system which takes over after drug pushers have been apprehended. The courts are frequently little more than an escape hatch for those who are responsible for the menace of drugs.

Sometimes it seems that as fast as we bail water out of the boat through law enforcement and rehabilitation, it runs right back in through the holes in our judicial system. I intend to plug those holes. Until then, all the money we spend, all the enforcement we provide, and all the rehabilitation services we offer are not going to solve the drug problem in America.

Finally, I want to emphasize my continued opposition to legalizing the possession, sale or use of marijuana. There is no question about whether marijuana is dangerous, the only question is how dangerous. While the matter is still in dispute, the only responsible governmental approach is to prevent marijuana from being legalized. I intend, as I have said before, to do just that.

CONCLUSION

This Nation has fought hard and sacrificed greatly to achieve a lasting peace in the world. Peace in the world, however, must be accompanied by peace in our own land. Of what ultimate value is it to end the threat to our national safety in the world if our citizens face a constant threat to their personal safety in our own streets?

The American people are a law-abiding people. They have faith in the law. It is now time for Government to justify that

faith by insuring that the law works, that our system of criminal justice works, and that "domestic tranquility" is preserved.

I believe we have gone a long way toward erasing the apprehensions of the last decade. But we must go further if we are to achieve that peace at home which will truly complement peace abroad.

In the coming months I will propose legislation aimed at curbing the manufacture and sale of cheap handguns commonly known as "Saturday night specials," I will propose reforms of the Federal criminal system to provide speedier and more rational criminal trial procedures, and I will continue to press for innovation and improvement in our correctional systems.

The Federal Government cannot do everything. Indeed, it is prohibited from doing everything. But it can do a great

deal. The crime legislation I will submit to the Congress can give us the tools we need to do all that we can do. This is sound, responsible legislation. I am confident that the approval of the American people for measures of the sort that I have suggested will be reflected in the actions of the Congress.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

March 14, 1973.

NOTE: The message was the last in a series of six messages to the Congress on the state of the Union.

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the message. Participants in the news briefing were Myles Ambrose, Special Assistant Attorney General, Office for Drug Abuse Law Enforcement, and Henry E. Petersen, Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, Department of Justice.

80 The President's News Conference of *March 15, 1973*

UNITED STATES LIAISON OFFICE IN PEKING

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] Ladies and gentlemen, I have an announcement with regard to our Liaison Office in Peking.

The office will open approximately on May 1, and Ambassador David Bruce will be the Chief of the Liaison Office. In the Office will be approximately a total complement of 20 (30), of whom 10 will be at what we call the expert level; the others, of course, for the support level.

The two top assistants, top deputies to Ambassador Bruce—however, we should note, I call him Ambassador, but his title will be Chief of the Liaison Office—will be Mr. [Alfred le S.] Jenkins from the

State Department, who, as you know, is one of our top experts on Chinese-American relations in State; and Mr. [John H.] Holdridge from the NSC [National Security Council], who is the top man in the NSC advising in this area there.

We selected these two men because Mr. Jenkins and Mr. Holdridge not only are experts in Chinese—they are bilingual, incidentally, in both Chinese and American; they speak well. In fact, I remember both assisted in translations when I have been there. But in addition to that, they are men who have, from the beginning, been participating in the new initiative between the People's Republic and the United States. They have accompanied

me on my trip, and they have accompanied Dr. Kissinger on his trips.

A word about why Ambassador Bruce was selected. We called him out of retirement because I thought it was very important to appoint a man of great stature to this position. The Chinese accepted that view themselves, and we expect soon to hear from them as to the appointment of the man they will have as his opposite number here in Washington. Another reason that I selected Ambassador Bruce was because of his great experience. All of you know that he has been Ambassador to Britain and Ambassador to Germany, Ambassador to France, and also headed our delegation in Paris in the Vietnam talks in 1971 and '72, in the early part of '72.

A third reason, perhaps, has even greater significance. Many of you in this room were on the trip to China, and sometimes I suppose the feeling must have developed, "Well, this is a one-shot deal." I never considered it that, and all of you who reported on it did not consider it that. It was the beginning, we trust, of a longer journey, a journey in which we will have our differences, but one in which the most populous nation in the world and the United States of America can work together where their interests coincide for the cause of peace and better relations in the Pacific and in the world.

It is necessary that this be, therefore, a bipartisan enterprise in the highest sense of the word.

Mr. Bruce, as you know, while he has not been engaged in partisan politics as such, is a Democrat. He has served four Presidents with equal distinction, Democratic Presidents as well as Republicans. And we believe that appointing him as head of the delegation indicates our intention that this initiative will continue in the

future, whether the Presidency is occupied by a Democrat or a Republican. Of course, I am not making any predictions as to what will happen when I leave.

But that is the end of my announcement. We will now go to your questions.

QUESTIONS

TESTIMONY OF WHITE HOUSE COUNSEL BEFORE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

[2.] Mr. Risher [Eugene V. Risher, United Press International].

Q. Mr. President, do you plan to stick by your decision not to allow Mr. Dean to testify before the Congress, even if it means the defeat of Mr. Gray's nomination? ¹

THE PRESIDENT. I have noted some speculation to the effect that the Senate might hold Mr. Gray as hostage to a decision on Mr. Dean. I cannot believe that such responsible Members of the United States Senate would do that, because as far as I am concerned, my decision has been made.

I answered that question rather abruptly, you recall, the last time it was asked by one of the ladies of the press here. I did not mean to be abrupt, I simply meant to be firm.

Mr. Dean is Counsel to the White House. He is also one who was counsel to a number of people on the White House Staff. He has, in effect, what I would call a double privilege, the lawyer-client relationship, as well as the Presidential privilege.

¹L. Patrick Gray III was designated Acting Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on May 3, 1972. He was nominated to be Director on February 21, 1973.

And in terms of privilege, I think we could put it another way. I consider it my constitutional responsibility to defend the principle of separation of powers. I recognize that many Members of the Congress disagree with my interpretation of that responsibility.

But while we are talking on that subject—and I will go on at some length here because it may anticipate some of your other questions—I am very proud of the fact that in this Administration we have been more forthcoming in terms of the relationship between the executive, the White House, and the Congress, than any administration in my memory. We have not drawn a curtain down and said that there could be no information furnished by members of the White House Staff because of their special relationship to the President.

All we have said is that it must be under certain circumstances, certain guidelines, that do not infringe upon or impair the separation of powers that are so essential to the survival of our system.

In that connection, I might say that I had mentioned previously that I was once on the other side of the fence, but what I am doing here in this case is cooperating with the Congress in a way that I asked the then President, Mr. Truman, to cooperate with a committee of the Congress 25 years ago and in which he refused.

I don't say that critically of him now—he had his reasons, I have mine. But what we asked for in the hearings on the Hiss case²—and all of you who covered it,

like Bill Theis [J. William Theis, Hearst Newspapers and Hearst Headline Service] and others, will remember—what we asked for was not that the head of the FBI or anybody from the White House Staff testify. There was very widespread information that there was a report of an investigation that had been made in the Administration about the Hiss case. We asked for that report. We asked for the FBI information with regard to that report.

And Mr. Truman, the day we started our investigation, issued an executive order in which he ordered everybody in the executive department to refuse to cooperate with the committee under any circumstances.³ The FBI refused all information. We got no report from the Department of Justice. And we had to go forward and break the case ourselves.

We did. And, to the credit of the Administration, after we broke the case, they proceeded to conduct the prosecution and the FBI went into it.

I would like to say, incidentally, that I talked to Mr. Hoover at that time. It was with reluctance that he did not turn over that information—reluctance, because he felt that the information, the investigation they had conducted, was very pertinent to what the committee was doing.

Now, I thought that decision was wrong. And so when this Administration has come in, I have always insisted that we should cooperate with Members of the Congress and with the committees of the Congress. And that is why we have furnished information. But, however, I am not going

² Alger Hiss, a former State Department official, was convicted of perjury in his testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee during investigations into Communist activities by the committee.

³ See "Public Papers of the Presidents, Harry S. Truman, 1948," Item 170 [4].

to have the Counsel to the President of the United States testify in a formal session for the Congress. However, Mr. Dean will furnish information when any of it is requested, provided it is pertinent to the investigation.

Q. Mr. President, would you then be willing to have Mr. Dean sit down informally and let some of the Senators question him, as they have with Dr. Kissinger?

THE PRESIDENT. No, that is quite a different thing. In fact, Dr. Kissinger, Mr. Ehrlichman, as you know, not only informally meet with Members of the Congress on matters of substance, the same is true with members of the press. As you know, Dr. Kissinger meets with you ladies and gentlemen of the press and answers questions on matters of substance.

In this case, where we have the relationship that we have with Mr. Dean and the President of the United States—his Counsel—that would not be a proper way to handle it. He will, however—the important thing is, he will furnish all pertinent information. He will be completely forthcoming—something that other administrations have totally refused to do until we got here. And I am very proud of the fact that we are forthcoming, and I would respectfully suggest that Members of the Congress might look at that record as they decide to test it.

CEASE-FIRE VIOLATIONS IN VIETNAM

[3.] Q. Mr. President, can you say, sir, how concerned you are about the reports of cease-fire violations in Vietnam?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I am concerned about the cease-fire violations. As you ladies and gentlemen will recall, I have

consistently pointed out in meeting with you, that we would expect violations because of the nature of the war, the guerrilla nature, and that even in Korea, in which we do not have a guerrilla war, we still have violations. They recede every year, but we still have them long—15, 20 years—after the war is over.

In the case of these violations, we are concerned about them on two scores. One, because they occur, but two, we are concerned because of another violation that could lead to, we think, rather serious consequences—we do not believe it will; we hope that it will not—and that is the reports that you ladies and gentlemen have been receiving from your colleagues in Vietnam with regard to infiltration.

You will note that there have been reports of infiltration by the North Vietnamese into South Vietnam of equipment exceeding the amounts that were agreed upon in the settlement.

Now, some equipment can come in. In other words, replacement equipment, but no new equipment, nothing which steps up the capacity of the North Vietnamese or the Vietcong to wage war in the South. No new equipment is allowed under the agreement.

Now, as far as that concern is concerned, particularly on the infiltration—that is the more important point, rather than the cease-fire violations which we think, over a period of time, will be reduced—but in terms of the infiltration, I am not going to say publicly what we have said.

I will only suggest this: that we have informed the North Vietnamese of our concern about this infiltration and of what we believe it to be, a violation of the cease-fire, the cease-fire and the peace agree-

ment. Our concern has also been expressed to other interested parties. And I would only suggest that based on my actions over the past 4 years, that the North Vietnamese should not lightly disregard such expressions of concern when they are made with regard to a violation. That is all I will say about it.

Q. Mr. President, in connection with this matter, there is a report also that not just equipment but a new infusion of North Vietnamese combat personnel have been introduced into South Vietnam, which is apart from just equipment. Can you confirm this? Is this partly what you are talking about?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Theis, the reports that we get with regard to infiltration, as you know, are always either too little or too late or too much. And I am not going to confirm that one, except to say that we have noted the report having been made. We, however, are primarily concerned about the equipment, because as far as the personnel are concerned, they could be simply replacement personnel.

Q. Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Go ahead, you are up in front.

Q. Sir, why have we not gone through the ICCS [International Commission of Control and Supervision] to complain about this infiltration?

THE PRESIDENT. The ICCS is being used. As you know, there are some problems there. The Canadians have expressed considerable concern about the fact that they don't want to be on a commission which is not being effectively used, and we will continue through the ICCS and any other body that we can effectively appeal to, to attempt to get action there. I can only answer in that way at this point.

CONFIDENTIALITY OF FBI INTERVIEWS

[4.] Q. Mr. President, are you concerned, sir, that any of the confidential FBI interviews that were conducted in their Watergate investigation were in any way compromised by Pat Gray's having given information to John Dean or talked with John Ehrlichman or others?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I am not concerned about that. I would say that there is no possibility whatever that any information from the FBI, that may have been provided in the line of their duties to a member of the White House Staff, would be bandied about in the press.

I would express concern on another point. In my longtime association with Mr. Hoover, he always was hardline in dealing with the Members of the Congress and with Congressional committees in terms of what he called "raw files," and when I first came into this office, he showed me a raw file. I had not seen any before. And when I saw the gossip, the hearsay, and unsubstantiated kind of slanderous statements—libelous, in this case, because they were in writing, having been made orally and then transmitted into writing—I was really shocked.

Mr. Hoover, after showing me the raw file, then gave me an appraisal by the FBI of what could be believed and what could not be believed. And in the case of this particular individual—the reason I saw the file, it involved a check of an individual that I was nominating for a position, and I needed to get the facts, and of course, I always have access to those files—what we found was that every charge that had been made against the individual was false.

Now, for the FBI, before a full committee of the Congress, to furnish raw files

and then to have them leak out to the press, I think could do innocent people a great deal of damage. I understand why Mr. Gray did, because his hearing was involved. But I would say that should not be a precedent for the future.

The way Mr. Hoover handled it with Members of the Congress was that he would show the raw files, for example, to Mr. Eastland, the chairman of a committee, and the ranking minority member, where a judge was up for confirmation. But nothing ever leaked from those files. And the sanctity of those files must be maintained, and I believe that the practice of the FBI furnishing raw files to full committees must stop with this particular one.

STOCKPILES OF STRATEGIC MATERIALS

[5.] Q. Mr. President, have you decided to sell materials from the strategic stockpiles, and if so, what are the safeguards from a security standpoint?

THE PRESIDENT. We have examined the stockpile question over the past 4 years. I have long felt that these stockpiles were really irrelevant to the kind of a world situation we presently confront. The stockpile numbers were set up at a time that we were thinking of a very different kind of conflict than we presently might be confronted with in the world.

Under the circumstances, after very full evaluation and discussion within the Administration, I have found that it will be safe for the United States to very substantially reduce our stockpiles. And we are going to go forward and do that.

Now, there are going to be some squeals, but while the complaints will be made on the basis of national security, let me just say I have made the decision on the basis

of national security. The complaints will be, and I understand this, from those who produce and sell some of the materials in which we are going to sell the stockpiles. But we are going to do this, first, because the Government doesn't need this much for its national security and, second, because in this particular period, we need to take every action we possibly can to drive down prices, or at least to drive down those particular elements that force prices up. And selling the stockpiles in certain areas will help.

INVESTIGATIONS OF CONDUCT OF CAMPAIGN PERSONNEL

[6.] Q. Mr. President, one of the revelations made by Mr. Gray during the course of the hearings has been that Mr. [Herbert W.] Kalmbach was involved with Mr. [Dwight L.] Chapin in the hiring of Mr. [Donald H.] Segretti for amounts up to \$40,000. Can you tell us, sir, did you know of that relationship, and did you know of that transaction, and if not, can you tell us your opinion of it now that it has been revealed by Mr. Gray?

THE PRESIDENT. This gives me an opportunity to not only answer that question, but many others that I note you have been asking Mr. Ziegler.

First—and incidentally, I am not complaining about the fact you are asking the question of me or Mr. Ziegler; it is a very proper question—a Senate committee is conducting investigations. These investigations will go on, I understand, over a period of many months. I respect the right of the Senate to conduct those investigations. We will cooperate; we will cooperate fully with the Senate, just as we did with the grand jury, as we did with the FBI, and as we did with the courts when

they were conducting their investigations previously in what was called the Water-gate matter.

As far as these investigations are concerned, there are all kinds of information, charges, et cetera, et cetera, that have been made and will be made in the future. I could comment upon them. Mr. Ziegler could in the future. I will not. He will not. And the reason that we will not is that when the committee completes its investigation, we will then have comment, if we consider it appropriate to do so. But it is the right of the committee to conduct the investigation. All the facts can come out.

I have confidence in all of the White House people who have been named. I will express that confidence again. But I am not going to comment on any individual matter that the committee may go into.

Let me say, with regard to the committee, too, I do not intend to raise questions about its conduct. I have been very pleased to note that Senator Ervin—at least this is the way I read what he says—has indicated that the investigation will be bipartisan, that it will look into charges that have been made against both election campaigns, and that is as it should be. He has also indicated that he, as a great constitutional lawyer, will accept no hearsay, that he will not tolerate any guilt by innuendo, he will not tolerate any guilt by association.

As long as the committee conducts its investigations with those very high guidelines—guidelines I tried to follow, incidentally, in the Hiss case; not perhaps as well as I might have, but I did what many thought was pretty well—but in any event, as long as it is conducted that way,

I do not intend to make any statements with regard to matters before the committee. That is for the committee to look into.

PLANS FOR PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL ABROAD

[7.] Q. Mr. President, can you tell us your travel plans outside of the United States during 1973?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have previously indicated that I had no immediate travel plans outside the United States. I have received recommendations from the State Department and from the NSC for what they consider to be urgent travel, one, to Europe, because of our interest in NATO; second, to Latin America, because I have not yet had the opportunity to go to Latin America; and third, to Africa, because I have not traveled there.

I do not mean to suggest by that that travel by the President to these places is absolutely indispensable to foreign policy, but I think this is the concern that many of our foreign policy experts in the State Department and the NSC, the concern they have. They feel that the enormous interest that has been created by going to Peking and going to Moscow indicates that we don't care about our neighbors in the Western Hemisphere, we don't care about our friends in Africa, and we do not care about our friends in Europe as well. Incidentally, Japan is another that is on the list.

Now, how we will be able to work some of these trips in, I do not know. I would suggest that we are considering the possibility of a trip sometime during the summer or shortly before the summer begins, but we have not yet made a decision because there are so many other things

on, and there will probably be a trip in the fall. But how we select among these, I have not yet determined.

MANDATORY PRISON TERMS FOR NARCOTICS
TRAFFICKERS

[8.] Q. Mr. President, less than 3 years ago you signed into law a bill that removed mandatory prison terms for Federal narcotics convictions, as recommended by an earlier President's crime commission, and since then 73 percent of those convicted in Federal cases have received prison terms. What evidence is there that causes you now to go the other way, to ask for a restoration of mandatory prison terms for narcotics traffic?

THE PRESIDENT. We have examined this situation very carefully. Here is what we have found with regard to this whole attitude in terms of the restoration of the death penalty, for example, and the mandatory prison terms in cases of narcotics offenders. Let me point out that the mandatory sentences, as you know, only apply to hard drugs, heroin. It does not apply to marijuana. It does not apply to soft drugs, et cetera, et cetera.

Criminologists have honest differences of opinion on this, as to whether it will be more effective or less effective. We have examined it. We have, as you have already indicated, accepted a recommendation, and we were moving in one direction at one time, and now we have looked at the record since then, and we have looked at the record over the past 10 years. I will simply summarize it for this year.

During the sixties, the United States went far down the road of the permissive

approach to those charged with crime, and we reaped a terrible harvest, the greatest increase in crime that this country has ever had, explosive to the point that law and order, so-called, became a great issue in '68. It was still a great issue in '72.

Now, under these circumstances, I believe that it is essential that we have not a permissive approach, but an approach where certain major crimes are concerned that the penalties will be ones that will deter those crimes. It is my belief that they will.

Let me suggest, also, that my discussions with criminologists bear that out. We will find some disagreement. I understand there is a commission that will, in a couple of weeks, recommend that we move in the other direction. But I will take the responsibility.

As far as I am concerned, I oppose, as you know, the legalization of marijuana, although I have advocated a more equitable type of punishment which will fit the crime. I am for the mandatory criminal penalties with regard to hard drugs because I think we have to move vigorously in this area. And in terms of the capital punishment, I do not think the Secretary of State of the United States can make a statement to the effect that terrorists in the Sudan should be executed when, if somebody picks up some diplomat in the United States, we would give him perhaps 20 years, 30 years, and then have him out on parole in 5 years.

So under these circumstances, I am taking this line. I realize many honestly disagree. I respect the disagreement. But that is what I believe. If it doesn't work, we will try something else.

CONTROLS ON FOOD PRICES

[9.] Q. Mr. President, Mr. President —

THE PRESIDENT [to Clark R. Mollenhoff, Des Moines Register and Tribune]. I thought that was your voice.

MR. MOLLENHOFF. I think you recognized the voice. [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. You had three questions last time. I have got to give the St. Louis Post-Dispatch one. You [James Deakin] are still with the Post-Dispatch?

MR. DEAKIN. Yes, the last time I looked.

There is a published report that the Administration, despite what has been publicly said, is considering at least the possibility of controls on meat prices, possibly on other raw agricultural products. We have housewives' strikes now against these tremendous increases in food prices. When are you going to be in a position to offer the American consumer some kind of assurance that this is going to be stopped, this price spiral in food?

THE PRESIDENT. The difficulty with offering rigid price controls on meat prices and food prices is that it would not stop—in the opinion of those whose judgment I value—would not stop the rise in prices. It might stop them momentarily, but as a result of discouraging increased production, we would reap the consequences of greater upward pressure on prices later.

You can be very sure that if I thought that price controls on farm products and on food prices would work, I would impose them instantly.

The point is that every bit of evidence that has been presented shows that it would discourage supply, it would lead to black markets, and we would eventually

have to come to rigid price controls, wage controls, and rationing. And I don't think the American people want that. I think there is a better way.

The better way is, one, to open our imports to the greatest extent that we possibly can. For example, we have already taken some action in that on dairy products. We have already taken some action on beef products. I found, at a meeting with the Cost of Living Council, that we still have a 3 percent tariff on imported beef. I have asked the Department of Agriculture to give me a legal opinion as to whether the President can remove that tariff. If I can, I will act. If I can't, I am going to ask the Congress to do it, because there shouldn't be any tariff on an item that is in short supply in the United States. That is on the import side.

On the supply side, we are, of course, reducing our stockpiles, whatever stockpiles are left, and there are some in which we are able to act, provided we can get the transportation. That is the reason the Secretary of Transportation sat in the meeting with the Cost of Living Council, because we need flatcars and a number of other items in order to get it moved.

Finally, there is the production side. And on the production side, as you know, our new farm policy is designed to increase production. We are continuing to examine the situation. If any further action can be taken that will work, we will do it. But I can assure you that I consider it the highest priority to get the pressure on prices down.

Let me say one word about the housewives. I had a letter from one the other day saying, "Should I boycott?" I am not going to suggest to American housewives or to any group of Americans to join in

boycotts and so forth. I generally do not feel that that is an effective use of what we call "people power."

On the other hand, I would suggest that the greatest and most powerful weapon against high prices in this country is the American housewife. Her decisions, as she buys, whether she buys something that is more expensive or less expensive, can have far greater effect on price control than anything we do here. And I would suggest that the fact that some of the pressure on prices may be lessening now, as a result of housewives buying more carefully, may have some good effect.

WHITE HOUSE AIDES AND THE ERVIN
COMMITTEE

[10.] Q. Mr. President, does your offer to cooperate with the Ervin committee include the possibility that you would allow your aides to testify before his committee? And if it does not, would you be willing to comply with a court order, if Ervin went to court to get one, that required some testimony from White House aides?

THE PRESIDENT. In answer to your first part of the question, the statement that we made yesterday answered that completely—not yesterday, the 12th I think it was—my statement on executive privilege. Members of the White House Staff will not appear before a committee of Congress in any formal session.

We will furnish information under the proper circumstances. We will consider each matter on a case-by-case basis.

With regard to the second point, that is not before us. Let me say, however, that if the Senate feels at this time that this matter of separation of powers—where,

as I said, this Administration has been more forthcoming than any Democratic administration I know of—if the Senate feels that they want a court test, we would welcome it. Perhaps this is the time to have the highest Court of this land make a definitive decision with regard to this matter.

I am not suggesting that we are asking for it. But I would suggest that if the Members of the Senate, in their wisdom, decide that they want to test this matter in the courts, we will, of course, present our side of the case. And we think that the Supreme Court will uphold, as it always usually has, the great constitutional principle of separation of powers rather than to uphold the Senate.

EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGE COMPARISON

[11.] Q. Mr. President, isn't there an essential difference really between your investigation of the Hiss case and the request of this subcommittee to Mr. Dean to appear? In the former, foreign affairs was involved and possibly security matters, where here they only wish to question Mr. Dean about the breaking into the Water-gate?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I would say the difference is very significant. As a matter of fact, when a committee of Congress was investigating espionage against the Government of this country, that committee should have had complete cooperation from at least the executive branch of the Government in the form that we asked. All that we asked was to get the report that we knew they had already made of their investigation.

Now, this investigation does not involve espionage against the United States. It

is, as we know, espionage by one political organization against another. And I would say that as far as your question is concerned, that the argument would be that the Congress would have a far greater right and would be on much stronger ground to ask the Government to cooperate in a matter involving espionage against the Government than in a matter like this involving politics.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE
PRESIDENT

[12.] Q. Mr. President, you have talked about the responsibility within the White House and the responsibility between Congress and the White House. Where do you feel your responsibility for the Committee to Re-Elect the President begins and ends, Mr. Mitchell or any other people who were working for them?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the responsibility there, of course, is one that will be replied to by Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Stans, and all of those in due course. None of them have the privilege, none of them, of course, will refuse to testify, none has when he is asked to. And I am sure they will give very good accounts of themselves, as they have in the court matters that they have been asked to.

AID TO INDIA AND PAKISTAN

[13.] Q. Mr. President, I want to ask you about peace. You have concentrated on peace in your Administration. Don't you find an inconsistency there with continuing to give arms to India and Pakistan and perhaps a hundred other countries around the world?

THE PRESIDENT. First, we are not giving them, we are selling them.

Q. Isn't that worse? That is even worse.

THE PRESIDENT. I just wanted to be sure that we understood the difference because of all the concern about aid. But the point that is involved in the India-Pakistan thing has been a very difficult one for this Administration, because it involves commitments that were made before we got here. Those commitments were made during the Johnson Administration. I do not criticize the fact that they were made, but they were made.

As far as we were concerned, once the war between India and Pakistan began, we cut them off, as you recall. We stopped all economic assistance—not all, but some economic assistance to India, and we stopped all military assistance to Pakistan.

Let's look at the numbers: \$83 million in economic assistance to India and \$14 million in military assistance to Pakistan. We have maintained that embargo up to this point. The difficulty was that there were contracts that had been made, the materials had already been, in effect, sold, and under the circumstances, we felt that it was time to clean the slate.

So what we have done, the Indians are getting their \$83 million in economic assistance; the Pakistanis are being allowed to go through with their purchases of the arms, nonlethal arms, and spare parts.

Now, as far as the whole, the major problem—and Miss McClendon [Sarah McClendon, Sarah McClendon News Service], you have put your finger on the major problem, and that is peace in the area—this in no way, in no way, jeopardizes the peace in the area.

After the war that broke Pakistan in half, India's superiority is so enormous that the possibility of Pakistan being a threat to India is absurd.

All we are trying to do is to seek good

relations with both, and we trust in the future that our aid to both can be ones that will turn them towards peace rather than war.

I should also say that in India's case—while our aid there, our \$83 million, is economic—India, as you know, purchases quite significant amounts of arms from the Soviet Union, and also has an arms capability itself. So there is no problem in terms of creating conditions which could lead to another outbreak of war by providing for simply keeping a commitment that the United States had made for

the sale of spare parts and nonlethal arms to Pakistan.

FRANCES L. LEWINE (Associated Press). Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Nixon's thirty-first news conference was held at 11:22 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House on Thursday, March 15, 1973.

On the same day, the White House released an announcement of the appointment of U.S. Liaison Office Chief Bruce and Principal Deputies Jenkins and Holdridge, containing additional biographical data on the appointees. The announcement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 278).

81 St. Patrick's Day Message.

March 16, 1973

THE AMERICAN spirit reflects contributions from every nation. But the charm of Irish culture has particularly warmed the hearts and hearths of this land.

Common ancestry and genuine fondness for the traditions of the Emerald Isle have long joined the Nixons and the Ryans in heartfelt appreciation of all that is Irish.

On this St. Patrick's Day, Mrs. Nixon

and I join with all our fellow Americans of Irish descent—and all those who claim they are—in celebration of one of the happiest observances on our calendar.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: On March 17, 1973, Ambassador William Warnock of the Irish Republic and Mrs. Warnock called on the President at the White House to present a St. Patrick's Day gift of shamrocks in a silver bowl.

82 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on Aeronautics and Space Activities. *March 19, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit a report of our national progress in aeronautics and space activities during 1972.

The Apollo program was successfully concluded with the flights of Apollo 16 and 17. These missions were designed to obtain maximum scientific return and provided almost half the lunar explora-

tion time in the Apollo program. Though it is far too early to attempt a definitive assessment of the value of this program, it is clear that one result will be a quantum jump in both our scientific knowledge and our technological expertise.

Our unmanned satellites include a variety of vehicles ranging from meteorological, navigational and communication

satellites to a new experimental spacecraft providing information on our resources and environment. Increasing practical applications for satellite technology confirm the immediate value of our efforts in space, while observatory satellites and others carrying specialized scientific instruments provide accurate and dependable data never before available to scientists on earth.

The conclusion of the Apollo program marks only another step in this Nation's push into space. In the current year, we expect to launch Skylab, which will permit extended experimentation in a manned vehicle. After Skylab, a joint mission by this Nation and the Soviet Union will rendezvous and dock two spacecraft, helping to link our two space efforts in a mutually productive manner. The space shuttle presently under development will make the launching of satellites and laboratories less expensive and more produc-

tive. The shuttle will be augmented by the sortie laboratory which the Western European countries intend to develop as part of our joint cooperation in space.

The past year has also seen advances in aeronautical research and development. It should be emphasized that work in this field is particularly vital if America is to maintain its leadership in the development and production of civil and military aircraft and engines.

Our efforts in aeronautics and space will continue through programs balanced at levels which will allow us to meet demands in these and other important domestic and foreign areas.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

March 19, 1973.

NOTE: The message is printed in the report entitled "Aeronautics and Space Report of the President, 1972 Activities" (Government Printing Office, 99 pp.).

83 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Manpower Report of the President. *March 20, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

As required by section 107 of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended, I am sending to the Congress the fourth Manpower Report of my Presidency and the final one of my first Administration.

The report describes the acceleration of the economic recovery in 1972 and analyzes the significant decrease in rates of unemployment that occurred following a revitalization of labor demand under Phase II of our Economic Stabilization Program. Significantly, these overall employment gains have been achieved in the face of an unusually rapid expansion of

the civilian labor force. I am especially gratified by the evidence that this Administration's intensive effort to improve the employment situation of Vietnam-era veterans has been increasingly effective in recent months.

In the course of a decade of experimentation, numerous federally sponsored manpower programs have been devised and executed in response to changing perceptions of national requirements. The experience of these 10 years has demonstrated conclusively that "national" manpower issues really have a sharply differentiated impact among the many States and localities and hence that the

effect of many large-scale federally designed programs has been to unduly restrict States and localities, preventing them from directing resources to meet their problems.

In response to these findings, this Administration will take steps during 1973 and 1974 to institute a new program of manpower revenue sharing within the existing legislative framework. The new Manpower Report discusses this much-needed reform, which will permit States and localities to use manpower resources

in a manner consistent with their requirements.

I commend this report to the careful attention of the Congress.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
March 20, 1973.

NOTE: The report is entitled "Manpower Report of the President: A Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training—Prepared by the United States Department of Labor, Transmitted to the Congress, March 1973" (Government Printing Office, 253 pp.).

84 Exchange of Remarks With the Co-Chairmen of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Commission on Scientific and Technical Cooperation. *March 20, 1973*

ACADEMICIAN V. A. TRAPEZNIKOV [Acting Co-Chairman]. The Academician (V. A. Kirillin) wasn't well. Then he had an operation. Now he is up and about and in about a month's time he will be working again.

THE PRESIDENT. Give him my best wishes.

ACADEMICIAN TRAPEZNIKOV. He was very sorry he could not come on this trip, and he extends to the President his best regards.

DR. H. GUYFORD STEVER. Mr. President, Academician Trapeznikov has done a superb job in picking up the Chairmanship and we are making great progress. We have already agreed to six major areas and we are exploring six more areas in science and technology. These range from energy, water resources, agriculture, use of computers in cities in a large-scale manner. It is going very well.

ACADEMICIAN TRAPEZNIKOV. The work which we are doing is regarded as very

important. You do remember the very important agreement signed, and we feel that each side will benefit from it.

THE PRESIDENT. Signed in Moscow.

DR. STEVER. Yes. In fact, in addition to the specific agreement that we are working on this trip, the signing of the agreement on science and technology, plus the other initiatives that you have taken, have triggered a great amount of cooperation in science and research, exchange of technical data with firms. And I think the progress is excellent.

NOTE: The President met with Dr. Stever, Director of the National Science Foundation, Academician V. A. Trapeznikov, First Deputy Chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Committee for Science and Technology, and Soviet Ambassador A. F. Dobrynin at 12 noon in the Oval Office at the White House. Academician Trapeznikov spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

The Commission met in Washington from March 19 to 21.

85 Statement About Summer Job and Recreation Programs for Youth. *March 21, 1973*

TODAY I am pleased to report that a total of \$424 million in Federal funds will be available this summer for youth programs, some \$3 million more than last year.

This money should help in making the summer of 1973 a time of expanded opportunity for young Americans.

The outlook for young people this summer is encouraging in many ways. Job prospects are particularly promising, thanks in large measure to the rapid expansion of our economy. Last year the unemployment rate for youth dropped by 1.8 percent, even though the youth labor force increased by 1.1 million people. This summer, as we continue to lower the overall rate of unemployment, we can expect still further gains for young Americans.

One important element in the employment picture—especially for disadvantaged youth in our central cities whose unemployment rate is far too high—is that funding from Federal programs will be sufficient to support 776,000 job opportunities for young people. Total Federal funding available for this effort will be \$354 million, slightly less than last year but more than the average of previous years.

Three different sources are available to States and localities in providing such jobs:

—*The Emergency Employment Assistance Act.* Last year I asked that money for this program be increased from \$1 billion in fiscal year 1972 to \$1.25 billion for the current fiscal year. Under a continuing resolution passed by the Congress last month, full funding is now available for this program, and we estimate that the

States and local communities will be able to use some \$300 million of it for summer youth jobs.

—*Direct Federal employment.* An additional \$50.4 million is available to the Federal Government itself for hiring young people through ongoing Federal programs. The Federal-State Employment Service should provide a total of 120,000 jobs for young Americans through its Youth Summer Placement Program.

—Finally, another \$3.5 million is available for summer job programs through the *Youth Conservation Corps*.

I am also happy to report that this Government commitment to summer jobs is being matched by significant efforts in the private sector. For example, the National Alliance of Businessmen plans a massive summer employment campaign to hire an additional 175,000 young people in 126 major metropolitan areas. Overall, I am hopeful that this summer will bring another significant increase in the employment rate of our youth.

For those under 14, a wide range of recreational opportunities will be available this summer through federally funded recreation programs operated by cities, colleges, and universities across America. These programs are targeted to the needs of disadvantaged youth, providing them with healthful exercise, sports instruction, and exposure to local cultural institutions. Such efforts will make the coming summer a better and more productive time for approximately 2.3 million people.

Other summer programs will provide transportation services to make these employment and recreational opportunities

more accessible. Approximately 850,000 young people will benefit from federally financed transportation services concentrated in the Nation's largest cities. In another important effort—one that is also expanding this summer—the summer nutrition program will serve some 128 million meals to nearly 2 million needy young Americans.

Our Nation's youth are our most valuable natural resource. Each of these summer programs will enrich their lives and

help develop their potential as well-rounded human beings and as good citizens. I pledge the fullest possible cooperation of the Federal Government to help make the summer of 1973 a great summer for all of our young people.

And I urge the American people to give their fullest cooperation and support to all of these efforts.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the programs by Kenneth R. Cole, Jr., Executive Director of the Domestic Council.

86 Remarks During a Meeting With the U.S.S.R. Women's Gymnastic Team. *March 21, 1973*

WHILE WE are having the picture taken, I want to congratulate this wonderful team for their performance in the Olympics and also for the great reception they have had in the United States.

As I watched the Olympics on television, I noticed that you all had the capability of always landing on your feet. That is why your visit to Washington is particularly appropriate, because all of the politicians here try to land on their feet, sometimes without success.

Most important, I want you to know that we welcome you not simply because of your athletic achievements but because you represent the youth of your country. In my talks with your leaders last June,

and in the talks I will have later this year with Mr. Brezhnev, when he is here, we will be talking about the present, of course, the relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. But what we will be talking about most of all is the future, the young people of America, the young people of the Soviet Union, and of all the world. We want it to be a peaceful future.

Whatever the differences between leaders may be, we think that the young people of the world can live with *mir i druzhba* [peace and friendship].

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:10 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

The 11-member team was in Washington for a performance at the University of Maryland, College Park, Md.

87 Message to the Senate Transmitting Amendments to the International Convention on Load Lines, 1966. *March 22, 1973*

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to acceptance of the

Amendments to the International Convention on Load Lines, 1966, adopted at London on October 12, 1971, I transmit

herewith a certified copy of those amendments. I transmit also the report of the Department of State with respect to the amendments recommending early acceptance of the amendments by the United States.

The 1966 Load Lines Convention established new uniform rules concerning the limits to which ships on international voyages may be loaded. Its purpose was to bring international load line regulations into accord with modern developments and techniques in ship construction. The purpose of the new amendments is to correct errors and ambiguities in the 1966

Convention on Load Lines which have become apparent since 1966.

The new Amendments should make the 1966 Convention more effective in bringing improvements in safety of ships as well as in the economics of shipping. I recommend that the Senate give the Amendments early and favorable consideration.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

March 22, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the amendments and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive D (93d Cong., 1st sess.).

88 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Strasbourg Agreement Concerning the International Patent Classification. *March 22, 1973*

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith a certified copy of the Strasbourg Agreement Concerning the International Patent Classification, signed March 24, 1971. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report from the Department of State with respect to the Agreement.

The purpose of the Agreement is generally similar to that set forth in the Nice Agreement Concerning International Classification of Goods and Services to which Trademarks are Applied, as revised at Stockholm July 14, 1967, and the Locarno Agreement Establishing an International Classification for Industrial

Designs, signed October 8, 1968. Both of these earlier Agreements were approved by the Senate on December 11, 1971. The countries party to the Agreement constitute a Special Union under the Paris Union established by the Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property, last revised in 1967 at Stockholm. The Special Union consists of an Assembly of all contracting parties and a Committee of Experts. Pursuant to the Agreement a common classification is adopted for patents for invention, inventors' certificates, utility models and utility certificates, to be known as the "International Patent Classification" and provisions are included for its amendment.

It is important from the standpoint of

the interest of patent owners and from the standpoint of effective government administration of its patent functions that the United States become a party to the Agreement so that it may participate as a member of the Special Union.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to this Agree-

ment and give its advice and consent to ratification.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
March 22, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the agreement and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive E (93d Cong., 1st sess.).

89 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual International Economic Report of the President. *March 22, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

The Nation is again at peace. We also are firmly on the course of strong economic growth at home. Now we must turn more of our attention to the urgent problems we face in our economic dealings with other nations. International problems may seem to some of us to be far away, but they have a very direct impact on the jobs, the incomes and the living standards of our people. Neither the peace we have achieved nor the economic growth essential to our national welfare will last if we leave such matters untended, for they can diminish our prosperity at home and at the same time provoke harmful friction abroad.

Our major difficulties stem from relying too long upon outdated economic arrangements and institutions despite the rapid changes which have taken place in the world. Many countries we helped to rebuild after World War II are now our strong economic competitors. Americans can no longer act as if these historic developments had not taken place. We must do a better job of preparing ourselves—both in the private sector and in the Government—to compete more effectively in

world markets, so that expanding trade can bring greater benefits to our people.

In the summer of 1971, this Administration initiated fundamental changes in American foreign economic policy. We have also introduced proposals for the reform of the international monetary and trading systems which have lost their ability to deal with current problems. The turmoil in world monetary affairs has demonstrated clearly that greater urgency must now be attached to constructive reform.

At home, we have continued our fight to maintain price stability and to improve our productivity—objectives which are as important to our international economic position as to our domestic welfare.

What is our next step?

In my State of the Union message on the economy last month, I outlined certain measures to strengthen both our domestic and international economic position. One of the most important is trade reform.

In choosing an international trade policy which will benefit all Americans, I have concluded that we must face up to more intense long-term competition in

the world's markets rather than shrink from it. Those who would have us turn inward, hiding behind a shield of import restrictions of indefinite duration, might achieve short-term gains and benefit certain groups, but they would exact a high cost from the economy as a whole. Those costs would be borne by all of us in the form of higher prices and lower real income. Only in response to unfair competition, or the closing of markets abroad to our goods, or to provide time for adjustment, would such restrictive measures be called for.

My approach is based both on my strong faith in the ability of Americans to compete, and on my confidence that all nations will recognize their own vital interest in lowering economic barriers and applying fairer and more effective trading rules.

The fact that most of these comments are addressed to the role of our Government should not divert attention from the vital role which private economic activity will play in resolving our current problems. The cooperation and the initiative of all sectors of our economy are needed to increase our productivity and to keep

our prices competitive. This is essential to our international trading position. Yet there are certain necessary steps which only the Government can take, given the worldwide scope of trading activity and the need for broad international agreement to expand trade fairly and effectively. I am determined that we shall take those steps.

I know that the American people and their representatives in the Congress can be counted on to rise to the challenge of the changing world economy. Together we must do what is needed to further the prosperity of our country, and of the world in which we live.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
March 22, 1973.

NOTE: The President's message, together with the first annual report of the Council on International Economic Policy, is printed in "International Economic Report of the President, Transmitted to the Congress March 1973" (Government Printing Office, 94 pp.).

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the report by Peter M. Flanigan, Assistant to the President and Executive Director of the Council on International Economic Policy.

90 Statement About the Vietnam Veteran.

March 24, 1973

AS THE DAY approaches when all our military forces will be withdrawn from Vietnam and all of our POW's will have returned home, it is appropriate that we turn our attention to the debt we owe to those who served America in this long and difficult war.

No group of American fighting men was ever called on to demonstrate their bravery, their endurance, or their love of

country under more trying circumstances than those gallant Americans who served in Vietnam.

A few weeks ago, an inspiring voice summed up their indomitable spirit. As Capt. Jeremiah Denton, the first of our returning prisoners of war, stepped off the plane and saluted the American flag, he said: "We are happy to have the opportunity to serve our country under dif-

ficult circumstances,” and he ended with three familiar words: “God bless America.”

In the years ahead, when passions have cooled and old controversies have been laid to rest, let us hope that this spirit will be the spirit of all of us who lived through the Vietnam era.

So long as our Nation produces men of such great character, it can truly be said that God has blessed America.

Words of thanks are not enough for the 2½ million men who have returned home from this conflict.

We must demonstrate the gratitude we feel by the actions we take. We must honor them with the respect they have earned and the affection they deserve. We must assist them with health care, education, training, and housing assistance. These actions alone cannot fully repay the debt we owe our veterans, but they can help.

Today I want to report on the actions we have taken.

These are some of the benefits a Vietnam veteran with an honorable or general discharge is eligible for today:

- \$220 per month to pay for a college or university education, with an additional allowance for married students;
- on-the-job training or apprenticeship assistance ranging from \$40 to \$160 per month;
- free hospitalization for service-connected injuries or illnesses;
- guaranteed loans to help him buy a house, a mobile home, or condominium;
- monthly compensation for any disabilities suffered in the service;
- special allowances for clothing, housing, and other needs if he is severely disabled; and

—small business loans to help him start his own business.

In every area of government concern, we are now doing more than we have ever done before to help our American veterans.

Take health care for example—the most immediate need of many returning veterans. To meet this need, the Federal Government maintains a system of veterans health care under which no eligible veteran is turned away from hospitalization or medical treatment. Our budget request for veterans health programs for the coming year is \$2.7 billion—an increase of 80 percent over 1969. More veterans are receiving health care today than ever before, and our staffs in veterans hospitals have been increased by 21,000. We intend to keep improving on this record.

For disabled veterans, we have provided a comprehensive program of treatment and rehabilitation. It begins with high quality hospital care and physical therapy and continues with vocational rehabilitation and job assistance. In 1973, the Veterans Administration will provide vocational rehabilitation for over 35,000 disabled veterans, an 85 percent increase over 1969. Moreover, we have twice increased compensation payments for disabled veterans, and during fiscal year 1974, 354,000 Vietnam veterans will receive benefits under this program.

The returning veterans seeking a permanent home should know that, in the past 4 years alone, the number of home loans under the GI bill has doubled. More than one million loans amounting to \$22 billion have been made in this period—about one-third of them to Vietnam veterans. Today, Vietnam veterans are receiving 55 percent of all home loans under the GI bill.

All American veterans deserve training and education opportunities that will open for them a promising peacetime future. To this end, we have increased veterans education and training benefits by 70 percent since 1969. By this summer we expect 2 million veterans to be receiving such benefits under the GI bill—about three times as many as in 1968.

To make sure that Vietnam-era veterans know about all the benefits available to them, we have also launched a massive counseling effort. Veterans Administration spokesmen in Vietnam, Thailand, Japan, Korea, Okinawa, and Europe have provided thousands of individual counseling sessions for outgoing servicemen. In Vietnam alone over the past 6 years, 1.9 million men have been briefed on veterans benefits, and 270,000 have had individual interviews.

In all these ways our Government is helping repay our debt to America's veterans. But we must go even further.

With our men home from Vietnam and with the reductions we have been able to make elsewhere in our Armed Forces, thousands of young veterans are returning to civilian life. They ask no special privileges or favors but they expect—and they deserve—full respect and full economic opportunity.

Theodore Roosevelt wrote of the American veterans of another era that "A man who is good enough to shed his blood for his country is good enough to be given a square deal afterwards." This is just as true of the fine young men who are coming home today.

Courage, selflessness, discipline, and devotion—these qualities are as important in building peace as they were in waging war.

Today I call on every American em-

ployer to make the recruiting and hiring of Vietnam veterans a top priority.

Hiring the veteran is not just a good deed—it is a good investment. For the veteran has proven that he is a good worker and a good learner who knows the meaning of discipline and the importance of teamwork.

More and more American employers are demonstrating that they realize these facts. The unemployment rate for veterans in their twenties has been dramatically reduced, from 8.3 percent in the last quarter of 1971 to 5.7 percent in February of 1973. This is important progress, but we must do even better.

That is why the Department of Defense is now providing training for civilian job skills for servicemen before their enlistments expire.

That is why so many State and local governments are also working to open up productive career opportunities for veterans.

In Cleveland, Ohio, for example, Mayor Ralph Perk has initiated a promising new program. He is personally conducting a survey of job openings in his city. In about 2 weeks, when he has 500 openings in hand, he will ask local newspapers in Cleveland to print a special questionnaire for veterans. They can return the questionnaire to him, and he and his staff will try to link up each veteran with an appropriate job, job training, or schooling.

In another part of the Midwest, Governor [Robert D.] Ray of Iowa is spearheading a six-State effort to find jobs for returning Vietnam veterans.

This is responsive local government at its best, and I urge other local leaders in all our States to follow these examples.

The private sector has an equally im-

portant role to play, and many individual businesses and civic groups, large and small, are helping to provide a square deal for the returning veteran.

In New York City, for example, one of the Nation's largest commercial banks has instructed its hiring offices to give veterans first priority in employment. This bank is making a particular effort to hire seriously handicapped veterans, an especially deserving group. Since 1968, this one bank has employed more than 1,500 young servicemen, including over 150 who are severely disabled.

Recently I met with leaders of the National Alliance of Businessmen and the Jobs for Veterans program to discuss their goal of filling 150,000 jobs with Vietnam-era veterans by June 30 of this year. They're doing so well that they now expect to exceed their goal by more than 50,000 jobs.

Employers all across America can serve their country, and help themselves, by following such examples.

Thanks to the sacrifices of our returning veterans, America has achieved peace with honor in Vietnam, and the chances for lasting peace in the world are greater today than at any time in our past. Thanks

to them, America's word is trusted and America's strength is respected, all around the world.

Just as we have kept faith with our allies abroad, let us now keep faith with our returning veterans at home. They have given much to defend the American way of life; it is time for America to serve them equally well.

Let each of us give them the warm welcome they deserve. Let us welcome them back, not only with open arms but with open opportunities, with sincere respect, and with the chance to play important roles in every phase of community life.

As we welcome the veteran, let us follow the example of Abraham Lincoln. At the closing of the long and tragic Civil War, he urged his countrymen "to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, (and) to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

NOTE: The statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

The President also recorded the statement for radio broadcast.

91 Veto of the Vocational Rehabilitation Bill.

March 27, 1973

To the Senate of the United States:

I am returning today without my approval S. 7, the "Rehabilitation Act of 1972."

This bill is one of several now before the Congress which mask bad legislation beneath alluring labels.

Their supporters would have the Amer-

ican public believe that each of these bills would further an important social cause, but they neglect to warn the public that the cumulative effect of a Congressional spending spree would be a massive assault upon the pocketbooks of millions of men and women in this country. They also fail to warn us that simply throwing money

at problems does not solve anything; it only creates poor legislation which frequently misses the target.

As President, it is my duty to sound the warning—and to defend the public interest by vetoing fiscally irresponsible, badly constructed bills that come to my desk from Capitol Hill. S. 7 is such a bill.

Over the past nineteen months, we have made significant headway toward a goal that has eluded America for nearly two decades: full prosperity without war.

But all of our economic progress—and all of our hopes—will be washed away if we open the floodgates on the Federal budget.

S. 7, if enacted, would result in an increase in Federal outlays of some \$1 billion above my budget recommendations for fiscal years 1973–1975.

To some Members of the Congress, a \$1 billion increase in Federal spending may seem only a small crack in the dam. But there are more than a dozen other bills already before the Congress which also carry extravagant price tags. And more seem likely to follow during the remainder of the year.

If we allow the big spenders to sweep aside budgetary restraints, we can expect an increase of more than \$50 billion in Federal spending before the end of fiscal year 1975. This would force upon us the unacceptable choice of either raising taxes substantially—perhaps as much as 15% in personal income taxes—or inviting a hefty boost in consumer prices and interest rates.

The American people have repeatedly shown that they want to hold a firm line on both prices and taxes. I stand solidly with them. At a time when the world is watching to see if we can demonstrate our

willingness to hold down inflation at home while we seek monetary stability abroad, this resolve is more important than ever. I shall therefore veto those big-spending bills which would jeopardize our economic hopes for the future.

I would emphasize that even if S. 7 were not fatally flawed by its large expense, I would have serious reservations about signing it, for it also contains a number of substantive defects. Among them:

—It would further divert the Vocational Rehabilitation program from its original purposes by requiring that it provide new medical services. For instance, it would set up a new program for end-stage kidney disease—a worthy concern in itself, but one that can be approached more effectively within the Medicare program, as existing legislation already provides.

Vocational Rehabilitation has worked well for over half a century by focusing on a single objective: training people for meaningful jobs. We should not dilute the resources of that program or distort its objective by turning it toward welfare or medical goals.

—Secondly, S. 7 would create a hodgepodge of seven new categorical grant programs, many of which would overlap and duplicate existing services. Coordination of services would become considerably more difficult and would place the Federal Government back on the path to wasteful, overlapping program disasters.

—By rigidly cementing into the law the organizational structures of the Rehabilitation Services Administration and by confusing the lines of management responsibility, S. 7 would also prevent the Secretary of Health, Education, and Wel-

fare from carrying forward his efforts to manage vocational rehabilitation services more effectively.

—Finally, by promising increased Federal spending for this program in such a large amount, S. 7 would cruelly raise the hopes of the handicapped in a way that we could never responsibly hope to fulfill.

Through past increases in funding and by our efforts to find more effective means of providing services, this Administration has demonstrated its strong commitment to vocational rehabilitation. Funding for the Vocational Rehabilitation program will reach \$650 million under my budget for the coming fiscal year, an increase of 75 percent over the level of support when I took office. Two other sources of funding for rehabilitation of the handicapped, the Disability Insurance Trust Fund and the new Supplemental Security Income program, will provide another \$100 million. Altogether during the coming fiscal year, the Vocational Rehabilitation program should provide services for about 1.2 million people—an increase of more than 50 percent over the figure of four years ago.

This is a good record and one that provides promise for the future. I shall thus look forward to working with the Congress in developing a more responsible bill that would extend and strengthen the

Vocational Rehabilitation program.

This Administration has submitted recommendations to both the 92nd and 93rd Congresses which would accomplish these purposes. The 92nd Congress passed a bill which contained some of my recommendations but was so inordinately expensive that I felt compelled to veto it. In returning S. 7 without my approval, I ask the 93rd Congress now to turn its attention to the substitute recently offered by Representative Earl Landgrebe.

My decision to disapprove S. 7 should be seen by the Congress as more than just an isolated rejection of a single piece of unwise legislation. It is part of my overall commitment to hold down taxes and prices. I remind the Congress of that determination, I ask the Congress to consider carefully the implications of spendthrift actions, and I urge the Congress to be more reasonable and responsible in the legislation it passes in the future.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

March 27, 1973.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the Administration's vocational rehabilitation program and the transcript of a news briefing on the President's veto by Roy L. Ash, Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

The Senate sustained the President's veto on April 3, 1973.

92 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

March 27, 1973

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit the Seventh Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Humanities, for fiscal year 1972.

It is essential that the disciplines of the humanities—languages, history, philosophy, literature and ethics among others—be brought to bear on problems of contemporary concern, both national

and international. The Federal Government recognizes this need—and has been responsive to it.

I particularly commend to your attention the program of "Youthgrants in the Humanities," begun in fiscal year 1972, which provides needed support for young people doing scholarly work in the humanities. Another impressive effort is the Endowment's State-Based Program, which, in less than two years, has established committees in 38 States to encourage public education. The "Jefferson Lecture in the Humanities," aimed at bridging the gap between humanistic learning and public affairs, is also successfully underway.

The public's response to the work of the

National Endowment for the Humanities may be measured in part by the fact that public contributions to the Endowment have exceeded federally appropriated funds for the third year in a row. This is clear evidence of broad public support for the objectives of the National Endowment and, I believe, gives added justification to the steadily increasing funding which I have requested and which the Congress has provided for its very worthwhile endeavors.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
March 27, 1973.

NOTE: The 179-page report is entitled "Seventh Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1972."

93 Message to the Congress Transmitting Summary Report of the Water Resources of the Delmarva Peninsula. *March 27, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to submit the enclosed report, "Water Resources of the Delmarva Peninsula, a Summary Report to the Congress," by E. M. Cushing, I. H. Kantrowitz, and K. R. Taylor, which was prepared in compliance with Public Law 89-618 (S. 2287), October 4, 1966.

The Delmarva study was made in response to the specific act cited above, which was sponsored by Senator J. Caleb Boggs of Delaware (S. 2287) and Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton (H.R. 9922) who was a Representative from Maryland in 1966. Public Law 89-618 authorized and directed the Secretary of the Interior to make a comprehensive investigation of the water resources

of the Delmarva Peninsula. The principal objective of the study was to determine the availability of fresh-water supplies to meet future needs of the peninsula area. The summary report indicates that the amount of fresh water that can be developed perennially on the peninsula is about 1,500 million gallons per day. This amount is more than 10 times the use in 1970 and about six times the estimated use of water on the peninsula by the year 2010.

In addition to this summary report to the Congress, required by Public Law 89-618, the Geological Survey plans to compile and publish in 1973 a more detailed report on the study for use by public and private agencies and individuals. That re-

port will provide information for use in long-range planning, development, and management of water supplies.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

March 27, 1973.

NOTE: The 59-page report was prepared by the Geological Survey of the Department of the Interior.

94 Remarks During a Meeting With Representative Corinne C. Boggs of Louisiana. *March 27, 1973*

WELL, I WANT to say while you are here—as Mrs. Boggs was saying—this is a sad day in a way, but also a very happy day because all of the family is here to see you sworn into Congress.

And I suppose many will interpret her victory and also her service as simply the fact that she was the wife of the prominent majority leader of Congress, and that because of that and only because of that, she is here.

However, those of us who know her, as I know her, my wife knows her, we have had the privilege of traveling with her on several occasions, she is here in her own right as well. I think her husband would have said that she, on her own, belongs in the Congress of the United States. And I speak in a completely bipartisan way when I say I hope she stays a long time.

REPRESENTATIVE BOGGS. Thank you, Mr. President, so much.

THE PRESIDENT. If I move to Louisiana, I might—I will vote for you. [*Laughter*]

REPRESENTATIVE BOGGS. That is wonderful. Thank you so much, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. What I meant is that you made it on your own. That is the point.

REPRESENTATIVE BOGGS. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The exchange of remarks began at 3 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House where the President was meeting with Mrs. Boggs.

On March 20, 1973, Mrs. Boggs was elected to succeed her late husband, Representative Hale Boggs, House majority leader, who was lost with Representative Nick Begich of Alaska on an airplane flight in Alaska, October 15, 1972.

95 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. *March 28, 1973*

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cul-

tural and Natural Heritage, done at Paris on November 23, 1972. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report from the Department of State with respect to the Convention.

This Convention creates international machinery for the identification and protection of natural and cultural areas of outstanding universal value which constitute the common heritage of mankind. For this purpose, the Convention establishes a World Heritage Committee to develop and maintain lists of areas of outstanding importance and a World Heritage Fund to provide international assistance for the protection and conservation of these areas.

While the Convention places basic reliance on the resources and efforts of the States within whose territory these natural and cultural sites are located, it would also provide a means of assisting States which

have insufficient resources or expertise in the protection of areas for the benefit of all mankind.

I therefore recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Convention submitted herewith and give its advice and consent subject to a declaration for which provision is made under Article 16(2), as explained in the report from the Department of State.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

March 28, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the convention and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive F (93d Cong., 1st sess.).

96 Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 2 of 1973 Establishing the Drug Enforcement Administration. *March 28, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

Drug abuse is one of the most vicious and corrosive forces attacking the foundations of American society today. It is a major cause of crime and a merciless destroyer of human lives. We must fight it with all of the resources at our command.

This Administration has declared all-out, global war on the drug menace. As I reported to the Congress earlier this month in my State of the Union message, there is evidence of significant progress on a number of fronts in that war.

Both the rate of new addiction to heroin and the number of narcotic-related deaths showed an encouraging downturn last year. More drug addicts and abusers are in treatment and rehabilitation programs than ever before.

Progress in pinching off the supply of illicit drugs was evident in last year's

stepped-up volume of drug seizures worldwide—which more than doubled in 1972 over the 1971 level.

Arrests of traffickers have risen by more than one-third since 1971. Prompt Congressional action on my proposal for mandatory minimum sentences for pushers of hard drugs will help ensure that convictions stemming from such arrests lead to actual imprisonment of the guilty.

Notwithstanding these gains, much more must be done. The resilience of the international drug trade remains grimly impressive—current estimates suggest that we still intercept only a small fraction of all the heroin and cocaine entering this country. Local police still find that more than one of every three suspects arrested for street crimes is a narcotic abuser or addict. And the total number of Americans addicted to narcotics, suffer-

ing terribly themselves and inflicting their suffering on countless others, still stands in the hundreds of thousands.

A UNIFIED COMMAND FOR DRUG ENFORCEMENT

Seeking ways to intensify our counter-offensive against this menace, I am asking the Congress today to join with this Administration in strengthening and streamlining the Federal drug law enforcement effort.

Funding for this effort has increased sevenfold during the past five years, from \$36 million in fiscal year 1969 to \$257 million in fiscal year 1974—more money is not the most pressing enforcement need at present. Nor is there a primary need for more manpower working on the problem, over 2,100 new agents having already been added to the Federal drug enforcement agencies under this Administration, an increase of more than 250 percent over the 1969 level.

The enforcement work could benefit significantly, however, from consolidation of our anti-drug forces under a single unified command. Right now the Federal Government is fighting the war on drug abuse under a distinct handicap, for its efforts are those of a loosely confederated alliance facing a resourceful, elusive, worldwide enemy. Admiral Mahan, the master naval strategist, described this handicap precisely when he wrote that "Granting the same aggregate of force, it is never as great in two hands as in one, because it is not perfectly concentrated."

More specifically, the drug law enforcement activities of the United States now are not merely in two hands but in half a dozen. Within the Department of Justice, with no overall direction below the level

of the Attorney General, these fragmented forces include the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, the Office for Drug Abuse Law Enforcement, the Office of National Narcotics Intelligence, and certain activities of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. The Treasury Department is also heavily engaged in enforcement work through the Bureau of Customs.

This aggregation of Federal activities has grown up rapidly over the past few years in response to the urgent need for stronger anti-drug measures. It has enabled us to make a very encouraging beginning in the accelerated drug enforcement drive of this Administration.

But it also has serious operational and organizational shortcomings. Certainly the cold-blooded underworld networks that funnel narcotics from suppliers all over the world into the veins of American drug victims are no respecters of the bureaucratic dividing lines that now complicate our anti-drug efforts. On the contrary, these modern-day slave traders can derive only advantage from the limitations of the existing organizational patchwork. Experience has now given us a good basis for correcting those limitations, and it is time to do so.

I therefore propose creation of a single, comprehensive Federal agency within the Department of Justice to lead the war against illicit drug traffic.

Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1973, which I am transmitting to the Congress with this message, would establish such an agency, to be called the Drug Enforcement Administration. It would be headed by an Administrator reporting directly to the Attorney General.

The Drug Enforcement Administration would carry out the following anti-

drug functions, and would absorb the associated manpower and budgets:

—All functions of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs (which would be abolished as a separate entity by the reorganization plan);

—Those functions of the Bureau of Customs pertaining to drug investigations and intelligence (to be transferred from the Treasury Department to the Attorney General by the reorganization plan);

—All functions of the Office for Drug Abuse Law Enforcement; and

—All functions of the Office of National Narcotics Intelligence.

Merger of the latter two organizations into the new agency would be effected by an executive order dissolving them and transferring their functions, to take effect upon approval of Reorganization Plan No. 2 by the Congress. Drug law enforcement research currently funded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and other agencies would also be transferred to the new agency by executive action.

The major responsibilities of the Drug Enforcement Administration would thus include:

- development of overall Federal drug law enforcement strategy, programs, planning, and evaluation;
- full investigation and preparation for prosecution of suspects for violations under all Federal drug trafficking laws;
- full investigation and preparation for prosecution of suspects connected with illicit drugs seized at U.S. ports-of-entry and international borders;
- conduct of all relations with drug law enforcement officials of foreign governments, under the policy guid-

ance of the Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control;

—full coordination and cooperation with State and local law enforcement officials on joint drug enforcement efforts; and

—regulation of the legal manufacture of drugs and other controlled substances under Federal regulations.

The Attorney General working closely with the Administrator of this new agency, would have authority to make needed program adjustments. He would take steps within the Department of Justice to ensure that high priority emphasis is placed on the prosecution and sentencing of drug traffickers following their apprehension by the enforcement organization. He would also have the authority and responsibility for securing the fullest possible cooperation—particularly with respect to collection of drug intelligence—from all Federal departments and agencies which can contribute to the anti-drug work, including the Internal Revenue Service and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

My proposals would make possible a more effective anti-drug role for the FBI, especially in dealing with the relationship between drug trafficking and organized crime. I intend to see that the resources of the FBI are fully committed to assist in supporting the new Drug Enforcement Administration.

The consolidation effected under Reorganization Plan No. 2 would reinforce the basic law enforcement and criminal justice mission of the Department of Justice. With worldwide drug law enforcement responsibilities no longer divided among several organizations in two different Cabinet departments, more complete

and cumulative drug law enforcement intelligence could be compiled. Patterns of international and domestic illicit drug production, distribution and sale could be more directly compared and interpreted. Case-by-case drug law enforcement activities could be more comprehensively linked, cross-referenced, and coordinated into a single, organic enforcement operation. In short, drug law enforcement officers would be able to spend more time going after the traffickers and less time coordinating with one another.

Such progress could be especially helpful on the international front. Narcotics control action plans, developed under the leadership of the Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control, are now being carried out by U.S. officials in cooperation with host governments in 59 countries around the world. This wide-ranging effort to cut off drug supplies before they ever reach U.S. borders or streets is just now beginning to bear fruit. We can enhance its effectiveness, with little disruption of ongoing enforcement activities, by merging both the highly effective narcotics force of overseas Customs agents and the rapidly developing international activities of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs into the Drug Enforcement Administration. The new agency would work closely with the Cabinet Committee under the active leadership of the U.S. Ambassador in each country where anti-drug programs are underway.

Two years ago, when I established the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention within the Executive Office of the President, we gained an organization with the necessary resources, breadth, and leadership capacity to begin dealing de-

cisively with the "demand" side of the drug abuse problem—treatment and rehabilitation for those who have been drug victims, and preventive programs for potential drug abusers. This year, by permitting my reorganization proposals to take effect, the Congress can help provide a similar capability on the "supply" side. The proposed Drug Enforcement Administration, working as a team with the Special Action Office, would arm Americans with a potent one-two punch to help us fight back against the deadly menace of drug abuse. I ask full Congressional cooperation in its establishment.

IMPROVING PORT-OF-ENTRY INSPECTIONS

No heroin or cocaine is produced within the United States; domestic availability of these substances results solely from their illegal importation. The careful and complete inspection of all persons and goods coming into the United States is therefore an integral part of effective Federal drug law enforcement.

At the present time, however, Federal responsibility for conducting port-of-entry inspections is awkwardly divided among several Cabinet departments. The principal agencies involved are the Treasury Department's Bureau of Customs, which inspects goods, and the Justice Department's Immigration and Naturalization Service, which inspects persons and their papers. The two utilize separate inspection procedures, hold differing views of inspection priorities, and employ dissimilar personnel management practices.

To reduce the possibility that illicit drugs will escape detection at ports-of-entry because of divided responsibility, and to enhance the effectiveness of the

Drug Enforcement Administration, the reorganization plan which I am proposing today would transfer to the Secretary of the Treasury all functions currently vested in Justice Department officials to inspect persons, or the documents of persons.

When the plan takes effect, it is my intention to direct the Secretary of the Treasury to use the resources so transferred—including some 1,000 employees of the Immigration and Naturalization Service—to augment the staff and budget of the Bureau of Customs. The Bureau's primary responsibilities would then include:

- inspection of all persons and goods entering the United States;
- valuation of goods being imported, and assessment of appropriate tariff duties;
- interception of contraband being smuggled into the United States;
- enforcement of U.S. laws governing the international movement of goods, except the investigation of contraband drugs and narcotics; and
- turning over the investigation responsibility for all drug law enforcement cases to the Department of Justice.

The reorganization would thus group most port-of-entry inspection functions in a single Cabinet department. It would reduce the need for much day-to-day interdepartmental coordination, allow more efficient staffing at some field locations, and remove the basis for damaging inter-agency rivalries. It would also give the Secretary of the Treasury the authority and flexibility to meet changing requirements in inspecting the international flow of people and goods. An important by-product of the change would be more

convenient service for travellers entering and leaving the country.

For these reasons, I am convinced that inspection activities at U.S. ports-of-entry can more effectively support our drug law enforcement efforts if concentrated in a single agency. The processing of persons at ports-of-entry is too closely interrelated with the inspection of goods to remain organizationally separated from it any longer. Both types of inspections have numerous objectives besides drug law enforcement, so it is logical to vest them in the Treasury Department, which has long had the principal responsibility for port-of-entry inspection of goods, including goods being transported in connection with persons. As long as the inspections are conducted with full awareness of related drug concerns it is neither necessary nor desirable that they be made a responsibility of the primary drug enforcement organization.

DECLARATIONS

After investigation, I have found that each action included in Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1973 is necessary to accomplish one or more of the purposes set forth in Section 901 (a) of Title 5 of the United States Code. In particular, the plan is responsive to the intention of the Congress as expressed in Section 901 (a) (1): "to promote better execution of the laws, more effective management of the executive branch and of its agencies and functions, and expeditious administration of the public business;" Section 901 (a) (3): "to increase the efficiency of the operations of the Government to the fullest extent practicable;" Section 901 (a) (5): "to reduce the number of agencies by consolidating those having similar func-

tions under a single head, and to abolish such agencies or functions as may not be necessary for the efficient conduct of the Government;" and Section 901(a)(6): "to eliminate overlapping and duplication of effort."

As required by law, the plan has one logically consistent subject matter: consolidation of Federal drug law enforcement activities in a manner designed to increase their effectiveness.

The plan would establish in the Department of Justice a new Administration designated as the Drug Enforcement Administration. The reorganizations provided for in the plan make necessary the appointment and compensation of new officers as specified in Section 5 of the plan. The rates of compensation fixed for these officers would be comparable to those fixed for officers in the executive branch who have similar responsibilities.

While it is not practicable to specify all of the expenditure reductions and other economies which may result from the actions proposed, some savings may be anticipated in administrative costs now associated with the functions being transferred and consolidated.

The proposed reorganization is a necessary step in upgrading the effectiveness of our Nation's drug law enforcement effort. Both of the proposed changes would build on the strengths of established agencies, yielding maximum gains in the battle against drug abuse with minimum loss of time and momentum in the transition.

I am confident that this reorganization plan would significantly increase the overall efficiency and effectiveness of the Federal Government. I urge the Congress to allow it to become effective.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

March 28, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the reorganization plan was released with the President's message and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 309).

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the reorganization plan by Myles Ambrose, Special Assistant Attorney General, Office for Drug Abuse Law Enforcement, Department of Justice.

Reorganization Plan 2 of 1973 became effective July 1, 1973.

97 Statement About the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports for 1972. *March 28, 1973*

THE CRIME figures released today by the Department of Justice are very heartening.

The FBI's Uniform Crime Reports indicate that for the first time in 17 years, America has experienced an absolute decrease in serious crime.

In 1972, serious crime decreased by 3 percent over 1971. In the last quarter of 1972, there was a full 8 percent decrease.

Reflected in these figures is a pattern of steady progress over the past 4 years. In 1968, serious crime increased by 17 percent, the largest rate of increase in the last quarter century. Gradually that rate of increase has been reduced, coming down to 11 percent in 1970, 6 percent in 1971, and finally to this complete reversal in 1972.

These results are a tribute to the men

and women in the frontlines of the war against crime—our law enforcement officers. Public opinion is untying their hands, and they are once again being given the public support they deserve in their efforts to insure that we match public support with all the financial, legislative, and judicial support our police need.

We can turn the tide of crime in Amer-

ica. These statistics demonstrate that we are well on our way. Now we must have the tools we need to finish the job. I call upon the Congress to act quickly on this Administration's proposals for law enforcement legislation so that we can advance the work of providing the safe and secure country our citizens want and deserve so much.

98 Address to the Nation About Vietnam and Domestic Problems. *March 29, 1973*

Good evening:

Four years and two months ago, when I first came into this office as President, by far the most difficult problem confronting the Nation was the seemingly endless war in Vietnam. Five hundred and fifty thousand Americans were in Vietnam. As many as 300 a week were being killed in action. Hundreds were held as prisoners of war in North Vietnam. No progress was being made at the peace negotiations.

I immediately initiated a program to end the war and win an honorable peace.

Eleven times over the past 4 years I have reported to the Nation from this room on the progress we have made toward that goal. Tonight, the day we have all worked and prayed for has finally come.

For the first time in 12 years, no American military forces are in Vietnam. All of our American POW's are on their way home. The 17 million people of South Vietnam have the right to choose their own government without outside interference, and because of our program of Vietnamization, they have the strength to defend that right. We have prevented the imposition of a Communist government by force on South Vietnam.

There are still some problem areas. The provisions of the agreement requiring an accounting for all missing in action in Indochina, the provisions with regard to Laos and Cambodia, the provisions prohibiting infiltration from North Vietnam into South Vietnam have not been complied with. We have and will continue to comply with the agreement. We shall insist that North Vietnam comply with the agreement. And the leaders of North Vietnam should have no doubt as to the consequences if they fail to comply with the agreement.

But despite these difficulties, we can be proud tonight of the fact that we have achieved our goal of obtaining an agreement which provides peace with honor in Vietnam.

On this day, let us honor those who made this achievement possible: those who sacrificed their lives, those who were disabled, those who made every one of us proud to be an American as they returned from years of Communist imprisonment, and every one of the 2½ million Americans who served honorably in our Nation's longest war. Never have men served with greater devotion abroad with less apparent support at home.

Let us provide these men with the veterans benefits and the job opportunities they have earned. Let us honor them with the respect they deserve. And I say again tonight, let us not dishonor those who served their country by granting amnesty to those who deserted America.

Tonight I want to express the appreciation of the Nation to others who helped make this day possible. I refer to you, the great majority of Americans listening to me tonight, who, despite an unprecedented barrage of criticism from a small but vocal minority, stood firm for peace with honor. I know it was not easy for you to do so.

We have been through some difficult times together. I recall the time in November 1969 when hundreds of thousands of demonstrators marched on the White House, the time in April 1970 when I found it necessary to order attacks on Communist bases in Cambodia, the time in May 1972 when I ordered the mining of Haiphong and airstrikes on military targets in North Vietnam in order to stop a massive Communist offensive in South Vietnam, and then—and this was perhaps the hardest decision I have made as President—on December 18, 1972, when our hopes for peace were so high and when the North Vietnamese stonewalled us at the conference table, I found it necessary to order more airstrikes on military targets in North Vietnam in order to break the deadlock.

On each of these occasions, the voices of opposition we heard in Washington were so loud they at times seemed to be the majority. But across America, the overwhelming majority stood firm against those who advocated peace at any price—even if the price would have been defeat and humiliation for the United States.

Because you stood firm—stood firm for doing what was right—[Air Force Lt.] Colonel [George G.] McKnight was able to say for his fellow POW's, when he returned home a few days ago, "Thank you for bringing us home on our feet instead of on our knees."

Let us turn now to some of our problems at home. Tonight I ask your support in another battle. But we can be thankful this is not a battle in war abroad, but a battle we must win if we are to build a new prosperity without war and without inflation at home.

What I refer to is the battle of the budget—not just the battle over the Federal budget, but even more important, the battle of your budget, the family budget of every home in America.

One of the most terrible costs of war is inflation. The cost of living has skyrocketed during and after every war America has been engaged in. We recognized this danger 4 years ago. We have taken strong action to deal with it. As a result of our policies, we have cut the rate of inflation in half from the high point it reached in 1969 and 1970. And today, our rate of inflation in the United States is the lowest of that of any industrial nation in the world.

But these positive statistics are small comfort to a family trying to make both ends meet. And they are no comfort at all to the housewife who sees meat prices soaring every time she goes to the market. The major weak spot in our fight against inflation is in the area of meat prices. I have taken action to increase imports from abroad and production at home. This will increase the supply of meat, and it will help bring prices down later this year.

But what we need is action that will

stop the rise in meat prices now. And that is why I have today ordered the Cost of Living Council to impose a ceiling on prices of beef, pork, and lamb.¹ The ceiling will remain in effect as long as it is necessary to do the job.

Meat prices must not go higher. And with the help of the housewife and the farmer they can and they should go down.

This ceiling will help in our battle against inflation. But it is not a permanent solution. We must act on all fronts, and here is where the Federal budget comes in.

I have submitted to Congress for the next fiscal year the largest budget in our history—\$268 billion.

The amount I have requested in this budget for domestic programs in such fields as health, housing, education, aid to the elderly, the handicapped, the poor, is twice as big as the amount I asked for for these items 4 years ago. However, some Members of Congress believe the budget in these areas should be even higher.

Now, if I were to approve the increases in my budget that have been proposed in the Congress, it would mean a 15 percent increase in your taxes, or an increase in prices for every American. And that is why I shall veto the bills which would

break the Federal budget which I have submitted. If I do not veto these bills, increased prices or taxes would break the family budget of millions of Americans—including, possibly, your own.

This is not a battle between Congress and the President. It is your battle. It is your money, your prices, your taxes I am trying to save.

Twenty-five years ago, as a freshman Congressman, I first came into this office. I met Harry Truman, who was then President of the United States. I remember he had a sign on the desk. It read, "The buck stops here." Now that meant, of course, that a President can't pass the buck to anyone else when a tough decision has to be made. It also means that your buck stops here. If I do not act to stop the spending increases which Congress sends to this desk, you will have to pay the bill.

Now I admit there is an honest difference of opinion on the matter of the Federal budget. If you are willing to pay the higher taxes or prices that will result if we increase Federal spending over my budget, as some in Congress have proposed, you should ask your Senators and your Congressmen to override my vetoes, but if you want to stop the rise in taxes and prices, I have a suggestion to make. I remember when I was a Congressman and a Senator, I always seemed to hear from those who wanted government to spend more; I seldom heard from the people who have to pay the bill—the taxpayer. And if your Congressman or Senator has the courage to vote against more government spending, so that you won't have to pay higher prices or taxes, let him know that you support him.

Winning the battle to hold down the Federal budget is essential if we are to

¹ A statement on the implementation of meat price controls and other anti-inflation measures by George P. Shultz, Secretary of the Treasury and Chairman of the Cost of Living Council, was released by the White House on March 29, 1973. The statement is printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 9, p. 316).

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the history of the economic stabilization program and the transcript of a news briefing on meat price controls by Secretary Shultz and Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz.

achieve our goal of a new prosperity—prosperity without war and without inflation. I ask you tonight for your support in helping to win this vitally important battle.

Let me turn, finally, tonight to another great challenge we face.

As we end America's longest war, let us resolve that we shall not lose the peace. During the past year we have made great progress toward our goal of a generation of peace for America and the world. The war in Vietnam has been ended. After 20 years of hostility and confrontation, we have opened a constructive new relationship with the People's Republic of China where one-fourth of all the people in the world live. We negotiated last year with the Soviet Union a number of important agreements, including an agreement which takes a major step in limiting nuclear arms.

Now there are some who say that in view of all this progress toward peace, why not cut our defense budget?

Well, let's look at the facts. Our defense budget today takes the lowest percentage of our gross national product that it has in 20 years. There is nothing I would like better than to be able to reduce it further. But we must never forget that we would not have made the progress toward lasting peace that we have made in this past year unless we had had the military strength that commanded respect.

This year we have begun new negotiations with the Soviet Union for further limitations on nuclear arms. And we shall be participating later in the year in negotiations for mutual reduction of forces in Europe.

If prior to these negotiations we in the United States unilaterally reduce our de-

fense budget, or reduce our forces in Europe, any chance for successful negotiations for mutual reduction of forces or limitation of arms will be destroyed.

There is one unbreakable rule of international diplomacy. You can't get something in a negotiation unless you have something to give. If we cut our defenses before negotiations begin, any incentive for other nations to cut theirs will go right out the window.

If the United States reduces its defenses and others do not, it will increase the danger of war. It is only a mutual reduction of forces which will reduce the danger of war. And that is why we must maintain our strength until we get agreements under which other nations will join us in reducing the burden of armaments.

What is at stake is whether the United States shall become the second strongest nation in the world. If that day ever comes, the chance for building a new structure of peace in the world would be irreparably damaged, and free nations everywhere would be living in mortal danger.

A strong United States is not a threat to peace. It is the free world's indispensable guardian of peace and freedom.

I ask for your support tonight, for keeping the strength—the strength which enabled us to make such great progress toward world peace in the past year and which is indispensable as we continue our bold new initiatives for peace in the years ahead.

As we consider some of our problems tonight, let us never forget how fortunate we are to live in America at this time in our history. We have ended the longest and most difficult war in our history in a way that maintains the trust of our allies

and the respect of our adversaries. We are the strongest and most prosperous nation in the world. Because of our strength, America has the magnificent opportunity to play the leading role of bringing down the walls of hostility which divide the people of the world, in reducing the burden of armaments in the world, of building a structure of lasting peace in the world. And because of our wealth, we have the means to move forward at home on exciting new programs—programs for progress which will provide better environment, education, housing, and health care for all Americans and which will enable us to be more generous to the poor, the elderly, the disabled, and the disadvantaged than any nation in the history of the world.

These are goals worthy of a great people. Let us, therefore, put aside those honest differences about war which have divided us and dedicate ourselves to meet the great challenges of peace which can unite us. As we do, let us not overlook a third element, an element more important even than military might or economic power, because it is essential for greatness in a nation.

The pages of history are strewn with the wreckage of nations which fell by the wayside at the height of their strength and wealth because their people became weak, soft, and self-indulgent and lost the character and the spirit which had led to their greatness.

As I speak to you tonight, I am confident that will not happen to America. And my confidence has been increased by the fact that a war which cost America so much in lives and money and division at home has, as it ended, provided an opportunity for millions of Americans to see again the character and the spirit which

made America a great nation.

A few days ago in this room, I talked to a man who had spent almost 8 years in a Communist prison camp in North Vietnam.² For over 4 years he was in solitary confinement. In that 4-year period he never saw and never talked to another human being except his Communist captors. He lived on two meals a day, usually just a piece of bread, a bowl of soup. All he was given to read was Communist propaganda. All he could listen to was the Communist propaganda on radio.

I asked him how he was able to survive it and come home, standing tall and proud, saluting the American flag. He paused a long time before he answered. And then he said, "It is difficult for me to answer. I am not very good at words. All I can say is that it was faith—faith in God and faith in my country."

If men who suffered so much for America can have such faith, let us who have received so much from America renew our faith—our faith in God, our faith in our country, and our faith in ourselves.

If we meet the great challenges of peace that lie ahead with this kind of faith, then one day it will be written: This was America's finest hour.

Thank you and good evening.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:01 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

On the same day, the White House released an advance text of the President's address.

² The President was referring to Col. Robinson Risner, USAF, with whom he met on March 12, 1973. On the same day, the President also met with former prisoner of war Capt. Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr., USN.

99 Letter to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House Transmitting Proposals To Authorize Reduction or Suspension of Import Barriers.

March 30, 1973

I HEREWITH transmit a draft bill, "to authorize reduction or suspension of import barriers to restrain inflation."

The proposed legislation would authorize the President to reduce or suspend temporarily any duty applicable to any article and to increase temporarily any value or quantity of articles which may be imported under any import restriction whenever the President determines that supplies of the article imported are inadequate to meet domestic demand at reasonable prices.

The enactment of this bill is necessary to provide an important additional means of restraining inflation and aiding the American consumer.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Spiro T. Agnew, President of the Senate, and the Honorable Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The White House press release also included the text of the draft bill.

100 Remarks to State Legislators Attending the National Legislative Conference. *March 30, 1973*

Ladies and gentlemen:

I am interrupting the briefing simply to greet you, perhaps to make a couple of points that may put in perspective some of the things you are going to hear from the experts here, and also to thank you for coming to Washington on this occasion to give us the opportunity to talk to some future Members of the House and Senate of the United States.

I am not recommending it, necessarily—[laughter]—and I won't be here perhaps—let me see, unless you run next time.

First, I wanted to come by this meeting this morning to pay my respects to the State legislators. I have had the opportunity to talk to only two State legislatures, Iowa and South Carolina. I have had a few invitations to others, and I hope that during the balance of the 4 years I am

here, I may be able to address some of the State legislatures.

While you are here I do want to thank many of the State legislators. There are several who passed resolutions either in one house or the other of the State legislature, and some concurrent resolutions, indicating support and appreciation for the peace agreement that we had reached on Vietnam. I think in that respect that while this is a group, as with all groups in this country, of Democrats and Republicans, we are all grateful that as I meet with you today, for the first time in 12 years there are no Americans stationed in Vietnam, and our POW's are all on the way back, and we have peace with honor.

Now last night I addressed some of these subjects in a national television broadcast.

The details will be covered this morning. I will say only one thing about the Federal budget. It is a very big one, the largest in history. As far as the programs for domestic purposes, the total amount is twice the amount that I first submitted 4 years ago, so it is not a niggardly budget.

There is a reasonable disagreement and an honest disagreement among Members of the House and Senate; Republicans as well as Democrats in many areas feel that we ought to ask more. That is not unusual; that is always the case. You will hear the case for why we are asking for the amount that we are, overall \$268 billion, and why going over that amount would lead to either a tax increase or a price increase or both, and why, therefore, we have to hold the line and hold it firmly in these areas.

Enough of that particular point with regard to the overall amount. If you get into specific items, naturally you can question the expert here about this program or that one to see whether or not you think we are adequately funding them. You can also go into the matter of priorities. But one very significant point about this budget that has not gotten through yet adequately is in the area of what is called special revenue sharing.

It is a bad term—a bad term because many have gotten the impression that special revenue sharing is really somewhat the same as general revenue sharing. And consequently, the impression has gotten around that we are suggesting in this Administration that some of those areas where we have not gone forward with old programs that have not worked—and the Congress wants us to go forward—that we are saying to the States and the counties and the cities that supported general revenue sharing, “Look here, if

you want to continue some of these programs that we think on the merits should not be continued, you can take it out of general revenue sharing.”

Let me say one thing very clearly: We pledged to the States, and to the counties, and to the cities that general revenue sharing was new money. That pledge is being kept, and we are not suggesting to you that as far as any programs that we are discussing here today, if you want to take them despite the fact that we feel they should be discontinued or sharply cut back for reasons on the merits, that you should therefore take it out of general revenue sharing.

The special revenue sharing, of course, is something else again. It is rather, it seemed to me, appropriate for me to talk about it briefly in this room which is so full of history.

The first President to live in this house, as you know, was not George Washington, but John Adams, and the plaque back here is about John Adams, and it might be interesting to read it because most of you who are here perhaps don't get on the guided tours, and when you are on the guided tours they usually keep people away from anything they can pick up and carry away. [*Laughter*]

What it says is that, “I pray heaven to bestow the best of blessings on this house, and all that shall [hereafter] inhabit it. May none but honest and wise men ever rule under this roof.”

That was, incidentally, an inscription that was suggested by Mrs. Adams in the letter to John Adams, and it is the one that is in this historic State Dining Room where so many important people have been entertained over the years since that time.

Now, I mention John Adams because

as we think of him, the second President, and all of those that have followed and lived in this house, we get a sense of how we began. We get a sense of the Federal-State system, and we also understand how far we have come away from it. It doesn't make any difference whether you take Adams, the Federalist, or Jefferson, the man who was the Democrat, or, as a matter of fact, he was first called a Republican, which shows you how things have changed. But, in any event, Jefferson or Andrew Jackson or John Quincy Adams, those deadly rivals, or up through the years even to the beginning of the 20th century, you will find that there was a deep belief in the federal system. There was a deep confidence in the responsibility and also the ability of State and local governments.

Up until the 20th century, there was a feeling that Washington should respect that responsibility. We have gotten far away from it. I do not mean that that has all been wrong. I am not one that thinks that everything that happened in the thirties, during a time the United States was going through a traumatic experience economically, that everything that happened in the forties and the fifties and the sixties was wrong.

We have found that as this country has grown, as its problems have become bigger, that many of these problems can't be handled by State legislatures in acting independently. Sometimes we have to act as a nation, not simply in questions of war and peace but in many questions that had to do with government.

This we understand. Republicans believe in this, Democrats believe in it. This does not divide us on party lines.

But, on the other hand, as the pendulum sometimes swings too far in one di-

rection, it can swing too far in another direction. What I think has happened is that as a result of the concentration of power in Washington, D.C.—concentration that was necessary to solve what appeared to be insurmountable national problems—we have found government and government getting bigger and bigger and bigger, and government in the State level, whereas it may be bigger dollar-wise, having less and less responsibility. We are trying to turn that around.

In trying to turn that around, we are not turning away from the problems. We are turning to a better solution for the problems, and that gets to you.

The really gut issue here on the special revenue sharing legislation that we are sending to Congress is not the amount, because as the experts will tell you, generally speaking, no State or local government will get less, and as a matter of fact, most will get more under the special revenue sharing legislation included in our budget than you got previously for the amounts that are covered.

But the real gut issue is who makes the decisions. Are they made by the Congress, are they made by the President, are they made by people 3,000 miles away or—if you live in Alaska—6,000 miles away from where you live, or are they made in the States and the counties and the cities?

Now what we say is that those decisions with regard to the priorities on domestic programs should be made by the local governments, by the State governments.

I have oversimplified. You can ask the question, but let me say the reasons that we believe this are several: First, we have confidence in State and local governments. Oh, if you read the editorials in

some of our newspapers here, particularly in the East, you will find there is very little confidence in State and local governments. Believe me, you are the biggest crooks and incompetents that were ever in this room, if you were to read what some of them said.

It depends though—there are plenty of crooks and incompetents, they say, in the Congress, or whatever the case might be—it depends on what you happen to be doing at that particular time.

Let me say I never served in a State legislature—Cap Weinberger has—but I have known many State legislators. They are honest, decent men and women, trying to do an honest and decent job. I know that. We have confidence in you. We believe that you ought to have more responsibility rather than less, and let me say one other thing: When you make a mistake nationally, it is a beaut, because it covers the whole country. Now, when you make a mistake even in a State as big as New York or California, let alone a State like Nevada, or Wyoming, or Alaska, or Hawaii, or Iowa for that matter, it can still be very big, but it affects only that particular State. And then we can see whether or not in our trial and error system we want to try it in other areas.

So, what I simply am saying here is, first, we believe in State and local responsibility. We have confidence in State legislatures and in State governments, and we believe the way to raise not only the quality, which all of you, of course, would like to do, but also to raise the confidence and the respect of the people in their State and local governments, is to give them not more money to spend, which you are going to get and will continue to get, whoever is going to be in Washington here, but more decisions to make.

You just simply don't want to be the errand boys or the people down the line who will take the Federal grants and pass them out, just not the channels of communication, but you ought to and you should have the responsibility and the right to make decisions as to how the sources of money that come from Washington—and we, of course, should collect it, because we can collect it better at the national level. That is one thing the Federal Government can do better than State governments. [*Laughter*] We have ways to get it that the State governments can't use.

But on the other hand, we feel that as far as the decisions are concerned, you ought to have the chance.

Just let me close that section of my remarks by saying very simply this: Have your differences, and, I am sure, some of you will have specific items in this budget as to whether this program or that one or the other one should be funded at certain amounts. But make no mistake about the fundamental, revolutionary recommendation we have made with regard to special revenue sharing. It has to do with our whole federal system and, as we approach the 200th birthday of this country, which comes in 1976, it seems to me that is a pretty good time to go back to fundamental principles where those fundamental principles are still relevant to the problems we have today.

I believe that the more men and women you can get in the process, making decisions, not simply people down the line who look to somebody up here in Washington to make all of the decisions and they just carry out the order—the more we can get more people making the decisions, the better it is going to be for this country. That is what we believe. It is a matter of philosophy; it is a profound belief. It is

not a Democratic belief or Republican belief, it is an American principle, and it is that which I wish you to consider in your meeting today.

My final point has to do with one that I covered last night in my remarks, but it has to do with priorities in the budget and particularly on defense.

The easy way to talk about a budget is to say, "Look, my program is a good one, but that other fellow's, take it out of his." And particularly right now, there are those that say that, after all, we have had the trip to China, and we have had the agreements with the Russians, and the limitation of armaments, and we have ended the war in Vietnam. As many have suggested, this is perhaps a year of the greatest progress in reducing tensions in the world and working toward a world of peace that we have had since the end of World War II. In view of all of that progress, why don't we cut the defense budget? And then with \$10 or \$15 or \$20 billion we can get out of the defense budget, put it into the problems of the States and the problems of our cities and our problems at home.

Let me say, there is nothing I would rather do more than to do that. There is nothing a President or a Governor dislikes more than to have to veto a spending bill. We know people like to get the dough. Why do we stop it?

The reason we stop it, of course, is that, as Harry Truman has in that desk of his, "The buck stops . . ."—where? The President's desk, the Governor's desk, and the rest.

I am not, incidentally, trying to get you in a fight with your Governors. That is your problem. But I am simply saying, as far as we are concerned, we have to

remember that in this whole area of priorities—and this is the point that I wish to make—in this whole area of priorities, we have considered the defense budget and the domestic budget.

Let me simply say, our defense budget today, as far as its level of spending is concerned, takes the lowest percentage of our GNP in 20 years. Our defense budget today, insofar as the level of spending is concerned, is no higher than it was 4 years ago, when you take out the inflation factor.

However, as I indicated a few moments ago, our spending for domestic programs is double what it was 4 years ago. So, the priorities have been changed, and they should have been changed.

How were we able to change them? Why have we had success in our new dialog with the People's Republic of China, in our new relations with the Russians? I will tell you why. It isn't because Chou En-lai liked my handshake. And it isn't because I particularly liked vodka. I don't. I think it is a lousy drink. I don't like champagne either. There are other things I do like, but not those two.

The point I make is that it is simply because, when the President of the United States went to Peking, the government that rules one-fourth of all of the people in the world, when the President of the United States, for the first time, went to Moscow, the government that rules one of the most powerful nations the world has ever seen in terms of nuclear power and so forth, he was received there, he was able to negotiate because he represented a nation that was strong and a nation that was respected.

The day you send the President of the United States into the ring with a leader

of any powerful country as the leader of the second strongest nation in the world, then you are in deep trouble.

Let me just put it quite directly in this way: A mutual reduction of arms in the world is our goal, whether it is a mutual reduction of forces in Europe or a mutual reduction—limitation first and then reduction—of nuclear arms. But any program in which we reduce and the others stay high is not our goal, because when the United States is weaker and they are stronger, then the threat to peace in the world and freedom in the world is infinitely increased.

How are you going to get a mutual reduction of arms? How are you going to get a mutual reduction of forces in Europe?

Well, as I said last night, in any negotiation you can't get something unless you have something to give. And so, rather than cutting our budget before we go into these historic negotiations this year, send the President of the United States there with an adequate defense budget, and then let us negotiate us both down.

Let me put it quite bluntly: Look at the world today. Consider what the world would be like if the United States were not the most powerful nation in the world. Oh, it would be mighty pleasant—we would have more money to spend in the cities and the States and many of the other programs that you would like. But, on the other hand, if we were not in this position of strength, it doesn't mean that nobody else would be in that position.

And as you look at the free world, there is no other free-world nation, as there used to be, that could be in that position. The British can't do it; the French can't do it; the Germans can't do it; the Japanese can't do it—even though they are all

economically powerful countries—for reasons that we are aware and for different reasons in most instances.

So you can see simply the proposition we are confronted with. What I have to do is to stand for an adequate strong defense budget, a budget which, as I say, is one that is a spare one and a lean one, but adequate to do the job.

In order to negotiate with the super powers of the world, the Soviet Union, the super power of today, and the PRC [People's Republic of China], which will be the super power of the world, a great super power, 20 years from now—to negotiate with them, the United States must be in a position of strength and not of weakness.

I will simply close by saying that the remarks that I have made have not intended to be directed against the Congress; they are not. They are not intended to be partisan in any sense of the word, because Democrats as well as Republicans think of the country first and certainly of their party second when these great issues of war and peace are involved.

But I will only say this: that, looking to the future, we need your support, not only for programs that will make government more responsive—and that is why special revenue sharing is important—that will improve its quality—that is why you are important in your listening to this briefing. But we also need, at this critical time, not to fool ourselves by saying, now that we have had a great year of progress in the areas of peace, we can cut back, we can relax, and then put the money into the domestic programs that we would all like to put it in.

Let me tell you, the day that I can tell the American people that we can safely cut our defense budget, believe me, I will be in the pack leading it. But I intend, as

long as I am in this office, to maintain the strength of the United States until others bring their strength down too. When I leave this office, I want to leave it with respect for the President of the United States, whoever he is, for the Office of the Presidency, and respect for the strength of the United States undiminished, because it is that strength that is the world's best guardian of peace and freedom.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 10 a.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House where he greeted approximately 140 State legislators who were members of the Intergovernmental Relations Committee of the National Legislative Conference. The committee was the primary Federal-State policymaking unit of the conference, an affiliate of the Council of State Governments.

The legislators were attending a White House briefing on domestic policy by Administration officials.

101 Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to John Ford. *March 31, 1973*

Mr. and Mrs. Ford, all of our distinguished guests tonight:

As most of you know, I have made many speeches in my life. I have never had a harder act to follow.

It was, however, not an act, because everything we have heard tonight was from the heart. And as I, with you, enjoyed this program, I thought that Mr. Ford would want me to say that tonight we honor a man. We think of him as a great man, one of the geniuses of his profession. But I think he would want me to say, speaking for all of the American people, we honor a great profession, all of the people in the motion picture profession. Thank you very much.

As we saw some of the excerpts from the great Ford motion pictures, we thought of what motion pictures have meant to us in this country and in the world. It is very easy to generalize with regard to what a motion picture or any kind of entertainment should be, any kind of theater. I would put it very simply this way:

It must be everything. Sometimes there is a need for us to laugh and sometimes

there is a need for us to cry. Sometimes we must be happy, and sometimes we must be sad. Sometimes we need to be inspired; other times we need to escape. And always we need to be reminded of the greatness of our Nation. We need also to be reminded of the fact that we can be something bigger than ourselves. And so on the screen we see the great actors, the great stories, all made possible by great directors and producers.

I am an unabashed movie fan. I think I have seen virtually all of the 140 movies, and I am grateful to all of you in Hollywood in this great profession for making us first in the world in motion pictures and conveying through American motion pictures to the world what I believe is a complete picture of America and a good picture of America, because that is what you have done.

I now come to my part in the program and a tribute to Mr. Ford. I have noted tonight that he has been characterized in several different ways. Some have called him "Boss," and others have called him "Jack," and most have called him "Pappy." But there was one term that I

did not like. They called him a rear admiral. John Ford was never "rear," and as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, for the balance of this evening, John Ford is a full admiral.

The second part of my presentation is one that gives me great honor. The President of the United States always, and as it should be in a free country, has to take positions and make speeches from time to time in which there is a difference of opinion among our people. However, there are rare occasions, and this is one of them, when he speaks for all of the people. It used to be said in American politics, "As Maine goes, so goes the Nation," and in 1932 that proved not to be true. But tonight, as this son of Maine goes, so goes the Nation. It isn't just a landslide; it is unanimous for John Ford.

Therefore, I tonight speak for all of the American people, for millions of people around this world, who respect and appreciate his genius, because John Ford is one who, by what he has done, has earned the respect of not only his countrymen but of others throughout the world.

There is little that I can add to the citation that I will read to you in a moment, except to say that we can present to him only the highest civilian award that can be presented in this country, and its name is one that is very appropriate, because John Ford passionately loves freedom. John Ford, in his works, has depicted freedom in all of its profound depths, in all of its aspects to all of the world, and John Ford has fought for freedom, and for that reason it is appropriate that tonight, on behalf of all of the American people, he receives the Medal of Freedom. I now read the citation:

"The President of the United States of America awards the Presidential Medal of Freedom to John Ford.

"In the annals of American film, no name shines more brightly than that of John Ford. Director and film maker for more than half a century, he stands pre-eminent in the crowd, not only as a creator of individual films of surpassing excellence, but as a master among those who transformed the early motion pictures into a compelling new art form that developed in America and swept the world. As an interpreter of the nation's heritage, he left his personal stamp indelibly imprinted on the consciousness of whole generations, both here and abroad. In his life and in his work, John Ford represents the best in American films, and the very best in America."

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:37 p.m. at the first annual awards dinner of the American Film Institute in the Beverly Hilton Hotel, Beverly Hills, Calif.

On the same day, the White House released the text of the citation accompanying the award for Mr. Ford and a fact sheet on the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Following the President's remarks, Mr. Ford responded as follows:

Thank you, sir.

As [former POW] Captain Jeremiah Denton said—I hope I get through with this; I am about ready to bust out in crying—as Captain Denton said as he set foot for the first time in many years on continental American soil, "I am stunned and bewildered at this reception." He ended with "God bless America." I quote his words with feeling.

There are some people in this world who don't think that we movie folks have any religion, but a glance around this distinguished audience is living refutation of that nonsense.

In a recent telephone conversation with the President, he said, "What is your reaction to the prisoners coming home?" I said, "Frankly,

sir, I broke down and blubbered and cried like a baby. Then I reached for my rosary and said a few decades of the beads, and I uttered a short fervent prayer, not an original prayer, but one

spoken in millions of American homes today. It is a simple prayer, simply, 'God bless Richard Nixon.' "

Thank you.

102 Remarks of Welcome to President Nguyen Van Thieu of the Republic of Vietnam at San Clemente, California. April 2, 1973

Mr. President, all of our distinguished guests, and ladies and gentlemen:

Mr. President, this is the fifth time that I have had the honor and pleasure of meeting with you, but for the first time I am honored to welcome you in my native land, in my native State, and here at my home.

As we welcome you today, we think back to the times we have met before. Particularly I think of the time that we first met as heads of state at Midway, 4 years ago. On that occasion, you said after our meeting that you looked forward to the time when we could meet not for the purpose of discussing the conduct of war, but for the purpose of discussing the building of peace, and now, today, that day has come.

There are, of course, difficulties in building a peace after 25 years of war have torn your country apart. But on the other hand, when we compare the situation today to what it was 4 years ago at Midway when we met, we see the progress that has been made toward that goal. On that day, when there were over half a million Americans fighting side by side with your people, we now find that all the American forces have returned, and the people of Vietnam have the strength to defend their own independence and their right to choose their government in the years ahead.

We know that this would not have been possible without the courage and also the leadership that you have displayed in providing an example for the people of your country, and the courage that they have exemplified, and the sacrifices they have made.

Now, as we meet today for 2 days of meetings, we meet to work toward the building of peace, a peace for your land which has suffered so much and your people who have suffered so much, and a peace, as it is built there, which can contribute to lasting peace in the world.

I would say simply, as we conclude, that the name of our house here is Casa Pacifica, which means House of the Pacific, and also House of Peace, and we hope from this day, as a result of our talks, will come great steps forward in building the lasting peace, the real peace that we have fought together for and that now we want all of our people to live for.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:20 a.m. at his home in San Clemente, Calif., where President Thieu was given a formal welcome with full military honors.

See also Items 105 and 106.

President Thieu responded as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen:

Thank you very much, Mr. President, for this warm welcome and for your very kind words. Mrs. Thieu and I are very happy to come here today to this beautiful land of freedom and

prosperity. We appreciate most especially your hospitality.

I find it very significant that the discussions which I will soon hold with you on this visit, which will establish the new basis for the co-operation between the United States and Vietnam, following the Vietnam peace agreement, are to be held in the Western White House on the Pacific Coast, because both the United States and Vietnam belong to the same community of nations bordering on the Pacific Ocean.

History has proved that there can be no solid peace in the world unless there is peace and stability in the Pacific area. History has also shown that for the Pacific Ocean to deserve its peaceful name, courage and tenacity are as important today as they were to the navigators who first sailed across this vast ocean centuries ago.

Mr. President, over 3 years ago, when we met at Midway, at a time when the Vietnam war was raging we laid down together the foundations for a promising solution to the Vietnam conflict that came to be known as the Vietnamization. Today, while over 300,000 American troops still stay in Europe to bolster the defense of Western Europe, more than a quarter century after World War II was over, we in Vietnam are proud that, thanks to your help, the Vietnamese defense force was able to repel an all-out Communist invasion last year,

at a time when American ground troops had been withdrawn.

This made possible a peace with honor whereby the Communist aggressors, in the Paris agreement last January, had to recognize formally the right of self-determination of the people of South Vietnam and the principle that the problems we will solve in North Vietnam are to be solved by peaceful means, without coercion and annexation.

While the road to lasting peace is still an arduous one, a new page has been turned with the conclusion of the Paris agreement, and I look forward to having fruitful conversation with you, Mr. President, on the various aspects of the relation between our two countries in this new context.

I earnestly hope that the joint efforts of our two governments would lead to a consolidation of peace in Indochina and a new era of constructive cooperation in peace among all parties concerned. I avail myself on this occasion to express to you, Mr. President, and through you to the American people, the heartfelt gratitude of the Vietnamese Government and people for the generous assistance of your government and the noble contribution of the American nation to our long efforts to defend and preserve freedom for Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

Thank you very much.

103 Letter to President Thieu About the "Land to the Tiller" Program in the Republic of Vietnam. April 2, 1973

Dear Mr. President:

I very much appreciate your warm message of March 20 which described the achievements of the "Land to the Tiller" program and expressed the gratitude of the Vietnamese people for our assistance in this great work of social reform and economic development.

With deep interest and satisfaction, I learned from your letter that on March 26 your country will celebrate the fulfillment of its three-year goal of redistributing

titles for one million hectares of land to tenant farmers under the "Land to the Tiller" program. This program, I know, is one of the most ambitious and far-reaching land distribution programs undertaken by any country in recent times. It will ultimately benefit over one million rural families in South Vietnam and should virtually eliminate farm tenancy. The fact that this program has been completed under the difficult wartime conditions of the past three years

makes the accomplishment that much more admirable. This program also represents tangible evidence of concern for and responsiveness to the needs of the people and encourages us to look with confidence to the future of your country as it pursues its goals of a lasting and fruitful peace.

On behalf of the American people, I congratulate the government and the people of the Republic of Vietnam on the success of this land reform endeavor. Americans are pleased to have cooperated with Vietnamese in this historic undertaking.

In the postwar period, we look forward with equal interest to joining your government and people in the important task of reconstruction and long-term economic development.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The text of the President's letter, dated March 24, 1973, was released April 2 at San Clemente, Calif.

President Thieu's letter, dated March 20, 1973, and released with the President's letter, read as follows:

Dear Mr. President:

March 26th, 1973 marks the third anniversary of the signing of the "Land to the Tiller" law in the Republic of Vietnam. On this memorable occasion, I take pleasure in communicating to you the highlights of our land reform, one of the top priority programs for the welfare of the rural people. This also constitutes, in my view, an important aspect of the social and economic revolution, in the present ideological contest in Vietnam.

Upon the promulgation of the "Land to the Tiller" law in 1970, I pledged to distribute free of charge 1,000,000 hectares (approximately

2.5 million acres) of land in three years to 800,000 tenant farmers who actually tilled the land. To date, 1,003,353 hectares of land have been distributed to 858,821 former tenant farmers. Our planned goal has been achieved and surpassed.

The "Land to the Tiller" program has reduced farm tenancy from around 60 percent three years ago to almost the vanishing point. It has thus undercut the main theme of communist propaganda vis-a-vis the rural population.

Our farmers have not been merely passive recipients of government largesse but have enthusiastically participated in the program to improve their lives. They are using the additional income from the sale of crops formerly paid in rent to develop the rural economy, thus contributing to the growth of the nation. Our farmers have now a new sense of personal worth and dignity and have become masters of their destiny, free men with reasons to preserve their freedom.

These accomplishments are attributable, in no small measure, to the dedicated support and cooperation of Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker and the American AID Mission staff in Vietnam and to the financial assistance of the American people through your government.

For this, I would like to convey, on behalf of the Vietnamese people, our deep gratitude to you, and through you to the people of the United States of America.

I wish also to express the hope that the Government of the Republic of Vietnam will continue to have help and support from your government and people to not only complete the land reform program but to help carry forward vigorously the implementation of the five-year rural economic development plan, which will solidify and build on the tremendous benefits of land distribution, and of our postwar reconstruction plan which is to heal the wounds of war and to promote development and growth in an era of peace.

Sincerely yours,

NGUYEN VAN THIEU

104 Annual Message to the Congress on the District of Columbia Budget. *April 2, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am today transmitting for your consideration the budget of the District of Columbia for fiscal year 1974, together with a supplementary budget request covering necessary additional expenses for fiscal year 1973.

These budget proposals reflect views expressed by citizens of the District of Columbia at City Council budget hearings and have been examined by the Mayor and the City Council in accordance with their responsibilities under Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1967. The Office of Management and Budget has also reviewed these proposals as specified in the District of Columbia Revenue Act of 1970.

As a result of prudent and effective fiscal management on the part of the

municipal government, this 1974 budget will provide adequately for District needs during the coming year without requiring either additional Federal funds or increased city revenue. The fiscal year 1974 proposals call for the expenditure of \$841.2 million in operating funds and \$150 million in capital funds.

Timely Congressional action last year on the District's 1973 budget was of great assistance to city officials in planning and executing sound programs to serve the people of Washington. I urge the Congress again to act expeditiously on the District budget for 1974.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

April 2, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the message was released at San Clemente, Calif.

105 Remarks at the Conclusion of Discussions With President Thieu of the Republic of Vietnam.

April 3, 1973

Mr. President and ladies and gentlemen:

As our joint communique indicates, President Thieu and I have had very constructive talks with regard to how we shall work together in the years ahead, working for the program of peace which we now hope will all be the wave of the future, not only for the Republic of Vietnam but for all of the countries in Indochina.

Mr. President, we have been allies in a long and difficult war, and now you can be sure that we stand with you as we continue to work together to build a lasting peace.

This is a great goal for our two peoples, and I am very happy that we could have had these extended talks in developing programs that will achieve that goal.

We wish you well as you go on to Washington and as you return to your own country, and we look forward to the time when we shall meet again.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:45 p.m. on the grounds of his residence at San Clemente, Calif.

See also Item 102.

President Thieu responded as follows:

Ladies and gentlemen:

I am very happy to have a few minutes with

you on the conclusion of this meeting with President Nixon. As you know already, the two main purposes of my visit here are to thank in person the American people for the generous and disinterested assistance given to us during the past difficult years, and secondly, to have an opportunity to discuss with President Nixon about what needs to be done in view of consolidating the peace in Vietnam and in South-east Asia.

As I said earlier in my arrival statement, my visit here marks at the same time an end and a beginning—an end to a very difficult period of time during which our two countries have endeavored to preserve freedom for the Vietnamese people, and a beginning in the sense that the newly achieved peace in Vietnam will

be the starting point of what President Nixon calls a generation of peace for the whole world.

I had during these 2 days very thorough and cordial conversations with President Nixon, which I am sure will help lay the foundation of lasting peace in our part of the world and of a fruitful cooperation between the American and Vietnamese people in the postwar period.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

I look forward to seeing you again, President Nixon.

On the evening of April 2, 1973, the President and Mrs. Nixon hosted a dinner at their residence for President and Mrs. Thieu. President Thieu hosted a luncheon at the residence on April 3.

106 Joint Statement Following Discussions With President Thieu of the Republic of Vietnam. *April 3, 1973*

THE PRESIDENT of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, and the President of the Republic of Vietnam, Nguyen Van Thieu, met for two days of discussions in San Clemente at the outset of President Thieu's official visit to the United States. Taking part in these discussions on the United States side were the Secretary of State, William P. Rogers; the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Henry A. Kissinger; the Ambassador of the United States to the Republic of Vietnam, Ellsworth Bunker; the Ambassador-designate of the United States to the Republic of Vietnam, Graham Martin; and other officials. On the side of the Republic of Vietnam the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Tran Van Lam; the Minister of Economy, Pham Kim Ngoc; the Minister of Finance, Ha Xuan Trung; the Special Assistant to the President for Foreign Affairs, Nguyen Phu Duc; the Vietnamese Ambassador to the United

States, Tran Kim Phuong, and other officials also participated in the discussions.

The discussions were held in a very cordial atmosphere appropriate to the enduring relationship of friendship which exists between the governments of the Republic of Vietnam and the United States. The two Presidents discussed the course of U.S.-Vietnamese relations since their meeting at Midway Island on June 8, 1969 and the postwar relationship between the two countries. They reached full consensus in their views.

President Nixon and President Thieu reviewed the progress that has been made in economic, political and defense affairs in Vietnam since the Midway meeting. President Nixon expressed gratification with the proficiency of South Vietnam's armed forces and noted their effective and courageous performance in halting the invasion launched by North Vietnam on March 30, 1972. The President also

expressed satisfaction with the development of political institutions and noted the political stability that has prevailed in South Vietnam in recent years. President Thieu reaffirmed his determination to assure social and political justice for the people of South Vietnam.

The two Presidents expressed their satisfaction at the conclusion of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam, as well as the Act of the International Conference on Vietnam which endorsed this Agreement. They asserted the determination of their two governments to implement the provisions of the Agreement scrupulously. They also affirmed their strong expectation that the other parties signatory to the Agreement would do the same in order to establish a lasting peace in Vietnam. The two Presidents expressed their appreciation to the other members of the international community who helped in achieving the Agreement and particularly to the four member governments of the International Commission of Control and Supervision whose representatives are observing its implementation. They consider that the International Commission, acting in cooperation with the Four Parties to the Agreement, is an essential element in the structure of restoring peace to Vietnam and expressed their determination to further encourage the most effective and objective possible supervision of the Agreement.

President Nixon informed President Thieu of his great interest in the meetings between representatives of the two South Vietnamese parties which are currently taking place in France in an effort to achieve an internal political settlement in South Vietnam. President Thieu said that his government is resolved at these

meetings to achieve a settlement which will fully insure the right of self-determination by the South Vietnamese people in accordance with the Agreement on Ending the War. President Thieu expressed his earnest desire for a reconciliation among the South Vietnamese parties which will fulfill the hopes of the South Vietnamese people for peace, independence, and democracy.

Both Presidents, while acknowledging that progress was being made toward military and political settlements in South Vietnam, nevertheless viewed with great concern infiltrations of men and weapons in sizeable numbers from North Vietnam into South Vietnam in violation of the Agreement on Ending the War, and considered that actions which would threaten the basis of the Agreement would call for appropriately vigorous reactions. They expressed their conviction that all the provisions of the Agreement, including in particular those concerning military forces and military supplies, must be faithfully implemented if the cease-fire is to be preserved and the prospects for a peaceful settlement are to be assured. President Nixon stated in this connection that the United States views violations of any provision of the Agreement with great and continuing concern.

Both Presidents also agreed that there could be lasting peace in Vietnam only if there is peace in the neighboring countries. Accordingly they expressed their earnest interest in the achievement of a satisfactory implementation of the cease-fire agreement reached in Laos on February 21. They expressed their grave concern at the fact that Article 20 of the Agreement which calls for the unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces from Laos and Cambodia has not been

carried out. They agreed that this Article should be quickly implemented.

In assessing the prospects for peace throughout Indochina the two Presidents stressed the need for vigilance on the part of the governments in the Indochinese states against the possibility of renewed Communist aggression after the departure of United States ground forces from South Vietnam. They stressed the fact that this vigilance will require the continued political, economic, and military strength of the governments and nations menaced by any renewal of this aggressive threat. Because of their limited resources, the nations of the region will require external assistance to preserve the necessary social and economic stability for peaceful development.

In this context, President Thieu affirmed the determination of the Vietnamese people and the Government to forge ahead with the task of providing adequate and timely relief to war victims, reconstructing damaged social and economic infrastructures, and building a strong and viable economy, so that the Vietnamese nation can gradually shoulder a greater burden in the maintenance of peace and the achievement of economic progress for its people. The two Presidents agreed that in order to attain the stated economic goals as quickly as possible, the Republic of Vietnam will need greater external economic assistance in the initial years of the post war era. President Nixon reaffirmed his wholehearted support for the endeavors of post war rehabilitation, reconstruction and development of the Republic of Vietnam. He informed President Thieu of the United States intention to provide adequate and substantial economic assistance for the Republic of Vietnam during the re-

mainder of this year and to seek Congressional authority for a level of funding for the next year sufficient to assure essential economic stability and rehabilitation for that country as it now moves from war to peace. He recognized that the economic development and self-sufficiency of South Vietnam depend to a significant extent on its ability to promote and attract foreign investment. He also expressed his intention to seek Congressional support for a longer range program for the economic development of South Vietnam now that the war has ended.

The two Presidents expressed their earnest hope that other nations as well as international institutions will act promptly on a positive and concerted program of international assistance to the Republic of Vietnam. They also agreed that consultations should soon be held in this regard with all interested parties.

The two Presidents expressed hope that the implementation of the Agreement on Vietnam would permit a normalization of relations with all countries of Southeast Asia. They agreed that this step and a regional reconstruction program will increase the prospects of a lasting peace in the area.

President Nixon discussed the future security of South Vietnam in the context of the Nixon Doctrine. The President noted that the assumption by the Republic of Vietnam of the full manpower requirements for its own defense was fully in keeping with his doctrine. He affirmed that the United States for its part, expected to continue, in accordance with its Constitutional processes, to supply the Republic of Vietnam with the material means for its defense consistent with the Agreement on Ending the War.

President Thieu asked President Nixon

to convey to the American people and particularly to families bereaved by the loss of loved ones, the deep and abiding appreciation of the people of South Vietnam for the sacrifices made on their behalf and the assistance given to the Republic of Vietnam in its long struggle to maintain its freedom and preserve its right of self-determination.

Prior to the departure of President Thieu for Washington to continue his official visit to the United States, both Presidents agreed that through the harsh experience of a tragic war and the sacri-

fices of their two peoples a close and constructive relationship between the American and the South Vietnamese people has been developed and strengthened. They affirmed their full confidence that this association would be preserved as the foundation of an honorable and lasting peace in Southeast Asia.

President Thieu expressed his gratitude for the warm hospitality extended to him and his party by President Nixon.

NOTE: The text of the joint statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

107 Statement About Senate Action Sustaining the Vocational Rehabilitation Bill Veto. *April 3, 1973*

THE ACTION of the Senate in voting to sustain my veto of the first budget-breaking spending bill of 1973 is a resounding victory for the American taxpayer.

If passed into law, the excessive and unwise Rehabilitation Act of 1972 which the Senate has now helped defeat would have opened the dikes to a flood of additional overspending bills. These bills could have exceeded our budgets by as much as \$50 billion between now and 1975. America's consumers, wage earners, and taxpayers would be forced to foot the bill for that spending spree, in the form of a heavy tax increase or a new surge of inflation.

But now, because enough Senators had enough courage to stand up against the

big spenders in defense of the average American's pocketbook, the tide in this battle of the budget is running in the people's favor.

I hope that millions of Americans will express their thanks and their support to those Senators and Congressmen who are holding the line against runaway spending. There will be other tough decisions to make before this battle is won, and as we face each test, I look forward to continued cooperation with this outstanding group of responsible legislators who voted to sustain my veto.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

108 Veto of the Rural Water and Sewer Grant Program Bill. *April 5, 1973*

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning today without my approval H.R. 3298, an act to restore the

rural water and sewer grant program which was terminated earlier this year.

My recent budget proposals to the

Congress reflect the results of an intensive effort to identify Federal programs that should be reformed, cut back or eliminated. In each case we asked one simple question: would this program justify an increase in taxes in order to pay for it?

The rural water and sewer program, which was launched eight years ago to assist rural communities in constructing water and sewer lines, failed that test. It forced the Federal taxpayer to pay for services that should be locally financed, and it did so in a most uneven and questionable way. We therefore terminated it on January 1, 1973, as part of our determined effort to hold down taxes and combat inflation.

Now the Congress seeks to revive the program. This is a disservice to the taxpayers of this country which I am not prepared to accept.

For many years, local communities have proudly financed and built their own water and sewer facilities. They have recognized that these services are primarily local in nature and should be primarily a local responsibility—just as local communities pay for their own garbage services and fire protection.

Resurrection of the rural water and sewer program would serve only to undercut that tradition, shoving aside local authorities for the increasingly powerful Federal Government.

This program also enlarges the Federal responsibility in a particularly ineffective and insidious way. Experience has shown that water and sewer grants have been distributed in a totally scattershot fashion. Many rural communities, although qualified under the program, have built their own water and sewage systems without waiting for Federal help. They need no incentive from Washington. Yet, in other

cases, the water and sewer grants actually delay construction, as communities which would ordinarily finance the facilities on their own, choose instead to wait in line for Federal subsidies. The result has been a very uneven pattern of distribution. It should also come as no surprise that over time the program has attained a distinct flavor of porkbarrel.

Moreover, by singling out a relatively small group of people to receive Federal grants to help build their private water and sewer lines, this program forces the majority of taxpayers, in effect, to pay double taxes: once to build their own facilities and then again to build the sewers in someone else's backyard. This double taxation leads to little national good and deserves to be stopped, especially at a time when we are earnestly seeking to hold the line on Federal spending.

In view of the many defects in this program, I am convinced that it should no longer be inflicted on the American taxpayer. Congressional restoration of water and sewer grants at the appropriated level of H.R. 3298 would increase Federal spending by at least \$300 million during fiscal years 1973–1975. This would represent a dangerous crack in the fiscal dam that this Administration has constructed to hold back a further flood of inflation or higher taxes, or both.

A grave constitutional question is also raised by H.R. 3298, which purports to mandate the spending of the full amount appropriated by the Congress. The Attorney General has advised me that such a mandate conflicts with the allocation of executive power to the President made by Article II of the Constitution. Thus, H.R. 3298 is objectionable not only in its practical and economic aspects, but on basic legal grounds as well.

In reconsidering this bill, the Congress should bear in mind that my fiscal year 1974 budget already provides \$345 million in Rural Development Act loan funds for water supply systems in rural areas which will help local communities borrow at favorable interest rates. In addition, the Environmental Protection Agency will be providing grants of \$5 billion in fiscal years 1973 and 1974 for waste disposal facilities across the country. These grants will be awarded in accordance with State-established needs, and may be used in rural areas for high priority projects.

I recognize that despite these programs, some rural communities in need of sewer assistance may still have financing difficulties because of their inability to borrow at reasonable rates. Fortunately, a solution to this problem exists.

If my veto of this bill is sustained, I will use my authority under the Rural Development Act to provide qualified rural communities with loans not only for water facilities but also for the development of sewage facilities. These loans for sewer services will be available in fiscal years 1973 and 1974. This step—taken at a fraction of the cost to the taxpayer required by H.R. 3298—will permit qualified small communities to compete for credit on reasonable terms.

Taken in conjunction with other measures already planned, this loan provision should provide sufficient Federal support to those communities which critically need water and sewage systems without shat-

tering the limits of sound fiscal policy. I therefore urge all thoughtful, responsible Members of the Congress to join with me in preventing this costly, unwise and probably unconstitutional measure from becoming law.

In upholding my veto of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act earlier this week, the Congress demonstrated that it can set aside partisan political considerations in the interest of America's economic well-being. I urge the Members of the Congress to hold to that same resolve in reconsidering this second piece of inflationary, budget-breaking legislation.

Together, we can hold down taxes and inflation for all of the American people. Together, we can also create a climate in which local and State governments will have both the incentive and the means to meet their legitimate responsibilities without undue interference from Washington and without a proliferation of costly and unnecessary Federal programs such as the one which H.R. 3298 would re-establish.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

April 5, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the message was released at San Clemente, Calif.

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the program and the transcript of a news briefing on the President's veto by Roy L. Ash, Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

The House of Representatives sustained the President's veto on April 10, 1973.

109 Statement About Intention To Withdraw the
Nomination of L. Patrick Gray III To Be Director
of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. *April 5, 1973*

PAT GRAY is an able, honest, and dedicated American.

Because I asked my Counsel, John Dean, to conduct a thorough investigation of alleged involvement in the Watergate episode, Director Gray was asked to make FBI reports available to Mr. Dean. His compliance with this completely proper and necessary request exposed Mr. Gray to totally unfair innuendo and suspicion, and thereby seriously tarnished his fine record as Acting Director and promising future at the Bureau.

In view of the action of the Senate Judiciary Committee today, it is obvious

that Mr. Gray's nomination will not be confirmed by the Senate. Mr. Gray has asked that I withdraw his nomination. In fairness to Mr. Gray, and out of my overriding concern for the effective conduct of the vitally important business of the FBI, I have regretfully agreed to withdraw Mr. Gray's nomination.

I have asked Mr. Gray to remain Acting Director until a new nominee is confirmed.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

Mr. Gray's nomination was withdrawn on April 17, 1973.

110 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report
of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament
Agency. *April 9, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the Arms Control and Disarmament Act as amended (P.L. 87-297), I herewith transmit the Annual Report of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

The year covered by this report has been the most rewarding in the twelve-year history of the agency. Agreements reached with the Soviet Union in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks testify to the determination of this Administration to move away from the dangers and burdens of unrestrained arms competition and toward a stable and constructive international relationship.

The negotiations have resulted not in concessions by the two parties, one to

the other, but in mutual arrangements to insure mutual security. For the first time, the United States and the Soviet Union have taken substantial steps in concert to reduce the threat of nuclear war. The current round of SALT negotiations will concentrate on achieving a definitive treaty on the limitation of offensive weapons systems.

The past year has also seen continued progress in other areas of arms control.

Four years after the initial NATO proposal, positive planning has begun for a conference on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions in Central Europe. The Convention banning biological weapons and calling for the destruction of existing stockpiles was opened for signature on

April 10, 1972. At the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva, the problems associated with control of chemical warfare through international law were subjected to patient and careful examination. The number of nations adhering to the Nonproliferation Treaty has now reached 76 and successful negotiations on safeguard arrangements have paved the way for ratification by key European countries.

Much has been accomplished, but

much remains to be done. With the beginning of my second term in office, I rededicate my Administration to the goal of bringing the instruments of warfare under effective and verifiable control.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

April 9, 1973.

NOTE: The report is entitled "Arms Control Report, 12th Annual Report to the Congress" (51 pp. plus appendixes).

111 Remarks on Transmitting a Special Message to the Congress on Proposed Trade Reform Legislation.

April 10, 1973

THE TRADE BILL I am sending to the Congress today can mean more jobs and better jobs for American workmen.

It can help American consumers get more for their money.

It can help us expand our trade, and thus expand prosperity in America.

And most importantly, these proposals can help us reduce international tensions and strengthen the structure of peace in the world.

NOTE: The President's remarks were filmed in the Oval Office at the White House on April 9, 1973, for use on radio and television the following day.

112 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Trade Reform Legislation. *April 10, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

The Trade Reform Act of 1973, which I am today proposing to the Congress, calls for the most important changes in more than a decade in America's approach to world trade.

This legislation can mean more and better jobs for American workers.

It can help American consumers get more for their money.

It can mean expanding trade and expanding prosperity, for the United States and for our trading partners alike.

Most importantly, these proposals can help us reduce international tensions and strengthen the structure of peace.

The need for trade reform is urgent. The task of trade reform requires an effective, working partnership between the executive and legislative branches. The legislation I submit today has been developed in close consultation with the Congress and it envisions continuing cooperation after it is enacted. I urge the Congress to examine these proposals in a spirit of constructive partnership and to

give them prompt and favorable consideration.

This legislation would help us to:

—Negotiate for a more open and equitable world trading system;

—Deal effectively with rapid increases in imports that disrupt domestic markets and displace American workers;

—Strengthen our ability to meet unfair competitive practices;

—Manage our trade policy more efficiently and use it more effectively to deal with special needs such as our balance of payments and inflation problems; and

—Take advantage of new trade opportunities while enhancing the contribution trade can make to the development of poorer countries.

STRENGTHENING THE STRUCTURE OF PEACE

The world is embarked today on a profound and historic movement away from confrontation and toward negotiation in resolving international differences. Increasingly in recent years, countries have come to see that the best way of advancing their own interests is by expanding peaceful contacts with other peoples. We have thus begun to erect a durable structure of peace in the world from which all nations can benefit and in which all nations have a stake.

This structure of peace cannot be strong, however, unless it encompasses international economic affairs. Our progress toward world peace and stability can be significantly undermined by economic conflicts which breed political tensions and weaken security ties. It is imperative, therefore, that we promptly turn our negotiating efforts to the task of resolving problems in the economic arena.

My trade reform proposals would equip us to meet this challenge. They would help us in creating a new economic order which both reflects and reinforces the progress we have made in political affairs. As I said to the Governors of the International Monetary Fund last September, our common goal should be to "set in place an economic structure that will help and not hinder the world's historic movement toward peace."

TOWARD A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

The principal institutions which now govern the world economy date from the close of World War II. At that time, the United States enjoyed a dominant position. Our industrial and agricultural systems had emerged from the war virtually intact. Our substantial reserves enabled us to finance a major share of international reconstruction. We gave generously of our resources and our leadership in helping the world economy get back on track.

The result has been a quarter century of remarkable economic achievement—and profound economic change. In place of a splintered and shattered Europe stands a new and vibrant European Community. In place of a prostrate Japan stands one of the free world's strongest economies. In all parts of the world new economic patterns have developed and new economic energies have been released.

These successes have now brought the world into a very different period. America is no longer the sole, dominating economic power. The new era is one of growing economic interdependence, shared economic leadership, and dramatic economic change.

These sweeping transformations, however, have not been matched by sufficient change in our trading and monetary systems. The approaches which served us so well in the years following World War II have now become outmoded; they are simply no longer equal to the challenges of our time.

The result has been a growing sense of strain and stress in the international economy and even a resurgence of economic isolationism as some have sought to insulate themselves from change. If we are to make our new economic era a time of progress and prosperity for all the world's peoples, we must resist the impulse to turn inward and instead do all we can to see that our international economic arrangements are substantially improved.

MOMENTUM FOR CHANGE

The United States has already taken a number of actions to help build a new international economic order and to advance our interests within it.

—Our New Economic Policy, announced on August 15, 1971, has helped to improve the performance of our domestic economy, reducing unemployment and inflation and thereby enhancing our competitive position.

—The realignment of currencies achieved under the Smithsonian Agreement of December 18, 1971, and by the adjustments of recent weeks have also made American goods more competitive with foreign products in markets at home and abroad.

—Building on the Smithsonian Agreement, we have advanced far-reaching proposals for lasting reform in the world's monetary system.

—We have concluded a trade agreement with the Soviet Union that promises to strengthen the fabric of prosperity and peace.

—Opportunities for mutually beneficial trade are developing with the People's Republic of China.

—We have opened negotiations with the enlarged European Community and several of the countries with which it has concluded special trading agreements concerning compensation due us as a result of their new arrangements.

But despite all these efforts, underlying problems remain. We need basic trade reform, and we need it now. Our efforts to improve the world's monetary system, for example, will never meet with lasting success unless basic improvements are also achieved in the field of international trade.

BUILDING A FAIR AND OPEN TRADING WORLD

A wide variety of barriers to trade still distort the world's economic relations, harming our own interests and those of other countries.

—Quantitative barriers hamper trade in many commodities, including some of our potentially most profitable exports.

—Agricultural barriers limit and distort trade in farm products, with special damage to the American economy because of our comparative advantage in the agricultural field.

—Preferential trading arrangements have spread to include most of Western Europe, Africa and other countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea.

—Non-tariff barriers have greatly proliferated as tariffs have declined.

These barriers to trade, in other countries and in ours, presently cost the United States several billion dollars a year in the form of higher consumer prices and the inefficient use of our resources. Even an economy as strong as ours can ill afford such losses.

Fortunately, our major trading partners have joined us in a commitment to broad, multilateral trade negotiations beginning this fall. These negotiations will provide a unique opportunity for reducing trading barriers and expanding world trade.

It is in the best interest of every nation to sell to others the goods it produces more efficiently and to purchase the goods which other nations produce more efficiently. If we can operate on this basis, then both the earnings of our workers and the buying power of our dollars can be significantly increased.

But while trade should be more open, it should also be more fair. This means, first, that the rules and practices of trade should be fair to all nations. Secondly, it means that the benefits of trade should be fairly distributed among American workers, farmers, businessmen and consumers alike and that trade should create no undue burdens for any of these groups.

I am confident that our free and vigorous American economy can more than hold its own in open world competition. But we must always insist that such competition take place under equitable rules.

THE URGENT NEED FOR ACTION

The key to success in our coming trade negotiations will be the negotiating authority the United States brings to the bargaining table. Unless our negotiators

can speak for this country with sufficient authority, other nations will undoubtedly be cautious and non-committal—and the opportunity for change will be lost.

We must move promptly to provide our negotiators with the authority their task requires. Delay can only aggravate the strains we have already experienced. Disruptions in world financial markets, deficits in our trading balance, inflation in the international marketplace, and tensions in the diplomatic arena all argue for prompt and decisive action. So does the plight of those American workers and businesses who are damaged by rapidly rising imports or whose products face barriers in foreign markets.

For all of these reasons, I urge the Congress to act on my recommendations as expeditiously as possible. We face pressing problems here and now. We cannot wait until tomorrow to solve them.

PROVIDING NEW NEGOTIATING AUTHORITIES

Negotiators from other countries will bring to the coming round of trade discussions broad authority to alter their barriers to trade. Such authority makes them more effective bargainers; without such authority the hands of any negotiator would be severely tied.

Unfortunately, the President of the United States and those who negotiate at his direction do not now possess authorities comparable to those which other countries will bring to these bargaining sessions. Unless these authorities are provided, we will be badly hampered in our efforts to advance American interests and improve our trading system.

My proposed legislation therefore calls

upon the Congress to delegate significant new negotiating authorities to the executive branch. For several decades now, both the Congress and the President have recognized that trade policy is one field in which such delegations are indispensable. This concept is clearly established; the questions which remain concern the degree of delegation which is appropriate and the conditions under which it should be carried out.

The legislation I submit today spells out only that degree of delegation which I believe is necessary and proper to advance the national interest. And just as we have consulted closely with the Congress in shaping this legislation, so the executive branch will consult closely with the Congress in exercising any negotiating authorities it receives. I invite the Congress to set up whatever mechanism it deems best for closer consultation and cooperation to ensure that its views are properly represented as trade negotiations go forward.

It is important that America speak authoritatively and with a single voice at the international bargaining table. But it is also important that many voices contribute as the American position is being shaped.

The proposed Trade Reform Act of 1973 would provide for the following new authorities:

First, I request authority to eliminate, reduce, or increase customs duties in the context of negotiated agreements. Although this authority is requested for a period of five years, it is my intention and my expectation that agreements can be concluded in a much shorter time. Last October, the member governments of the European Community expressed their

hope that the coming round of trade negotiations will be concluded by 1975. I endorse this timetable and our negotiators will cooperate fully in striving to meet it.

Secondly, I request a Congressional declaration favoring negotiations and agreements on non-tariff barriers. I am also asking that a new, optional procedure be created for obtaining the approval of the Congress for such agreements when that is appropriate. Currently both Houses of the Congress must take positive action before any such agreement requiring changes in domestic law becomes effective—a process which makes it difficult to achieve agreements since our trading partners know it is subject to much uncertainty and delay. Under the new arrangement, the President would give notice to the Congress of his intention to use the procedure at least 90 days in advance of concluding an agreement in order to provide time for appropriate House and Senate Committees to consider the issues involved and to make their views known. After an agreement was negotiated, the President would submit that agreement and proposed implementing orders to the Congress. If neither House rejected them by a majority vote of all members within a period of 90 days, the agreement and implementing orders would then enter into effect.

Thirdly, I request advance authority to carry out mutually beneficial agreements concerning specific customs matters primarily involving valuation and the marking of goods by country of origin.

The authorities I outline in my proposed legislation would give our negotiators the leverage and the flexibility they need to reduce or eliminate foreign barriers to American products. These

proposals would significantly strengthen America's bargaining position in the coming trade negotiations.

OBJECTIVES IN AGRICULTURAL TRADE

I am not requesting specific negotiating authority relating to agricultural trade. Barriers to such trade are either tariff or non-tariff in nature and can be dealt with under the general authorities I am requesting.

One of our major objectives in the coming negotiations is to provide for expansion in agricultural trade. The strength of American agriculture depends on the continued expansion of our world markets—especially for the major bulk commodities our farmers produce so efficiently. Even as we have been moving toward a great reliance on free market forces here at home under the Agricultural Act of 1970, so we seek to broaden the role of market forces on the international level by reducing and removing barriers to trade in farm products.

I am convinced that the concerns which all nations have for their farmers and consumers can be met most effectively if the market plays a far greater role in determining patterns of agricultural production and consumption. Movement in this direction can do much to help ensure adequate supplies of food and relieve pressure on consumer prices.

PROVIDING FOR IMPORT RELIEF

As other countries agree to reduce their trading barriers, we expect to reduce ours. The result will be expanding trade, creating more and better jobs for the American people and providing them with

greater access to a wider variety of products from other countries.

It is true, of course, that reducing import barriers has on some occasions led to sudden surges in imports which have had disruptive effects on the domestic economy. It is important to note, however, that most severe problems caused by surging imports have not been related to the reduction of import barriers. Steps toward a more open trading order generally have a favorable rather than an unfavorable impact on domestic jobs.

Nevertheless, damaging import surges, whatever their cause, should be a matter of great concern to our people and our Government. I believe we should have effective instruments readily available to help avoid serious injury from imports and give American industries and workers time to adjust to increased imports in an orderly way. My proposed legislation outlines new measures for achieving these goals.

To begin with, I recommend a less restrictive test for invoking import restraints. Today, restraints are authorized only when the Tariff Commission finds that imports are the "major cause" of serious injury or threat thereof to a domestic industry, meaning that their impact must be larger than that of all other causes combined. Under my proposal, restraints would be authorized when import competition was the "primary cause" of such injury, meaning that it must only be the largest single cause. In addition, the present requirement that injury must result from a previous tariff concession would be dropped.

I also recommended a new method for determining whether imports actually are the primary cause of serious injury to

domestic producers. Under my proposal, a finding of "market disruption" would constitute *prima facie* evidence of that fact. Market disruption would be defined as occurring when imports are substantial, are rising rapidly both absolutely and as a percentage of total domestic consumption, and are offered at prices substantially below those of competing domestic products.

My proposed legislation would give the President greater flexibility in providing appropriate relief from import problems—including orderly marketing agreements or higher tariffs or quotas. Restrictions could be imposed for an initial period of five years and, at the discretion of the President, could be extended for an additional period of two years. In exceptional cases, restrictions could be extended even further after a two-year period and following a new investigation by the Tariff Commission.

IMPROVING ADJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE

Our responsibilities for easing the problems of displaced workers are not limited to those whose unemployment can be traced to imports. All displaced workers are entitled to adequate assistance while they seek new employment. Only if all workers believe they are getting a fair break can our economy adjust effectively to change.

I will therefore propose in a separate message to the Congress new legislation to improve our systems of unemployment insurance and compensation. My proposals would set minimum Federal standards for benefit levels in State programs, ensuring that all workers covered by such programs are treated equitably, whatever the cause of their involuntary

unemployment. In the meantime, until these standards become effective, I am recommending as a part of my trade reform proposals that we immediately establish benefit levels which meet these proposed general standards for workers displaced because of imports.

I further propose that until the new standards for unemployment insurance are in place, we make assistance for workers more readily available by dropping the present requirement that their unemployment must have been caused by prior tariff concessions and that imports must have been the "major cause" of injury. Instead, such assistance would be authorized if the Secretary of Labor determined that unemployment was substantially due to import-related causes. Workers unemployed because of imports would also have job training, job search allowances, employment services and relocation assistance available to them as permanent features of trade adjustment assistance.

In addition, I will submit to the Congress comprehensive pension reform legislation which would help protect workers who lose their jobs against loss of pension benefits. This legislation will contain a mandatory vesting requirement which has been developed with older workers particularly in mind.

The proposed Trade Reform Act of 1973 would terminate the present program of adjustment assistance to individual firms. I recommend this action because I believe this program has been largely ineffective, discriminates among firms within a given industry and has needlessly subsidized some firms at the taxpayer's expense. Changing competitive conditions, after all, typically act not upon particular firms but upon an in-

dustry as a whole and I have provided for entire industries under my import relief proposals.

DEALING WITH UNFAIR TRADE PRACTICES

The President of the United States possesses a variety of authorities to deal with unfair trade practices. Many of these authorities must now be modernized if we are to respond effectively and even-handedly to unfair import competition at home and to practices which unfairly prejudice our export opportunities abroad.

To cope with unfair competitive practices in our own markets, my proposed legislation would amend our antidumping and countervailing duty laws to provide for more expeditious investigations and decisions. It would make a number of procedural and other changes in these laws to guarantee their effective operation. The bill would also amend the current statute concerning patent infringement by subjecting cases involving imports to judicial proceedings similar to those which involve domestic infringement, and by providing for fair processes and effective action in the event of court delays. I also propose that the Federal Trade Commission Act be amended to strengthen our ability to deal with foreign producers whose cartel or monopoly practices raise prices in our market or otherwise harm our interest by restraining trade.

In addition, I ask for a revision and extension of my authority to raise barriers against countries which unreasonably or unjustifiably restrict our exports. Existing law provides such authority only under a complex array of conditions which vary according to the practices or exports involved. My proposed bill would simplify the authority and its use. I would

prefer, of course, that other countries agree to remove such restrictions on their own, so that we should not have to use this authority. But I will consider using it whenever it becomes clear that our trading partners are unwilling to remove unreasonable or unjustifiable restrictions against our exports.

OTHER MAJOR PROVISIONS

Most-Favored-Nation Authority. My proposed legislation would grant the President authority to extend most-favored-nation treatment to any country when he deemed it in the national interest to do so. Under my proposal, however, any such extension to countries not now receiving most-favored-nation treatment could be vetoed by a majority vote of either the House or the Senate within a three-month period.

This new authority would enable us to carry out the trade agreement we have negotiated with the Soviet Union and thereby ensure that country's repayment of its lend-lease debt. It would also enable us to fulfill our commitment to Romania and to take advantage of opportunities to conclude beneficial agreements with other countries which do not now receive most-favored-nation treatment.

In the case of the Soviet Union, I recognize the deep concern which many in the Congress have expressed over the tax levied on Soviet citizens wishing to emigrate to new countries. However, I do not believe that a policy of denying most-favored-nation treatment to Soviet exports is a proper or even an effective way of dealing with this problem.

One of the most important elements of our trade agreement with the Soviet Union is the clause which calls upon each

party to reduce exports of products which cause market disruptions in the other country. While I have no reason to doubt that the Soviet Union will meet its obligations under this clause if the need arises, we should still have authority to take unilateral action to prevent disruption if such action is warranted.

Because of the special way in which state-trading countries market their products abroad, I would recommend two modifications in the way we take such action. First, the Tariff Commission should only have to find "material injury" rather than "serious injury" from imports in order to impose appropriate restraints. Secondly, such restraints should apply only to exports from the offending country. These recommendations can simplify our laws relating to dumping actions by state-trading countries, eliminating the difficult and time-consuming problems associated with trying to reach a constructed value for their exports.

Balance of Payments Authority. Though it should only be used in exceptional circumstances, trade policy can sometimes be an effective supplementary tool for dealing with our international payments imbalances. I therefore request more flexible authority to raise or lower import restrictions on a temporary basis to help correct deficits or surpluses in our payments position. Such restraints could be applied to imports from all countries across the board or only to those countries which fail to correct a persistent and excessive surplus in their global payments position.

Anti-Inflation Authority. My trade recommendations also include a proposal I made on March 30th as a part of this Administration's effort to curb the rising cost of living. I asked the Congress at that

time to give the President new, permanent authority to reduce certain import barriers temporarily and to a limited extent when he determined that such action was necessary to relieve inflationary pressures within the United States. I again urge prompt approval for this important weapon in our war against inflation.

Generalized Tariff Preferences. Another significant provision of my proposed bill would permit the United States to join with other developed countries, including Japan and the members of the European Community, in helping to improve the access of poorer nations to the markets of developed countries. Under this arrangement, certain products of developing nations would benefit from preferential treatment for a ten-year period, creating new export opportunities for such countries, raising their foreign exchange earnings, and permitting them to finance those higher levels of imports that are essential for more rapid economic growth.

This legislation would allow duty-free treatment for a broad range of manufactured and semi-manufactured products and for a selected list of agricultural and primary products which are now regulated only by tariffs. It is our intention to exclude certain import-sensitive products such as textile products, footwear, watches and certain steel products from such preferential treatment, along with products which are now subject to outstanding orders restricting imports. As is the case for the multilateral negotiations authority, public hearing procedures would be held before such preferences were granted and preferential imports would be subject to the import relief provisions which I have recommended above. Once a particular product from a given country became fully competitive, however, it would

no longer qualify for special treatment.

The United States would grant such tariff preferences on the basis of international fair play. We would take into account the actions of other preference-granting countries and we would not grant preferences to countries which discriminate against our products in favor of goods from other industrialized nations unless those countries agreed to end such discrimination.

Permanent Management Authorities. To permit more efficient and more flexible management of American trade policy, I request permanent authority to make limited reductions in our tariffs as a form of compensation to other countries. Such compensation could be necessary in cases where we have raised certain barriers under the new import restraints discussed above and would provide an alternative in such cases to increased barriers against our exports.

I also request permanent authority to offer reductions in particular United States barriers as a means of obtaining significant advantages for American exports. These reductions would be strictly limited; they would involve tariff cuts of no more than 20 percent covering no more than two percent of total United States imports in any one year.

REFORMING INTERNATIONAL TRADING RULES

The coming multilateral trade negotiations will give us an excellent opportunity to reform and update the rules of international trade. There are several areas where we will seek such changes.

One important need concerns the use of trade policy in promoting equilibrium in the international payments system. We

will seek rule changes to permit nations, in those exceptional cases where such measures are necessary, to increase or decrease trade barriers across the board as one means of helping to correct their payments imbalances. We will also seek a new rule allowing nations to impose import restrictions against individual countries which fail to take effective action to correct an excessive surplus in their balance of payments. This rule would parallel the authority I have requested to use American import restrictions to meet our own balance of payments problem.

A second area of concern is the need for a multilateral system for limiting imports to protect against disruptions caused by rapidly changing patterns of international trade. As I emphasized earlier, we need a more effective domestic procedure to meet such problems. But it is also important that new arrangements be developed at the international level to cope with disruptions caused by the accelerating pace of change in world trade.

We will therefore seek new international rules which would allow countries to gain time for adjustment by imposing import restrictions, without having to compensate their trading partners by simultaneously reducing barriers to other products. At the same time, the interests of exporting countries should be protected by providing that such safeguards will be phased out over a reasonable period of time.

PROMOTING EXPORT EXPANSION

As trade barriers are reduced around the world, American exports will increase substantially, enhancing the health of our entire economy.

Already our efforts to expand American

exports have moved forward on many fronts. We have made our exports more competitive by realigning exchange rates. Since 1971, our new law permitting the establishment of Domestic International Sales Corporations has been helping American companies organize their export activities more effectively. The lending, guaranty and insurance authorities of the Export-Import Bank have been increased and operations have been extended to include a short-term discount loan facility. The Department of Commerce has reorganized its facilities for promoting exports and has expanded its services for exporters. The Department of State, in cooperation with the Department of Commerce, is giving increased emphasis to commercial service programs in our missions abroad.

In addition, I am today submitting separate legislation which would amend the Export Trade Act in order to clarify the legal framework in which associations of exporters can function. One amendment would make it clear that the act applies not only to the export of goods but also to certain kinds of services—architecture, construction, engineering, training and management consulting, for example. Another amendment would clarify the exemption of export associations from our domestic antitrust laws, while setting up clear information, disclosure and regulatory requirements to ensure that the public interest is fully protected.

In an era when more countries are seeking foreign contracts for entire industrial projects—including steps ranging from engineering studies through the supply of equipment and the construction of plants—it is essential that our laws concerning joint export activities allow us to meet our foreign competition on a fair and equal basis.

THE GROWTH OF INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT

The rapid growth of international investment in recent years has raised new questions and new challenges for businesses and governments. In our own country, for example, some people have feared that American investment abroad will result in a loss of American jobs. Our studies show, however, that such investment on balance has meant more and better jobs for American workers, has improved our balance of trade and our overall balance of payments, and has generally strengthened our economy. Moreover, I strongly believe that an open system for international investment, one which eliminates artificial incentives or impediments here and abroad, offers great promise for improved prosperity throughout the world.

It may well be that new rules and new mechanisms will be needed for international investment activities. It will take time, however, to develop them. And it is important that they be developed as much as possible on an international scale. If we restrict the ability of American firms to take advantage of investment opportunities abroad, we can only expect that foreign firms will seize these opportunities and prosper at our expense.

I therefore urge the Congress to refrain from enacting broad new changes in our laws governing direct foreign investment until we see what possibilities for multilateral agreements emerge.

It is in this context that we must also shape our system for taxing the foreign profits of American business. Our existing system permits American-controlled businesses in foreign countries to operate under the same tax burdens which apply to its foreign competitors in that country.

I believe that system is fundamentally sound. We should not penalize American business by placing it at a disadvantage with respect to its foreign competitors.

American enterprises abroad now pay substantial foreign income taxes. In most cases, in fact, Americans do not invest abroad because of an attractive tax situation but because of attractive business opportunities. Our income taxes are not the cause of our trade problems and tax changes will not solve them.

The Congress exhaustively reviewed this entire matter in 1962 and the conclusion it reached then is still fundamentally sound: there is no reason that our tax credit and deferral provisions relating to overseas investment should be subjected to drastic surgery.

On the other hand, ten years of experience have demonstrated that in certain specialized cases American investment abroad can be subject to abuse. Some artificial incentives for such investment still exist, distorting the flow of capital and producing unnecessary hardship. In those cases where unusual tax advantages are offered to induce investment that might not otherwise occur, we should move to eliminate that inducement.

A number of foreign countries presently grant major tax inducements such as extended "holidays" from local taxes in order to attract investment from outside their borders. To curb such practices, I will ask the Congress to amend our tax laws so that earnings from new American investments which take advantage of such incentives will be taxed by the United States at the time they are earned—even though the earnings are not returned to this country. The only exception to this provision would come in cases where a

bilateral tax treaty provided for such an exception under mutually advantageous conditions.

American companies sometimes make foreign investments specifically for the purpose of re-exporting products to the United States. This is the classic "runaway plant" situation. In cases where foreign subsidiaries of American companies have receipts from exports to the United States which exceed 25 percent of the subsidiaries' total receipts, I recommend that the earnings of those subsidiaries also be taxed at current American rates. This new rule would only apply, however, to new investments and to situations where lower taxes in the foreign country are a factor in the decision to invest. The rule would also provide for exceptions in those unusual cases where our national interest required a different result.

There are other situations in which American companies so design their foreign operations that the United States treasury bears the burden when they lose money and deduct it from their taxes. Yet when that same company makes money, a foreign treasury receives the benefit of taxes on its profits. I will ask the Congress to make appropriate changes in the rules which now allow this inequity to occur.

We have also found that taxing of mineral imports by United States companies from their foreign affiliates is subject to lengthy delays. I am therefore instructing the Department of the Treasury, in consultation with the Department of Justice and the companies concerned, to institute a procedure for determining inter-company prices and tax payments in advance. If a compliance program cannot be developed voluntarily, I shall ask for legislative authority to create one.

THE CHALLENGE OF CHANGE

Over the past year, this Administration has repeatedly emphasized the importance of bringing about a more equitable and open world trading system. We have encouraged other nations to join in negotiations to achieve this goal. The declaration of European leaders at their summit meeting last October demonstrates their dedication to the success of this effort. Japan, Canada and other nations share this dedication.

The momentum is there. Now we—in this country—must seize the moment if that momentum is to be sustained.

When the history of our time is written, this era will surely be described as one of profound change. That change has been particularly dramatic in the international economic arena.

The magnitude and pace of economic change confronts us today with policy questions of immense and immediate significance. Change can mean increased disruption and suffering, or it can mean increased well-being. It can bring new forms of deprivation and discrimination, or it can bring wider sharing of the benefits of progress. It can mean conflict be-

tween men and nations, or it can mean growing opportunities for fair and peaceful competition in which all parties can ultimately gain.

My proposed Trade Reform Act of 1973 is designed to ensure that the inevitable changes of our time are beneficial changes—for our people and for people everywhere.

I urge the Congress to enact these proposals, so that we can help move our country and our world away from trade confrontation and toward trade negotiation, away from a period in which trade has been a source of international and domestic friction and into a new era in which trade among nations helps us to build a peaceful, more prosperous world.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

April 10, 1973.

NOTE: On the same day, the President met with the bipartisan leadership of the Congress to discuss the message.

The White House also released a fact sheet on the proposed trade reform legislation and the transcript of a news briefing on the message by George P. Shultz, Secretary of the Treasury, and Peter M. Flanigan, Assistant to the President and Executive Director of the Council on International Economic Policy.

113 Statement About House Action Sustaining the Veto of the Rural Water and Sewer Grant Program Bill.

April 10, 1973

IN SUSTAINING my veto of H.R. 3298, the rural water and sewer program, the House of Representatives has convincingly demonstrated that it, too, has the courage and determination to take a firm stand in favor of the American consumer and taxpayer. This is responsive government at its very best.

The 189 Members of the House who voted to sustain my veto today have now joined the 36 Senators who voted last week to sustain my first veto of the year to prove that working together, we can hold the line against wasteful, inflationary Federal spending.

On behalf of the American people, I

want to express my gratitude to all of these dedicated public servants who have taken such a responsible stand on these two crucial votes. Ahead lie further tests which will demand from us the same measure of courage and cooperation. I urge all Members of the Congress to stay

the course with me in keeping a tight rein on the Federal budget.

NOTE: On April 9, 1973, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz on his announcement concerning the availability of Federal loans for rural sewer facilities, and other domestic matters.

114 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore. April 10, 1973

Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Vice President, ladies and gentlemen:

We have welcomed many very distinguished guests in this room, and I would say that none is more deserving of our respect and of being honored, as we honor him tonight, than the Prime Minister and, I may say, his wife.

I recall the occasions that we have met previously in his country and also here, and I recall also the enormous impression that the Prime Minister has made on various emissaries from the United States who have visited his country. The Vice President and Mrs. Agnew have had the opportunity to visit Singapore, Secretary Rogers and Mrs. Rogers. I have not, since coming into this office.

I think perhaps the best summary of the attitude of all of those who have visited Singapore during the past 3 to 4 years, since I have been having rather regular reports on the situation, was when Secretary Connally returned from his trip around the world when he was Secretary of the Treasury. He came into my office and said, "Singapore is the best run country in the world." And here is the man who runs it.

I would add to that, however, by saying that the best run country in the world could mean a country that was run very

well without freedom, because I suppose that if you look at countries around the world, those that have the least obvious problems are those that have no freedom, and therefore, it would be the best run.

And the Prime Minister tonight deserves our honor and our respect, because in this relatively new country with a very old history and a very able people, he has been able to run it well, but run it with respect for the great traditions of freedom which our two countries both adhere to, and for this, we all, of course, hold him in very high regard.

On the two previous occasions he has been here since I have been in this office, he came alone, and, consequently, on one occasion we had a stag dinner. This time, fortunately, he brought Mrs. Lee with him. Now, I had read something about their courtship. I knew that, like Secretary Rogers and Mrs. Rogers, they had gone to school together, they had both graduated from law school in the same class, and so tonight, very early in the evening, when you saw me turning to Mrs. Lee, I said, "Mrs. Lee, tell me, is it true that you were number one in the class at Cambridge Law School and your husband was number two?" And she said, "Mr. President, do you think he would have married me if that were the case?"

But I probed further, and I found that, as a matter of fact, Mrs. Lee, our distinguished guest, did receive a first at Cambridge Law School. Her husband did also, but like a very loyal wife, she said, "He had a first with a star after his name, and that is something very special."

But the purpose of that is simply to say that we are very happy here to welcome our distinguished guests because of their personal qualities, because of their great ability, and because of the leadership they have given to their own country.

I would only add this: In the talks that I have had with the Prime Minister, in 1967 when we first met—at a time that neither he nor I had any idea that we would be meeting again today in this place—but in any event, in 1967 when we first met, on the other two occasions, what has impressed me enormously has been his profound understanding, not just of his own country and not just of Southeast Asia, of which his own country is a very important part, but of the entire world scene. In other words, we honor tonight and we welcome here a world statesman of the first rank, who has contributed, with his intelligence, with his understanding, to all of us, in helping us to develop the kinds of policies that will maintain a world in which freedom can survive for larger countries like the United States and for smaller countries like Singapore.

There is no more articulate and intelligent spokesman for what I would call free societies in the world than the Prime Minister of Singapore, and for that reason I know all of you will want to join me in raising your glasses to Prime Minister Lee.

Prime Minister Lee.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Earlier in the day, the President met with Prime Minister Lee at the White House.

Prime Minister Lee responded to the President's toast as follows:

Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, ladies and gentlemen:

It is always a mild embarrassment when I receive such lavish praise. They say I run Singapore well. Well, it makes me worried because I am away so long and it is still running. It disproves the thesis that I am the man that makes it run.

It is a great pleasure and a privilege, as you have mentioned, Mr. President, to have shared several occasions we have had together, particularly that memorable one when you were just an American citizen and not the President of the United States.

My wife and I would like to thank Mrs. Nixon and you for the great warmth and friendship with which we are being received and for this dinner which you have arranged in our honor.

Perhaps it may be appropriate if I were to mention that when you were just an American citizen, we could speak more candidly, even brusquely, and now the courtesies of office sometimes have to muffle some of the rougher edges.

But few, I think, could have dared to predict the tenacity with which you pursued your declared policies of negotiations with the great Communist powers instead of confrontation. Even fewer would have dared predict the hopeful results that have emerged. But none could have dared to hope that even once you carried on these negotiations with both Peking and Moscow, you steadily, systematically, disengaged American troops from Vietnam in such an orderly fashion that, instead of a rout which so many people predicted would happen when there were too few to defend themselves, they ceremoniously furled up their flags and departed, leaving not chaos out of which a revolutionary movement would have seized power, but the South Vietnamese Government very much in charge.

As one who has not been in America in recent months, I had expected to meet a President of the United States who had become remote and a recluse. [*Laughter*] I must say I was greatly relieved to find that I did not have such a forbidding figure to meet.

Well, it was Southeast Asia's good fortune that there was a President in America who considered it his primary purpose to discharge his onerous responsibilities to America and to the world, and this fortune could be turned to permanent gains if, after the thumping majority that you obtained last November, Mr. President, you could complete your second term, complete the hopeful beginnings that you initiated in your first.

In the last few days in this country, I have discovered that any statement, any argument, however dispassionate, however blandly couched, which can be faintly directly or indirectly construed as in support of or in sympathy with any of the hopes, policies, or aspirations of this Administration finds very scant space in the mass media. [Laughter] So I was sorely tempted to couch my arguments in querulous, tendentious terms in order to get that scant space.

But perhaps there is more benefit in following your example, Mr. President, of the detached—the cultivated detachment of mind which enables you to pursue what is right in the long run, never mind what it is in the short run, whether it wins rapturous applause or otherwise.

I was privileged this morning to hear your frank overview of America's position vis-a-vis Asia, not just Southeast Asia, and placed in the context of the whole world, a global perspective. You were kind enough to make a reference to my outlook on these matters. Well, I have to.

We are a very small country placed strategically at the southernmost tip of Asia, and

when the elephants are on the rampage, if you are a mouse there and you don't know the habits of the elephants, it can be a very painful business.

I was encouraged that you believed that this new balance, new world order in which there is greater peace, greater prosperity, could be achieved not by America in isolation but with the participation of America's allies, in particular Western Europe and Japan, and of course, particularly that there should be fairer and more equal terms of trade.

Now, if this negotiating package can be settled, and if that can be matched in negotiations with both the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China for a steady and a stable, continuing détente, then peace and prosperity without war is not just an American dream but a world vision of the future, reassuring for all mankind who have to live in this ever smaller, more interrelated, and more interdependent world.

I believe I now understand you better, what you meant when you stated over television, if I may paraphrase you, that you had to have a strong America if you were going to get concessions, for only a strong America can make concessions in return.

May I express this hope: that in your second term you will be able to complete the new chapter which you have started in your first term through the policies which you initiated with such great promise.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, may I ask you to drink with me to the health of the President of the United States.

Mr. President.

115 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Pension Reform Legislation. April 11, 1973

To the Congress of the United States:

A dynamic economic system in a democracy must not only provide plentiful jobs, good working conditions, and a decent living wage for the people it employs; it should also help working men and women to set aside enough of the earnings of their most productive years to assure them of a

secure and comfortable income in their retirement years.

This fundamental concept of prudent savings for retirement came under direct public sponsorship in the United States more than a generation ago, with the establishment of the Social Security System. Today, Social Security is the largest

system of its kind in the world, and one of the most effective and progressive. Numerous significant improvements have been made in it during the past four years by this Administration in cooperation with the Congress.

In addition, public policy has long given active encouragement to the growth of a second form of retirement income: private pensions which are tailored to the needs of particular groups of workers and help to supplement the Social Security floor. Private pension plans now cover over 30 million workers and pay benefits to another 6 million retired persons.

But there is still room for substantial improvement in Federal laws dealing with private retirement savings. Those workers who are covered by pension plans—about half the total private work force—presently lack certain important types of Government protection and support. The other half of the labor force, those who are not participants in private plans, are not receiving sufficient encouragement from the Government to save for retirement themselves. Self-reliance, prudence, and independence—basic strengths of our system which are reinforced by private retirement savings and which government should seek to foster—are in too many cases not supported, and sometimes actually discouraged, by present practices and regulations.

Sixteen months ago I asked the Congress to enact pension reform legislation to remedy these deficiencies. Since then committees of both the House and the Senate have held useful hearings on reform, and the issue has received wide public discussion. The Administration has also completed studies on some additional facets of the pension question, and we have refined our proposals.

I believe that the time is now ripe for action on those proposals. They will be re-submitted within several days, in the form of two bills, the Retirement Benefits Tax Act and the Employee Benefits Protection Act. This message outlines the specific reforms contained in the legislation.

THE RETIREMENT BENEFITS TAX ACT

If working men and women are to have a genuine incentive to set aside some of their earnings today for a more secure retirement tomorrow, they need solid assurances that such savings will not be erased late in their career by the loss of a job, wiped out by insufficient financing of promised benefits, nor penalized by the tax laws. To this end, the Retirement Benefits Tax Act would embody the following five major principles:

1. *A minimum standard should be established in law for preserving the retirement rights of employees who leave their jobs before retirement.*

Protection of retirement rights, which is essential to a growing and healthy pension system, is ordinarily defined in terms of “vesting.” A pension vests when an employee becomes legally entitled upon retirement to the benefits he has earned up to a certain date, regardless of whether he leaves or loses his job before retirement.

Despite some recent movement toward earlier vesting, many private plans still carry overly restrictive requirements for age or length of service or participation before vesting occurs. Thus, the pensions of more than two-thirds of all full-time workers participating in private pension plans are not now vested. All too frequently, the worker who resigns or is discharged late in his career finds that the retirement income on which he has been

counting heavily has not vested and hence is not due him.

The legislation this Administration is proposing would meet this problem by requiring that pensions become vested at an appropriate specified point in a worker's career. That point should not be set too early: if a great many younger, short-term workers acquired vested rights, pension plans would be burdened with considerable extra costs and the level of benefits for retiring workers could be reduced. But neither should too long a wait be required before vesting begins, since many older workers would then receive little if any assistance. To strike the right balance, I urge the Congress to adopt a "Rule of 50" vesting formula, which is moderate in cost and works well to protect older workers.

Under this standard, all pension benefits which have been earned would be considered half vested when an employee's age plus the number of years he has participated in the pension plan equals 50. From this half-vested starting point, an additional ten percent of all of the benefits earned would be vested each year, so that the pension would be fully vested five years later.

For example, someone joining a plan at age 30 would find that his pension would become 50 percent vested at age 40—when his years of participation (10) plus his age (40) would equal 50. Similarly, the pension of an employee joining a plan at age 40 would become 50 percent vested at age 45, and that of an employee joining a plan at age 50 would begin to vest immediately. And in each case, the degree of vesting would increase from 50 percent to 100 percent over the subsequent five-year period of the worker's continued employment.

So that this formula would not discourage employers from hiring older workers, who would have an advantage of more rapid vesting, the legislation would permit a waiting period of up to three years before a new employee must be allowed to join a pension plan, and it would also permit employees hired within five years of normal retirement age to be excluded from participation in a plan.

Under the "Rule of 50," the proportion of full-time workers in private retirement plans with vested pension benefits would increase from 32 percent to 61 percent. Among participants age 40 and older the percentage with vested pension benefits would rise from 40 percent to about 90 percent.

To avoid excessive pension cost increases which might lead to reduction of benefits, this new law would apply only to benefits earned after the bill becomes effective, although the number of years a worker participated in a pension plan prior to enactment would count toward meeting the vesting standard. The average cost increase for plans which now have no vesting provision would be about 1.9 cents per hour for each covered employee; for plans that now provide some vesting it would be even less.

2. Employees expecting retirement benefits under employer-financed defined-benefit pension plans should have the security of knowing that their vested benefits are being adequately funded.

Perhaps the most fundamental aspect of any pension plan is the assurance that when retirement age arrives, pension benefits will be paid out according to the terms of the plan. To give this assurance, it is essential that when an employer makes pension promises he begin putting away the money that will eventually be

needed to keep them. Yet Federal regulations at present are lenient on this point, requiring that only a small portion of pension liabilities be put aside or "funded" each year.

My retirement savings proposal would augment this minimal protection with an additional requirement calling for at least 5 percent of the unfunded, vested liabilities in a pension plan to be funded annually. Over time, this rate of funding would build up substantial assets for the payment of pension benefits. It would make the average employee or retiree less dependent for his pension upon the survival of a former employer's business.

By requiring employers to be more forehanded and systematic in preparing to meet their pension obligations, this reform should help to reduce the frequency and magnitude of benefit losses when pension plans terminate. Even now the termination problem is not a major one: a study conducted at my direction last year by the Departments of Labor and the Treasury found that about 3100 retired, retirement-eligible, and vested workers lost pension benefits through terminations in the first 7 months of 1972, with losses totalling some \$10 million. To put them in perspective, these losses should be compared with the more than \$10 billion in benefits paid annually.

I also recognize, however, that these pension termination losses did work very real injustices and hardships on the individual workers affected, and on their families. Though the stricter funding requirements we are proposing will help to minimize these benefit losses, it has also been suggested that a Government-sponsored termination insurance program should be established to see that no work-

ers or retirees whatever suffer termination losses.

After giving this idea thorough consideration, I am not recommending it at this time. No insurance plan has yet been devised which is neither on the one hand so permissive as to make the Government liable for any agreement reached between employees and employers, nor on the other hand so intrusive as to entail Government regulation of business practices and collective bargaining on a scale out of keeping with our free enterprise system. With new support from the funding standard I am requesting, the private sector will be in a better position than the Federal Government to devise protection against the small remaining termination loss problem, and I encourage employers, unions, and private insurance companies to take up this challenge.

3. Employees who wish to save independently for their retirement or to supplement employer-financed pensions should be allowed to deduct on their income tax returns amounts set aside for these purposes.

Under present law, neither an employer's contribution to a qualified private retirement plan on behalf of his employees, nor the investment earnings on those contributions, are generally subject to taxes until benefits are paid to the retired worker or his family. When an employee contributes to a group plan, the tax liability on investment earnings is similarly deferred—though in this case the contribution itself is taxable when initially received as salary. By contrast, a worker investing in a retirement savings program of his own is actually subject year by year to a double tax blow. He is taxed both on the savings contributions

themselves as part of his pay and on the investment income his savings earn.

Employees who want to establish their own retirement plan or to augment an employer-financed plan should be offered a tax incentive comparable to that now given those in group plans. Accordingly, I am proposing that an individual's contributions to a retirement savings program be made tax-deductible up to the level of \$1,500 per year or 20 percent of earned income, whichever is less, and that the earnings from investments up to this limit also be tax-exempt until received as retirement income. Individuals could retain the power to control the investment of these funds, channeling them into qualified bank accounts, mutual funds, annuity or insurance programs, government bonds, or other investments as they desire.

The maximum deduction of \$1,500 would direct benefits primarily to employees with low and moderate incomes, while preserving an incentive to establish employer-financed plans. The limit is nevertheless sufficiently high to permit older employees to finance a substantial retirement income—a consideration which is of special importance to the 9 million full-time workers in this country who are between 40 and 60 years old and are not participating in private pension plans.

The \$1,500 ceiling should be more than adequate for most workers. Supposing for example that a worker in that situation was to start an independent plan at age 40, tax-free contributions of \$1,500 a year from then on would be sufficient to provide him an annual pension of \$7,500, over and above his basic Social Security benefits, beginning at age 65.

The tax deduction I am proposing would also be available to those already covered by employer-financed plans, but in this case the \$1,500 maximum would be reduced to reflect pension plan contributions made by the employer.

4. *Self-employed persons who invest in pension plans for themselves and their employees should be given a more generous tax deduction than they now receive.*

At present, self-employed people who establish pension plans for themselves and their employees are subjected to certain tax limitations which are not imposed on corporations. Pension contributions by the self-employed are tax-deductible only up to the lesser of \$2,500 or 10 percent of earned income. There are no such limits to contributions made by corporations on behalf of their employees.

This distinction in treatment is not based on any difference in reality, since unincorporated entities and corporations often engage in substantially the same economic activities. Its chief practical effect has been to deny to the employees of self-employed persons who do not wish to incorporate benefits which are comparable to those of corporate employees. It has also led to otherwise unnecessary incorporation by persons solely for the purpose of obtaining tax benefits.

To achieve greater equity, I propose that the annual limit for deductible contributions by the self-employed be raised to \$7,500 or 15 percent of earned income, whichever is less. This provision would enable the self-employed to provide more adequate benefits for themselves and for their workers, without causing excessive revenue losses.

5. *Workers who receive lump-sum payments from pension plans when they*

leave a job before retirement should be able to defer taxes on those payments until retirement.

In order to avoid the problems of administering funds for the benefit of a former employee, an employer will sometimes give a departing employee a lump-sum payment representing all his retirement benefits. Present law requires that the employee pay income tax on that payment even if he intends to put it aside for his retirement. A worker who remains with one employer pays no such tax. This discrimination should be corrected.

The legislation we are proposing would amend the tax law to permit the worker who receives a lump-sum payment of retirement benefits before he retires to put the money into another qualified retirement savings program—either in his own or an employer-sponsored plan—without having to pay a tax on it, or on the interest it earns, until he draws benefits upon retirement.

THE EMPLOYEE BENEFITS PROTECTION ACT

An important companion to the five-point reform contained in the Retirement Benefits Tax Act is our proposed legislation to make the Federal Government a tougher watchdog over the administration of the more than \$160 billion in private pension and welfare funds benefiting American workers.

Submitted by this Administration more than 3 years ago, this needed reform languished in both the 91st and 92nd Congresses. Each month that it has sat unenacted, the small minority of employee benefit fund officials who are careless or unscrupulous have been permitted to deny hard-working men and women part

of their benefits. That is why we are today proposing to the 93rd Congress a strengthened and improved Employee Benefits Protection Act, with an urgent request for prompt action.

Control of pension and welfare funds is shared by employers, unions, banks, insurance companies, and many others. Most pension plans are carefully managed by responsible people, but too many workers have too much at stake for the Government simply to assume that all fund management will automatically meet a high fiduciary standard.

Accordingly, the bill we are proposing would establish for the first time an explicit Federal requirement that persons who control employee benefit funds must deal with those funds exclusively in the interest of the employee participants and their beneficiaries. Certain corrupt practices such as embezzlement and kickbacks in connection with welfare and pension funds are already Federal crimes, but many other types of activity which clearly breach principles of fiduciary conduct are overlooked by present statutes. My proposal would plug these holes in the law to give workers a more solid defense against mishandling of funds.

Present reporting and disclosure requirements would also be broadened to require of benefit plan administrators a detailed accounting of their stewardship similar to that rendered by mutual funds, banks, and insurance companies.

To back up these changes, the new law would give additional investigative and enforcement powers to the Secretary of Labor, and would permit pension fund participants and beneficiaries to seek remedies for breach of fiduciary duty through class action suits.

Finally, the Employee Benefits Protec-

tion Act would foster the development of uniform Federal laws in employee benefits protection, complementing but in no way interfering with State laws that regulate banking, insurance, and securities.

BRIGHTENING THE RETIREMENT PICTURE

By moving rapidly to enact the pension incentive and protection package I am recommending today, this Congress has the opportunity to make 1973 a year of historic progress in brightening the retirement picture for America's working men and women.

Under the reforms we seek, every participant in a private retirement savings plan could have a better opportunity to earn a pension and greater confidence in actually receiving that pension upon retirement. Those who are not members of an employer pension plan or who have only limited benefits in such a plan would be encouraged to obtain individual coverage on their own. The self-employed would have an incentive to arrange more adequate coverage for themselves and their employees. And all participants could have well-deserved peace of mind in the knowledge that their welfare and pension funds were being administered under

the strictest fiduciary standards.

The achievements of our private welfare and retirement plans have contributed much to the economic security of the Nation's workers. They are a tribute to the cooperation and creativity of American labor and management. We can be proud of the system that provides them—but we must also be alert to the Government's responsibility for fostering conditions which will permit that system's further development.

I urged at the outset of my second term that in shaping public policy we should "measure what we will do for others by what they will do for themselves." By this standard, few groups in this country are more deserving than the millions of working men and women who are prudently saving today so that they can be proudly self-reliant tomorrow. I urge the Congress to help these citizens help themselves by going forward with pension reform.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

April 11, 1973.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the proposed pension reform program and the transcript of a news briefing on the message by Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz.

116 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Convention for the Protection of Producers of Phonograms.

April 11, 1973

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Convention for the Protection of Producers of Phonograms Against Unauthorized Duplication of

Their Phonograms done at Geneva October 29, 1971. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report from the Department of State with respect to the Convention.

The present Convention is designed to

deal with the worldwide problem of unauthorized duplication of phonograms (i.e., records and tapes). The problem is urgent and growing. The value of pirated records and tapes in the United States alone has been estimated at one hundred million dollars. Protection against this illicit practice is needed to encourage the creative contributions of those who produce phonograms, the performing artists and the authors whose talents give phonograms their value.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Convention submitted herewith and give its advice and consent to its ratification.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
April 11, 1973

NOTE: The text of the convention and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive G (93d Cong., 1st sess.).

117 Remarks on Presenting the American Cancer Society's Courage Award to Jack Pardee. April 11, 1973

Ladies and gentlemen:

This is an annual responsibility that I have and a very great honor, and that is to present the American Cancer Society Award to a very outstanding individual. It seems that each year we have topped the one from last year, and all of you are aware of my great admiration for people who are successful in any area and particularly those who are successful in the area of sports.

Those of us here in Washington have admired Jack Pardee for his being a great athlete, for his being beyond that a great leader of men, an inspirational leader. When we think of Washington next year, I just wonder what that defense will be without Jack Pardee calling the signals, not just his tackles but what he inspired others to do. He will be there certainly in an inspirational coaching way, I hope, or in some capacity. I have been trying to get him to change his mind and play. No one can handle them better than you can.

But I think all of us, most Americans,

would be surprised, unless they followed sports closely, to know that Jack Pardee once suffered from a very, very serious form of cancer, skin cancer. He went through an 11-hour operation. And there was a serious doubt as to whether he first might get well, but of course, it was an almost inescapable conclusion that he would never play football again.

He got well, and he demonstrated, not only to the city of Washington but to the National Football Conference and all the world, that he was a great athlete and a great man during this last season.

And Jack, your example is certainly an inspiration to all of us, everybody who works in this field. It will be to those who have to go through the tragic problems of cancer, for their families, as your family had to go through, and I don't think the American Cancer Society could have made a better choice.

I will read the citation:

"The American Cancer Society salutes a courageous man and a remarkable athlete, Jack Pardee, for his heroism in a per-

sonal triumph over cancer; and for the hope and inspiration he has given to his fellow Americans in their fight for life and health.”

MR. PARDEE. As a team the American Cancer Society couldn't have a better captain than you are and the leadership you have shown to us in instigating legis-

lation to help all of us, and we appreciate that.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:07 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

Jack Pardee, a linebacker for the Washington Redskins professional football team, was honorary chairman of the District of Columbia Cancer Crusade.

118 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Job Security Assistance Legislation. April 12, 1973

To the Congress of the United States:

Difficult as it may be to live by the old saw, a sunny day remains the best time to fix a leaky roof. That is why today—with civilian employment in the American economy at an all-time record high of 83.9 million workers, with a solid business expansion continuing, and with the rate of unemployment down to 5 percent and likely to decline still further this year—I am requesting prompt action by the Congress on several reforms in our unemployment insurance system.

The principles behind my proposals were originally advanced as part of my unemployment insurance package almost four years ago. Most of that package became law in August, 1970, when I signed the far-reaching Employment Security Amendments of 1970. At that time coverage was extended to some 6 million jobs which had never before been eligible for unemployment insurance; a much-needed provision for extended benefits triggered automatically at high unemployment levels was added to the system; and basic financial and administrative improvements were effected. In all, these were the most significant improvements ever made in our system of assistance for persons be-

tween jobs since that system was established in 1935.

Left unfulfilled in the 1970 legislation, however, were several important objectives on this Administration's agenda for working Americans. The Job Security Assistance Act of 1973, which we are proposing to the Congress today would meet those objectives by making three major changes in our unemployment insurance system:

—First, it would establish minimum benefit standards for the States, providing an adequate level of benefits to all workers who are covered by the system.

—It would also extend coverage for the first time to most farm employees.

—Finally, it would set up strong safeguards to preserve the neutrality of the unemployment insurance system during industrial disputes.

GUARANTEEING AN ADEQUATE LEVEL OF BENEFITS

A properly designed system of unemployment insurance should serve a dual purpose—both helping to tide individual workers financially over the periods when they are without a job, and stabilizing the

economy as a whole by helping make up for wage losses which would otherwise cut consumer purchasing power and accelerate business downturns.

But effective performance of both of these functions depends on the provision of benefits which are adequate in relation to a worker's usual weekly wage. It is generally accepted that unemployment benefits are inadequate unless they are equal to at least half what workers would be earning if employed. Otherwise, families relying on the benefits will too often be unable to meet their basic, nondeferable living expenses, and communities hit by unemployment will find that aggregate benefits are too little to have a significant counter-recessionary impact.

Under present Federal law, the setting of formulas to determine minimum and maximum benefit levels is largely the province of the individual States. On paper, most States do promise the unemployed worker a benefit equal to one-half his usual weekly wage. But many of them also place unrealistically low ceilings on maximum benefit amounts, rendering the guarantee meaningless for a large percentage of workers, especially family breadwinners. In fact, more than two-fifths of all workers now covered by the unemployment insurance system find their benefits limited by State ceilings at a level *below* the half-pay ostensibly guaranteed them.

In my July, 1969, unemployment insurance reform proposals to the Congress, I asked for action by the States themselves to remedy this serious deficiency. I suggested that the maximum benefit ceiling in each State be raised to at least two-thirds of the average wage of that State's covered workers. The goal was to provide at least four-fifths of the Nation's insured

work force half-pay or better when unemployed.

While many States responded in part to this request, only four States, whose workers comprise less than 3 percent of the national covered work force, actually established the standard I had recommended. However, States comprising more than three-fifths of the national covered work force still have weekly benefit ceilings that are less than half their average weekly wage levels. Without denigrating the good-faith efforts of numerous legislatures to liberalize the benefit structure, we simply cannot be content with this situation any longer. The time has come for Federal action.

My proposed Job Security Assistance Act would therefore amend the Federal Unemployment Tax Act by adding a provision that every eligible insured worker, when unemployed, must be paid a benefit equal to at least 50 percent of his average weekly wage, up to a State maximum which shall be at least two-thirds of the average weekly wage of covered workers in the State.

The decentralization of our national unemployment insurance system is one of its greatest strengths. This decentralization permits more flexible adjustment to local needs and circumstances, and I believe that it should be preserved. I also believe, however, that the States have a responsibility to adhere to the basic principles of the system, and that it is up to the Federal Government to furnish such standards and guidelines as may be necessary to protect those principles. That is why I am now submitting to the Congress the same benefit reform recommendation that I urged the States to adopt in 1969.

Estimates indicate that this new requirement would result in an average in-

crease of 15 percent in costs to State pooled unemployment insurance funds, which would, in turn, affect the costs of employers whose taxes support our unemployment compensation programs. To put this increase in perspective, however, we should note that unemployment insurance is one of the least expensive of all fringe benefits related to employment—accounting for less than a penny in each payroll dollar. Considering the enormous importance of this protection to unemployed workers and to economic stability in general, the relatively small cost of keeping it adequate and up to date is a very sound investment.

When the new Federal benefit standard goes into effect, our unemployment insurance system would begin delivering on its promise to working Americans in a way it has never delivered before. The special programs which in the past have substituted for inadequate State unemployment benefit payments—such as the special allowances provided under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 for workers who lose their jobs because of foreign imports—would become unnecessary as unemployment benefits are raised to fairer levels.

Upon passage of the unemployment insurance reforms proposed today and of the trade proposals which I outlined to the Congress earlier this week, trade adjustment assistance would be gradually phased out and replaced with a temporary program of Federal supplements to bring up to an adequate level the State unemployment benefits for workers displaced by import trade. When State unemployment payments come up to the half-pay minimum I am seeking, the Federal supplement payments would be discontinued, since all workers would then

be eligible under the liberalized State laws for benefits that are reasonably adequate in amount. Some would even be eligible for larger weekly benefits than they can now receive under the Trade Expansion Act adjustment assistance program.

The Job Security Assistance Act would thus make unemployment insurance protection more equitable for everyone, by assisting all workers evenhandedly regardless of the reason for their loss of job. Unemployment is just as costly to an individual and his family whether it results from trade, environmental constraints, fluctuations in government procurement, declines in business activity, or any other cause. The effect of my proposals would be to remove arbitrary distinctions among such causes in protecting workers who are involuntarily out of work.

UNEMPLOYMENT PROTECTION FOR THE FARMWORKER

Agriculture is America's oldest and largest industry—and increasingly it truly is an industry, not just an individual enterprise. A growing percentage of the people engaged in farming no longer are their own bosses but work as someone else's employees. Most of these employees earn relatively low wages, have only precarious job security, and have no termination pay coming if they are laid off. Many are members of disadvantaged minority groups.

For all of these reasons, I consider it of urgent importance that we act at once to extend unemployment insurance coverage to as many agricultural employees as can feasibly be accommodated in the system.

Farmworkers were originally denied unemployment insurance protection on

the ground that it was not administratively feasible to cover many thousands of family-operated farms which kept no payroll records. This objection has since been disproved, however, by the successful extension of income and Social Security taxes to a large number of such enterprises.

In 1970 the Congress postponed action on my recommendations for extending coverage to agricultural labor, directing instead that a study be made on the question. The study was undertaken by the Department of Labor in cooperation with land-grant universities and State employment security agencies, and the results are now in. They conclusively demonstrate the administrative and financial feasibility of extending unemployment insurance coverage to approximately 66,000 agricultural enterprises employing some 635,000 agricultural workers.

Accordingly, the Job Security Assistance Act which I am recommending to the Congress would modify the present agricultural labor exclusion provisions of the Federal Unemployment Tax Act, bringing under the unemployment system any farm operator who employs four or more workers in each of 20 weeks in a calendar year or who pays wages for agricultural labor of at least \$5,000 in a calendar quarter. The change would take effect on January 1, 1975, thus allowing State legislatures time to make necessary adjustments in their unemployment compensation laws.

The criterion of payroll size was not included in my 1969 farm coverage proposal. Adding this test strengthens the bill by substantially increasing the number of farm jobs affected. The new bill also includes safeguards to help ensure that migrant workers—who especially need

unemployment protection—will not be disqualified because of the special problems associated with record-keeping and tax collection in migrant employment.

The coverage definition I am proposing would provide needed protection to the employees of larger agricultural businesses without needlessly adding to the difficulties of small farm operations. It would achieve coverage for about two-thirds of all hired farm workers while affecting fewer than one in 14 farm employers.

In most States, coverage of the larger agricultural enterprises would be self-financing, with the contributions of these concerns meeting the full cost of benefit payments to their workers who become unemployed. Net increases in benefit costs to State pooled funds should be zero in most cases and negligible in all but two States. Even in these two instances, the net increases would amount to only 20 cents or less per \$100 of taxable wages.

I know that many in the Congress share my concern that agricultural employees are too frequently excluded from the rights and protections afforded to workers in other industries, and I hope for prompt Congressional approval of this proposal so that we can begin rectifying the injustice. We cannot in good conscience defer this action any longer.

MAINTAINING NEUTRALITY IN INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

As we move to establish a uniform Federal standard that would ensure adequate State benefit levels, we must also insist on strong safeguards to preserve the neutrality of the unemployment insurance system in industrial disputes. The unemployment tax which an employer is required to pay was never intended to supplement strike

funds of those engaged in a dispute with the same employer. Neither, on the other hand, was the income protection which unemployed workers are guaranteed under the insurance system intended to be interrupted when an innocent bystander is put out of work by someone else's dispute.

I therefore propose that the Federal Unemployment Tax Act be amended to prohibit both the payment of unemployment insurance benefits to strikers and the practice of denying benefits to non-strikers. A gray area does exist between the clear-cut extremes of strike participation and nonparticipation, where complex definitional problems can arise. Resolution of these problems can properly be left to the judgment of individual States. But to deal with the clear cases, it is appropriate for the Federal Government to set a uniform standard on which each State can elaborate. This the Job Security Assistance Act would do.

Our unemployment insurance system

puts some of America's finest principles into action—including those of prudent provision during times of affluence for times of need; effective compassion for our fellow citizens; creative partnership between the Federal Government and the States; and supportive action by the public sector to help keep our private enterprise system stable, healthy, just, and humane.

The Congress can significantly improve the system's fidelity to each of these guiding principles by enacting the proposed Job Security Assistance Act of 1973. This legislation would bring genuine improvement in the lives of millions of those people on whom the Nation depends most heavily—our working men and women.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
April 12, 1973.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the proposed job security assistance legislation and the transcript of a news briefing on the message by Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz.

119 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora. *April 13, 1973*

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora, signed at Washington on March 3, 1973. The report of the Department of State is enclosed for the information of the Senate. This Convention is designed to establish a system by which States may strictly control the international trade in

specimens of species in danger of becoming extinct and monitor the trade in specimens of species which, because of present or potential trade in them, might be expected to become endangered.

The international community has realized that steps must be taken to halt the rapid depletion of wildlife. The present Convention constitutes a major step in this direction. I strongly recommend that the Senate give prompt consideration to

this Convention and consent to its ratification.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
April 13, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the convention and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive H (93d Cong., 1st sess.).

120 Remarks at a Reception for the Chiefs of Delegations to the General Assembly of the Organization of American States. *April 13, 1973*

Mr. Secretary and ladies and gentlemen:

Mrs. Nixon and I are very honored to welcome those who are attending this historic conference of the Organization of American States.

I have followed your proceedings to date with very great interest, and as one columnist summed it up, the proceedings have been characterized by a combination of frustration and expectation. I hope that my brief remarks tonight will not add to the frustration, but may, perhaps, give you reason for more expectation.

Let me speak quite frankly to members of the American family. During the year 1972, when the journeys to Peking and Moscow took place, and during the past 4 years when we have had the great problems involved in Southeast Asia, there has been a tendency throughout this hemisphere to think that the United States is so interested in and so obsessed with other problems that it is not concerned with the problems of our closest friends and neighbors. If that impression was created, it certainly was not intended on my part.

I am the first President of the United States ever to have visited all of the nations of the American Hemisphere before becoming President, and I consider the policy of my country insofar as it relates to the problems of this hemisphere to be

of the highest importance, not of the second level of importance, and in this year 1973, I hope that we can demonstrate effectively that that is the case.

We shall continue progress in other areas of the world which is essential if we are to have world peace, but we know that a sound foreign policy can only be based on good relations and better relations with our closest friends and our closest neighbors in this hemisphere.

We have made a beginning in one area. You will recall that it was 2 years ago that we spoke of the necessity of moving forward with general tariff preferences, and now in the trade legislation that we have submitted to the Congress, we believe that this year we have a very good chance to get that through the Congress. And we welcome the initiatives that this organization has undertaken to develop new policies to suit the times in which we live.

To demonstrate that we have an equal interest, the Secretary of State, who has traveled to all the continents of the world in the past 4 years, will be making a journey to Latin America and will report, when he returns, with recommendations for action for better relations with our friends to the south, and I ask all of the leaders of your countries to speak to him

very frankly about what you feel our policies should be. He will also speak frankly to you and, I can assure you, will report very frankly to me.

Without getting into anything specific today, let me give you my general attitude.

We live in a time in world history when the old organizations and the old approaches many times do not speak to the problems that we face today. That is why we have made historic breakthroughs in our trips to Peking and Moscow in developing new relationships to deal with the world as it is today.

The OAS is a very proud organization. It is also a very old organization. It began 83 years ago. The organization which later became the OAS then began, and as my good friend, Dr. Santamaria, said to me on a visit to the White House just a few days ago, the reasons that the organization was set up 83 years ago, some of them have changed, some of them are still relevant. And that is why today I think it is important for all of us, in this year 1973, to look at the OAS and make it relevant to

the problems of today and, particularly, to make it more relevant to the economic problems which are a major concern to all of the nations in this hemisphere.

I pledge to you that in these next 4 years in which I will be in this office that I want to work with you, with all of you and with all of your governments, toward the goal that we all share of peace and justice and progress for all of the members of the American family.

And I want to thank my voice here for getting every word right. *[Laughter]*

Although my Spanish was not learned in school, only picked up by my travels abroad, I will simply say to you, as you have so often said to me and my wife when we have visited your country, *están ustedes en su casa*.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:12 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

In his remarks, the President referred to Secretary of State William P. Rogers and Dr. Carlos Sanz de Santamaria, Chairman of the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress, OAS.

121 Remarks at the Annual Dinner of the White House Correspondents Association. April 14, 1973

President Knap, President Poe, distinguished guests, and for tonight, friends: [Laughter]

It is a privilege to be here at the White House correspondents dinner. I suppose I should say it is an executive privilege. *[Laughter]*

I am reminded, of course, that tonight a year has passed, and in that year many things have happened. But all of us know that in that year, two men, who, in their period as President of the United States, were honored 12 times by the White

House correspondents, have since passed away, and Mr. President, with your permission I think it would be appropriate this evening that everyone would rise in a moment of silence for the memory of President Harry S. Truman and President Lyndon Baines Johnson.

Thank you.

It is always the special opportunity of the one who is honored at this dinner to speak for all the guests in congratulating those who have received the awards of the evening, to congratulate the officers

who have retired and those who are being initiated into their new positions, and also to express appreciation for the splendid music that we have heard from the Mike Curb Congregation, whom we have heard here tonight—also at the inaugural, at the White House, and at the Marine Stadium in Miami last July.

I would like to say a word, too, tonight for a man who has what I have called the most difficult job in this country, the Press Secretary to the President. That has changed. Two years ago, I said the most difficult job in this country was being Press Secretary to the Vice President. *[Laughter]*

But I have followed, as you have, the press briefings by Mr. Ziegler. His job is difficult because he must serve two masters: He must serve the President of the United States, and he must serve the press. He must serve each with equal loyalty and devotion, and I believe that Ron Ziegler, with great poise, with great patience, with great courtesy has met that dual responsibility. He has been loyal to the President and loyal to the press, and I am glad to pay that tribute to him tonight.

I must say you have really worked him over, however. This morning he came into the office a little early, and I said, "What time is it, Ron?"

He said, "Could I put that on background?" *[Laughter]*

Needless to say, I am very touched by the gift that has been presented. It is one that will find its way into the Presidential library at an appropriate time but between now and then will be on the Presidential desk. It particularly is meaningful because of what it symbolizes, not simply what Jefferson said about a Presi-

dent wanting peace more than anything else, but what Jefferson said about all Presidents wanting peace above everything else.

And tonight, I think it was very appropriate and, to me, quite moving that Ted Knap referred to the fact that whatever our differences are—and we will have them and should have them in a free society on many, many domestic matters—our desire for a world of peace, our willingness to work for a structure of peace, is one that unifies us all.

He mentioned the trips we have taken, the one to Peking and the journey to Moscow.

I thought that tonight I might be able to have an announcement for another trip this year. I haven't quite made a decision on it yet, but there is one that I am seriously thinking about. You won't need a visa, but I may need one—I was thinking of going up to the Congress. *[Laughter]* After 4 years of confrontation, it is time for an era of negotiation. *[Laughter]*

Over these past 4 years, as I am sure all of you will understand, there have been many times when hard decisions had to be made, but I thought the most difficult time to be President of the United States was when the Nation was at war. And now that burden has been lifted, and I realize the truth, that what David Lawrence, who was a charter member of this club 59 years ago, said to me a couple of years ago is very true: "There is only one more difficult task than being President of this country when we are waging war, and that is to be President of the Nation when it is waging peace."

What he meant, of course, was that the United States has been through many wars—in this century, four of them. And

the tragedy is that too often after war we fail to build the structure for lasting peace that will avoid another war.

I would not suggest that there was any fault on the part of those who were presiding over the country in those peacetime years, but I do suggest that all of us have begun a great adventure together. In our trip to Peking, in our journey to Moscow, in reaching a peace agreement on Vietnam, we have laid the foundation, not just for ending a war but for building a peace that will last.

This journey having begun, we now have the great privilege and the challenge to continue it, to continue not only our negotiations with the great super powers that I have mentioned but to continue to build that structure of peace in all the continents of the world, between all nations and all peoples, whatever their differences may be as far as systems of government are concerned.

There is naturally a tendency at such a time, when America has gone through its longest and most difficult war, for so many of us to perhaps wish to relax, not to face up to the burdens of leadership in the world, to cut back on our defenses, to cut back on our efforts, to enjoy the peace that has been so difficult to win.

But this we cannot do, and this we will not do. We cannot do it, because in the whole free world today, as everyone in this room knows, there is no other nation that can provide the leadership for peace in the world. Others have the good intent, but

only America has the power, only America has the wealth. And if peace is not kept, if a structure of peace is not built, the responsibility will be ours.

But putting it the other way, if we are able to build a new structure of peace in the world, of a peace that will last, not just for a generation but perhaps longer, then we can all look proudly to that great achievement.

We can do it. It will require the best that is in us. It will require military strength and economic strength and, above all, as I have emphasized on many, many occasions, spiritual strength—spiritual strength in terms of courage, heroism, self-sacrifice, love of country, and faith.

The four returned prisoners of war that all of you have honored so greatly tonight, and who have honored us with their presence tonight, have reminded us of what they and their colleagues have done to re-instill in this country a sense of faith, a sense of patriotism. And I would simply say that any nation that could produce such men as these will not fail to meet the challenge of greatness that destiny has placed upon us.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:02 p.m. in the International Ballroom of the Washington Hilton Hotel.

Ted Knap of the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance was president of the association, and Edgar Poe of the New Orleans Times-Picayune and Newhouse News Service, was past president.

Prior to the President's remarks, he was presented with a handcrafted sterling silver globe symbolizing his efforts for world peace.

122 Remarks at the National Conference of Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO.

*April 16, 1973**Mr. Secretary, Mr. Chairman, gentlemen:*

As I look at this head table, and having met them all before, and having spoken in this room many times, I must say I have never been up here with so many presidents. I, therefore, will not pay my respects to each of them individually, except to say that over the past 4 years I have been honored many times to meet them in the Cabinet Room; they have my greatest respect, as you have. And I appreciate the fact that so many are here today at a time that I greet you on behalf of the whole Nation, and I say on behalf of the Nation, because one of the great privileges of a President is that he can speak to any group in this country, whatever their views may be, and try to represent what he thinks are the national views, what the country owes to a group.

As I begin, I want to tell you several of the reasons why I am honored to be here before this group. One is because from this group came Secretary Brennan.

Now, I have noted, as you have, that there are some in the labor movement who have criticized Secretary Brennan recently for "selling out" on certain issues. Let me say one thing: Pete Brennan never sells out on anything. He fights for what he believes all the way down the line. And Pete Brennan is also a teamplayer.

You, as representatives of organized labor, know that you don't win them all. You, as representatives of organized labor, know, however, you have got to fight down the line for your point of view. You win some; you lose some; you compromise some. That is the rule of life. And then

once you have made the settlement, you are a teamplayer. And that is Pete Brennan.

Let me give you some examples. I know, for example, on the youth differential matter, which is one that is of great interest in the Congress at the present time, that Pete Brennan was criticized because that did not represent the views, many said, of most of those in organized labor.

On the other hand, that position was presented by Pete Brennan to the Congress because a decision was made in the Cabinet, after considering all the problems and after consulting with the legislative leaders, that that was the proper decision to make.

Now, let me put one on the other side. We also had a very tough decision with regard to unemployment insurance. And I hope you noted that in the package, and I hope Pete speaks about it in his speech this afternoon, because there was a problem of extending unemployment insurance to agricultural workers and others not covered, and there was also the problem of the Fair Labor Standards Act of having national standards in which one-half of whatever the individual's pay would be is required in every State under the State unemployment insurance programs.

That has always been a controversial issue. We decided to bite the bullet on that issue and on the extension to farmworkers.

Now, in this area, as Pete Brennan could tell you, the Secretary of Commerce argued vigorously on the other side because he was representing the views of a lot of business. The Secretary of Agricul-

ture had some different views. Pete Brennan fought, and he won.

Now, a third area: We had the problem of putting a price ceiling on beef, lamb, and pork. The Secretary of Agriculture, representing, as he has to and as I tell him to, the views of farmers, vigorously opposed it in the Cabinet. Pete Brennan vigorously supported it, and in this instance, the Secretary of Agriculture lost.

Now, what I am trying to say to you here, I am trying to say to you gentlemen that in a Cabinet, in a labor union, in any kind of a system, you win some, and you lose some. But the important thing is to fight it out and have an articulate, effective spokesman for your point of view, and also, the important thing is, where the Presidency is concerned, that the door of the Oval Office is always open to that point of view. And I think every man here at this head table will say, and I am proud of this over the past 4 years, that the views of organized labor have always been heard in that Oval Office and they will continue to be heard.

Because the genius of our system, as we all must understand, is that we can have labor and management fighting their battles, but in the end, working together to build a greater America. I am talking here to the group who are the builders of America. I am not just saying that to butter you up, because it happens to be true.

The American construction industry is the best in the world. I have been all over the world. I have seen the great cities of the world. I have seen construction in other countries, and in some areas they claim to be better than we are. We have got the best. You keep it the best, because we always want America to be number one in building.

Now, let me give you a little history that

you may have forgotten. All these international presidents remember the meeting, however. This is when George Shultz was Secretary of Labor. It was in 1969, and he came into my office with a number of the international presidents to talk about the sick industry. You know what it was. It was the construction industry, they said.

You may remember what the problem was. In late 1969 and 1970 in this industry, it was plagued in many instances by strikes and labor stoppages. It was plagued also in many instances at local levels by exorbitant settlements—exorbitant settlements which had two effects: One, they were inflationary, but also, insofar as the industry was concerned, it had the effect of driving the jobs away from organized labor into nonunion labor, and that is why your top international presidents, who are always in there fighting for that last buck right down the line, said, we have got to do a better job.

Now what did we do about that? We set up a commission,¹ but not just to study it, a commission to do something. It was made up of the leaders of the construction industry and the leaders of labor. It met over a period of time. When we set up this committee, I remember there were some of the wise boys in the economic field that said it was never going to work. They said the construction industry is just out of hand, and there is no way you are going to get it in shape and reduce the work stoppages, and also get some kind of amelioration insofar as wage settlements which were out of line, which most of the international presidents, all of them as a

¹ On March 29, 1971, the President signed Executive Order 11588, establishing the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee.

matter of fact, agreed in some areas were, with the results that I have indicated.

But it did work. And what has happened is that over the past 4 years, not because of what we had in Phase I or Phase II, primarily, but because of a co-operation and working together between management and labor, this industry is no longer a sick industry. Work stoppages are the lowest that they have been in 25 years in this industry, and you get the credit. Also, we find that as far as wage rates are concerned, while they continue to go up, that this industry has been responsible, and you get the credit.

What I am simply saying to you is this: That is the way our system works, and as I stand before you today, let me tell you I know the various things in which you are interested in the economic area. I could just simply come up before you and say I am for everything that you are, but you want it straight from the shoulder, and you want it in terms that you know I will be able to carry out.

I don't tell you that, but I do say this: I do say, I believe in this industry. It is essential to the prosperity of America. Let me tell you, when construction goes down, the economy goes down. I want this economy to go up, and I want construction to go up. And I can also say to you, we are going to see to it that not only do you get a hearing, through your Secretary of Labor and other representatives here, who will be in to see me from time to time in the future as they have in the past, but also you will get decisions that are made that, I think, you will say are helpful toward building not only a better construction industry but also strengthening an essential element of the American construction industry, and that is the free labor movement.

Let me turn now, if I could, to another point that I think will be of considerable interest to you. You have been reading about the Federal budget. You have been reading about priorities, and I know many of you probably come from areas where you wonder why it is that we have to limit a budget to \$268 billion.

I will tell you why. It is no pleasure for the President of the United States to veto a spending bill, and after all, it isn't my money. It is yours.

So, when the Congress overspends, why don't I sign it all? You know, dish out that dough all over the country because then the people have it for this project and that project, and so forth down the line.

I know why I don't. I am going to lay it right on the line. The reason I don't is this: I have a responsibility as President of the United States to see that Federal spending is kept at a level that does not raise your taxes and that does not raise your prices or does not have the effect of contributing to what could be a very, very sharp inflation.

Now, if this budget goes over the \$268 billion, which is a very, very high budget, it will inevitably mean that either your taxes are going to go up, or you are going to have your prices up, or, third, it is going to risk your jobs. Because the history of all inflationary budgets when they go above certain amounts, beyond what the tax system would produce at full employment, is that they inevitably lead to recession and loss of jobs.

So, I just want to say to all of you, it is not with great pleasure that I veto a bill which may deal with—as I did last week—with water and sewer in rural areas, but I do it because I think I owe it to the American people to take action

that will not raise their taxes, that will not contribute to raise their prices, and one that will not endanger their prosperity. That is what I think we ought to do.

Now comes the second point. Many people say: "But Mr. President, since we have had all of these great areas of progress in the field of world affairs over the past year, why can't we just take it out of the defense budget?"

Let me lay it on the line there, as I have tried to all along here. First, virtually every man at this table that I have met has stood for a strong national defense. I thank you for that. I want to tell you why it is necessary.

Yes, I have made a trip to Peking. I made a trip to Moscow where we negotiated an historic arms limitation, the first stage of that. And we have a peace agreement in Vietnam. Our POW's have returned home and the rest of our men. This is the first time in 12 years that no American ground forces, armed forces, military forces, are stationed in Vietnam.

But now, in view of all that progress, they said, "Why not cut the Federal budget?"

Let's look at how we got where we are, the reason we got where we are. In dealing with the People's Republic of China, the leaders of one-fourth of all the people in this world, who will be a super power 20 years from now—maybe even 10 years from now, if they want to be—and in dealing with the Soviet Union, who are roughly equal with the United States in military power today, it is essential, if you are going to make any kind of deal with them, that in order to get something from them, you have got to have something to give.

And that is why, when the Congress during the past 4 years, from time to time,

and particularly before I went to the summit in Moscow with the leaders in the Kremlin—when they said let's don't build the ABM, or let's cut back on this area of defense and the rest; let's wait to see what happens at the summit—that would have been simply cutting the legs off of the President before he ever got there.

Because, I can assure you, I have sat down across the table from these leaders; they are strong and also very realistic, and as far as they are concerned, unless you have got something that they want, they are not going to give something that you want.

Now, let's look at the next year. We are now in the process of more meetings with the Soviet Union, not simply for a temporary—which we presently have—limitation on offensive nuclear weapons, which, incidentally, will eventually reduce the cost of our defenses, we hope, but also the danger of nuclear war, we would hope. We are having negotiations with the Soviets in that area.

But in the fall we are going to have some negotiations with what are called commonly the Warsaw Pact countries, the Communist countries, for a mutual reduction of forces in Europe.

Some very well-intentioned Congressmen and Senators, who say they are for disarmament and say they are for peace, say, "Well, before we have these meetings, let's cut our defense budget by \$10 billion; let's not build the Trident; let's reduce our forces in Europe by 100,000, because we don't need them any more."

Let me tell you this: A strong United States is not a threat to the peace of the world. What we must realize, also, is that if before we have a meeting with the men in the Kremlin, and if before we have negotiations, as we will have this fall with

the Communist countries for mutual reduction of forces, we, on our side, reduce our forces, there will be no deal. And you wouldn't make a deal if you were in their position, either.

What I am simply saying is this: Those who would slash the defense budget today and put us in a secondary position with regard to those with whom we will be dealing—those who would do that will have to take upon their hands the responsibility for sabotaging the peace initiatives that presently seem so promising and for destroying any chance for getting further arms limitation.

Let me just lay it right on the line. I have been in this office for 4 years, and I will be here for the balance of this 4 years. But after me there will be other Presidents. Some will be Democrats, some will be Republicans. But the most important thing for us to remember is this: The United States is the great guardian of peace and freedom in the world. There is no other country that is going to do it if we aren't. But a strong United States, and one that is respected, is the one that can be the guardian. And I say to you, I have always felt that organized labor understood this and that the American workmen and others understood it across this country better than anybody else.

But I want you to know, don't ever send the President, whoever he is, to the conference table with another nation as the head of the second strongest nation in the world. Let's be sure of that.

I mentioned respect. All of us, I think, have been moved and inspired as our prisoners of war have returned. When you think of what these men have gone through—years in confinement, several of them over 4 years in solitary without ever seeing an American, seeing only their

captors in that period—and then see them to come down off those planes, thin, yes, but standing so strong and tall, saluting the American flag, I have just never been as proud to be an American as when those men came back.

One of them told me just the other day, he said, "Mr. President, we wouldn't have been standing like that if you had made the kind of deal that some had suggested, which was give us our prisoners and in return we will get out, because our slogan in that prison camp in Hanoi was 'Home With Honor.'" And I want you to know that those men couldn't have come back—and I say this as a statement of fact—unless we had had support from many in this room and those you represent across this country.

I remember in 1970 when I had to order the destruction of Communist sanctuaries in Cambodia. I remember then it seemed that I was virtually alone, and one day a very exciting thing happened—the hardhats marched in New York City. And for the first time the press began to realize that while a majority of them thought that this was not in the interest and that the country didn't support it, they realized that maybe the people knew better and the people supported doing what is right, and that is what you did by that march, and I express my appreciation to you.

There were other tough decisions—when I had to order the bombing of North Vietnam and the mining of Haiphong, May 8, 1972. Oh, you remember reading what the papers said, and you heard about it on television—what they said. I understand it, I understand legitimate criticism. I respect it.

But they said, "This is going to torpedo the summit, and this is going to risk the

possibility of broadening the war," and that sort of thing.

Believe me, I thought about all those things before I made the decision, and it was one of the tough ones. But let me say then again, May 8, 1972, I didn't have to call you. Your leaders, some of the men right around this table, called me and said, "Mr. President, we back what you are doing."

And then December 18, the toughest decision I made as President, when the North Vietnamese reneged on the agreement that they had made with us, the peace agreement, earlier in October and November, and when I had to order the renewal of the bombing of North Vietnam and the use of B-52's.

I thought I was really alone then, but again, I heard from you. What I am simply saying is this: Had it not been for those hard decisions, had it not been for what we did in Cambodia, had it not been for what we did on May 8, had it not been for what we did on December 18, our prisoners of war would still be in Hanoi. And thanks to you and the support of the American people, they are home, and we are building a peace in this world.

Gentlemen, I am simply saying to you,

as I conclude, that I will tell whoever succeeds me in this office, that when it comes to national security, when it comes to maintaining the strength and the respect of America all over the world, that he will find that he has no greater support than among those who are proud members of the building trades in America.

And I say to you, too, that looking down the road, history will look back at this period, and it will record that these men—and let me make this point—most of whom are not members of the party of which I am a member, politically, most of whom in 1968 did not support me, but these men, when the chips were down and when the question was respect for the United States, when the question was strength of the United States, that these men, to a man, stood for not party, but what was best for America.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:20 a.m. in the International Ballroom of the Washington Hilton Hotel.

In his opening words, the President referred to Secretary of Labor Peter J. Brennan and Robert A. Georgine, secretary-treasurer of the Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO, who was chairman of the conference.

123 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Stockpile Disposal Legislation. April 16, 1973

To the Congress of the United States:

In our current fight against rising prices, one weapon which has not yet been effectively employed is our national strategic stockpile. Today I am asking for authority from the Congress to sell those items in the stockpile which we no longer need to keep in reserve in order to protect our national security.

Because the world economy has grown so rapidly, short term demand for many industrial commodities has outpaced short term supplies. As a result, prices for industrial commodities have recently been increasing at unacceptably high rates—in some cases by more than 30 percent in the past 12 months alone.

These increases will eventually be felt

in higher prices for the American consumer if we do not act decisively now.

By disposing of unneeded items in the strategic stockpile, we can strike a critical blow for the American consumer.

The purpose of the American strategic stockpile is to ensure an adequate reserve of vital materials in time of war without imposing undue hardships on our civilian population. The basic concept is an old one, dating back to the Strategic and Critical Materials Stock Piling Act of 1946. Ninety-five percent of the current stockpile was acquired before 1959—the bulk of it during the Korean War.

The present strategic stockpile totals \$6.7 billion worth of material, ranging from metals, minerals, rubber and industrial diamonds to unusual items such as iodine.

Because our economy and technology are dynamic, our capability to find substitutes for scarce materials is far greater today than in the past. We are now able to meet defense requirements for materials during possible major conflicts without imposing an excessive burden on the economy or relying on an enormous stockpile, as was once necessary.

After a careful and searching review of the current stockpile, I have approved new guidelines that would tailor the kind and quantity of materials in the stockpile to the national security needs of the 1970's. The new stockpile would be substantially reduced, but it would contain the critical materials that we need in quantities fully adequate for our national security requirements.

Our new guidelines would provide the needed commodities to cover our material requirements for the first year of a major conflict in Europe and Asia. In the event of a longer conflict, these 12 months

would give us sufficient time to mobilize so that we could sustain our defense effort as long as necessary without placing an intolerable burden on the economy or the civilian population.

Under existing law, the Administration has the authority to sell approximately \$1.9 billion worth of stockpile material, including substantial amounts of zinc, aluminum and lead. However, to dispose of the remaining \$4.1 billion in unnecessary items, Congressional authorization is needed.

Historically, the sale of each commodity has been subject to individual legislation, but this procedure is time-consuming and redundant. To improve on it, the authorizing legislation I am recommending to the Congress takes the form of a single omnibus bill for all excess stockpile commodities; it includes individual authorizations for 16 major commodities.

At the same time that they fully provide for our national security and economic health in the event of an emergency, our new stockpile guidelines also enhance national efficiency and thrift. Specifically, they would permit us to sell \$6 billion in no longer needed stockpile material over the next several years.

I urge the Congress to take prompt and favorable action on the stockpile legislation I am submitting. By doing so, the Congress will demonstrate its willingness to act in positive cooperation with the executive branch in a way that is in the best interests of all Americans.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

April 16, 1973.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the proposed stockpile disposal legislation by Herbert Stein, Chairman of the Coun-

cil of Economic Advisers; William P. Clements, Jr., Deputy Secretary of Defense; and Thomas M. Thawley, Commissioner of Property Man-

agement and Disposal, General Services Administration.

124 Remarks of Welcome to Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti of Italy. April 17, 1973

Mr. Prime Minister and ladies and gentlemen:

There are many reasons why we are very honored to welcome the Prime Minister to Washington on this occasion. One of them is that we think of the great debt that we in America owe to Italy and particularly to those of Italian descent. We think of the debt we owe in the field of art, music, religion, but most of all, in terms just of people, the millions of people who are proud of their Italian background, but who are also proud to be Americans.

We have, of course, an example of what those of Italian background have contributed to our Nation in our Ambassador to Italy—businessman, Governor, Cabinet officer, now Ambassador—this indicates how in field after field those of Italian background have enriched America, have added to our leadership, and have helped to make us a great people and a great country.

Mr. Prime Minister, we are also honored to welcome you because of your position of leadership, strong leadership, of one of America's strongest friends and best allies in the world. We have stood together since the end of World War II. We shall stand together in peace in the years ahead, and as I think of the subjects that we will be discussing today, the subjects of security, of trade, areas that will contribute to peace, not only in Europe and the Mediterranean but in the world,

but will also contribute to prosperity, a better life for the people of Italy and the people of America, the people of the world, I realize how much our talks can contribute to those goals.

As we meet during these 2 days, I am sure it will some day be recorded that Italy and the United States on this occasion, not only renewed an old friendship and reasserted it, but we began the structure of a new relationship, not only between the United States and Italy but between the United States and the new Europe, a new relationship which can bring a better life to all of our people on both sides of the Atlantic.

So, Mr. Prime Minister, for these and many other reasons, as you come here to the White House, you receive not only a warm welcome here, but every place you go in America, the hearts of America will go out to you and the people you represent.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:15 a.m. on the South Lawn of the White House where Prime Minister Andreotti was given a formal welcome with full military honors.

See also Item 126.

The Prime Minister responded in Italian. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

Mr. President:

I am very grateful for the warm welcome which you just gave me and for the repeated invitation which you sent me to come to the United States.

I share with you this deep sense of connection and of ties which we have between our

two countries, and I must say that these feelings were strengthened when we received in Rome the new American Ambassador a few weeks ago. That was really an historic moment for us, and it was a kind of moral victory for those millions of Italians who came to America for more than one century to find a job here. Most of them found this job, and thus they contributed to the development of this second homeland. Others were less successful, and we were thinking especially of these latter Italians and Italo-Americans when we received with great joy your new Ambassador, John Volpe, in Rome.

Mr. President, when you were reelected a few months ago for a second term with a great number of votes, we rejoiced on the other side of the Atlantic for your reelection. We are very much convinced by what one of your closest collaborators once said, that is to say, that the union between the United States and Europe is the cornerstone of the peace structure in the world. And when you dedicated this year as the year of peace and the year of

Europe, we felt that your political commitment was being met in a faithful manner.

For 25 years now the United States and Europe have defended the peace against the war, against new wars, and they have thus laid the foundations for a world of détente.

Your great prestige, Mr. President, has contributed greatly to this fact, and the great prestige which you have, not only in Western countries but also many Socialist countries, is not in contradiction with the Atlantic security policy. On the contrary, this is the logical development of this policy towards peace in the whole world.

Today we are confronted by new problems as you mentioned, and we are going to discuss these problems during these 2 days. But these problems should be seen in this prospect: We want to create a great era in the world, an era of peace and prosperity where the peoples of Europe and of the United States may raise even more their quality of life and not against the rest of the world, but as pioneers of a universal and integral democracy.

125 Remarks Announcing Procedures and Developments in Connection With the Watergate Investigations.

April 17, 1973

Ladies and gentlemen:

I have two announcements to make. Because of their technical nature, I shall read both of the announcements to the members of the press corps.

The first announcement relates to the appearance of White House people before the Senate Select Committee, better known as the Ervin committee.

For several weeks, Senator Ervin and Senator Baker and their counsel have been in contact with White House representatives John Ehrlichman and Leonard Garment. They have been talking about ground rules which would preserve the separation of powers without suppressing the facts.

I believe now an agreement has been reached which is satisfactory to both sides. The committee ground rules as adopted totally preserve the doctrine of separation of powers. They provide that the appearance by a witness may, in the first instance, be in executive session, if appropriate.

Second, executive privilege is expressly reserved and may be asserted during the course of the questioning as to any question.

Now, much has been made of the issue as to whether the proceedings could be televised. To me, this has never been a central issue, especially if the separation of powers problem is otherwise solved, as I now think it is.

All members of the White House Staff will appear voluntarily when requested by the committee. They will testify under oath, and they will answer fully all proper questions.

I should point out that this arrangement is one that covers this hearing only in which wrongdoing has been charged. This kind of arrangement, of course, would not apply to other hearings. Each of them will be considered on its merits.

My second announcement concerns the Watergate case directly.

On March 21, as a result of serious charges which came to my attention, some of which were publicly reported, I began intensive new inquiries into this whole matter.

Last Sunday afternoon, the Attorney General, Assistant Attorney General Petersen, and I met at length in the EOB to review the facts which had come to me in my investigation and also to review the progress of the Department of Justice investigation.

I can report today that there have been major developments in the case concerning which it would be improper to be more specific now, except to say that real

progress has been made in finding the truth.

If any person in the executive branch or in the Government is indicted by the grand jury, my policy will be to immediately suspend him. If he is convicted, he will, of course, be automatically discharged.

I have expressed to the appropriate authorities my view that no individual holding, in the past or at present, a position of major importance in the Administration should be given immunity from prosecution.

The judicial process is moving ahead as it should, and I shall aid it in all appropriate ways and have so informed the appropriate authorities.

As I have said before and I have said throughout this entire matter, all Government employees and especially White House Staff employees are expected fully to cooperate in this matter. I condemn any attempts to cover up in this case, no matter who is involved.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President made the announcements at 4:42 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

126 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Andreotti of Italy. *April 17, 1973*

Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Andreotti, Mr. Vice President and Mrs. Agnew, and all of our distinguished guests:

Mr. Prime Minister, it is my privilege to tell you something about this audience here in the State Dining Room and their presence in honoring you. It is only coincidental that included in the audience are people like Mayor Rizzo from the city of Philadelphia, Mr. Peter Fosco, a major

labor leader of this country, a United States Congressman, Silvio Conte, a Senator by the name of Pastore, and another by the name of Domenici, and an Ambassador to the United Nations by the name of Scali—only coincidental—and that the red wine we had tonight is Louis Martini from California.

I am simply trying to say, Mr. Prime Minister, that in America, as you know so

well, we are very grateful for the contribution that has been made to this Nation by the sons and daughters of Italian background. We would like to have all of them here tonight to honor you, but the room will not seat 10 million.

And now to those who are here, I would like to present the Prime Minister. When I was a freshman Congressman in 1947, I took my first trip to Europe. I spent 3 weeks in Italy, studying the needs of Italy for reconstruction, which eventually ended in the Marshall Plan. I met many outstanding leaders on that trip, but I was fortunate to meet and know one of the giants.

We think back to that period, 27 years ago: Churchill, Eisenhower, Adenauer, de Gaulle. But a name not forgotten by any who knew him, but perhaps not well remembered by people who did not live through that period, one of the true giants of the post-war period, one of the men who helped to build the free Atlantic community that we presently enjoy, was Alcide De Gasperi.¹

I remember how I, as a freshman Congressman, was impressed by this eloquent, sincere, intelligent, and very strong man. And it is interesting to me that the man whom we honor tonight has written a book about De Gasperi and that many in his country and in the world say that Prime Minister Andreotti is in the tradition of De Gasperi.

I have talked to him today. I know his background. I can only say that our honored guest is in that great tradition. He leads a strong nation and a strong people, and like De Gasperi, he is a strong man, the kind of a man that his nation, his

people, and the free world needs at this time.

And for that reason, and many others, I know all of you will want to join me in a toast to Prime Minister Andreotti and Mrs. Andreotti.

To the Prime Minister. *Salute.*

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:49 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

The President met with Prime Minister Andreotti at the White House on April 17 and 18.

See also Item 124.

The Prime Minister responded to the President's toast in Italian. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

Mr. President:

I wish to thank you first of all—to repeat my warm thanks to you and to Mrs. Nixon for your very kind hospitality and reception, and I would like to continue in what you just said, and to the figure of De Gasperi whom you just remembered, by saying that De Gasperi taught us two things: First, there are no problems of one nation, there are only problems of the entire world. And secondly, he taught us that one should never be afraid of things even when something is very difficult, and in fact, he was not afraid of forming a government without Communists and without Socialists at a time when this seemed impossible.

The third thing which De Gasperi taught us was to initiate the creation of a united Europe and at the same time to maintain the solidarity and friendship between Europe and the United States.

I think that in the few words which I would like to say tonight, I may quote a sentence of Thomas Jefferson, who said in 1801, "Peace, trade, honorable friendship with all, and close alliances with few."

So this should be our star, the star which should always guide us and inspire us in our policy.

This morning at the lunch offered by the Secretary of State, I said that history teaches us one thing, that every time that Italy and Europe went in the same direction as the United States, things went well for the entire world, and the opposite was true when there

¹ Prime Minister of Italy (1945–53).

was disagreement or a lack of friendship between Europe or Italy and the United States. And this should inspire us; this should serve us as inspiration for the future and for our political action.

You invited here tonight, Mr. President, some representatives of those people who do not lose their Italian characteristics, although being very deeply American, and who transmit to their children those which are the best characteristics, which make the healthiest and best Italians, that is to say, the sentiment of family and of work.

These characteristics of Italo-Americans insure forever a very deep friendship between Italians and Americans, and I might quote as an example of this, the fact that when President Lincoln died, the citizens of Rome sent to the United States a stone which had been taken from the tomb of Servius Tullius, one of the ancient Roman kings, who was the first king who liberated the poorer classes of Rome and who gave some hope to the humble layers of the population.

So in the past, the United States was a kind of road to expectations for these Italians. Some of them had a very brilliant career and life in the United States. Some others were less successful. But we wish to unite all of them and to remember here their joys, their successes, their victories, or their failures.

There are so many Italians in every State of the United States that this morning at lunch when I met with Mr. Molisani¹ and Astronaut Collins, I told him, "At least you are not Ital-

ian." And he told me, "No, I am not Italian but I was born in Rome."

Mr. President, I am not going to talk politics. The political orientations which inspire you and which are based on a very moral conception of public life, however, are something for which all free men and the entire world should be grateful to you. And in the difficult road which leads us to peace and to a better standard of living for all the humble people in all nations, your leadership is certainly a decisive factor in order to achieve victories in this very hard struggle.

I would like to say two small things. First of all, I would like to present my respects to Mrs. Luce, who was the Ambassador of your country in Rome. She was very much respected and loved, and she was very good at understanding our country, and she had much affection for Italy. And I must say, this affection is still today very largely reciprocated.

Then, Mr. President, I am very grateful to you and to Mrs. Nixon for inviting Frank Sinatra. I am going to be able to listen to him singing here. This is something which will give much prestige to me with my children.

And lastly, let me use one symbol which was offered to me. The prophet Isaiah said you should change your swords into plows. Now Secretary Rogers changed swords into harps, since at lunch I saw an Army sergeant playing the harp. President Nixon changes swords into violins and cellos, because we saw military men playing violins and cellos, so let me hold this as a symbol for a better future in which we will have better men and peace.

And in this spirit, Mr. President, may I raise my glass to your health, to the well being of Mrs. Nixon, and to the greatness and prosperity of the American people.

¹ Howard Molisani was chairman of the Italian American Labor Council.

127 Remarks on Transmitting a Special Message to the Congress on Energy Policy. April 18, 1973

AMERICA's energy demands have grown so rapidly that they now outstrip our energy supplies. As a result, we face the possibility of temporary fuel shortages and some increases in fuel prices in America.

This is a serious challenge, but we have the ability to meet it. If our energy resources are properly developed, they can fulfill our energy requirement for centuries to come.

What is needed now is decisive and responsible action to increase our energy supplies, action which takes into account the needs of our economy, of our environment, and of our national security, and that is why I am moving forward today on several fronts.

I am ending quantitative controls on oil imports and establishing a National Energy Office.

I am ordering an acceleration in the leasing of oil lands on the Outer Continental Shelf and increasing our ability to prevent oil spills.

I am also taking new steps to maintain our vital coal industry.

In addition, I am asking the Congress to act quickly on several proposals. One would remove Government regulations which now discourage the growth of our domestic natural gas industry. Another would help us establish the research and

technological groundwork for developing new forms of energy with a long-range future. And still others would permit licensing of new deepwater ports in our oceans and would open the way for the long delayed Alaska oil pipeline.

Each of these steps can help us meet our energy needs and meet those needs without sacrificing our environment or endangering our national security, so that we can continue to build a better life for all of our people in this country.

NOTE: The President's remarks were filmed in the Oval Office at the White House for later broadcast on radio and television.

Before transmitting the message, the President met with the bipartisan leadership of the Congress to discuss its contents.

On the same day, the President signed Proclamation 4210, relating to imports of petroleum and petroleum products, and Executive Order 11712, establishing the Special Committee on Energy and the National Energy Office.

128 Special Message to the Congress on Energy Policy. *April 18, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

At home and abroad, America is in a time of transition. Old problems are yielding to new initiatives, but in their place new problems are arising which once again challenge our ingenuity and require vigorous action. Nowhere is this more clearly true than in the field of energy.

As America has become more prosperous and more heavily industrialized, our demands for energy have soared. Today, with 6 percent of the world's population, we consume almost a third of all the energy used in the world. Our energy demands have grown so rapidly that they now outstrip our available supplies, and

at our present rate of growth, our energy needs a dozen years from now will be nearly double what they were in 1970.

In the years immediately ahead, we must face up to the possibility of occasional energy shortages and some increase in energy prices.

Clearly, we are facing a vitally important energy challenge. If present trends continue unchecked, we could face a genuine energy crisis. But that crisis can and should be averted, for we have the capacity and the resources to meet our energy needs if only we take the proper steps—and take them now.

More than half the world's total re-

serves of coal are located within the United States. This resource alone would be enough to provide for our energy needs for well over a century. We have potential resources of billions of barrels of recoverable oil, similar quantities of shale oil and more than 2,000 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. Properly managed, and with more attention on the part of consumers to the conservation of energy, these supplies can last for as long as our economy depends on conventional fuels.

In addition to natural fuels, we can draw upon hydroelectric plants and increasing numbers of nuclear powered facilities. Moreover, long before our present energy sources are exhausted, America's vast capabilities in research and development can provide us with new, clean and virtually unlimited sources of power.

Thus, we should not be misled into pessimistic predictions of an energy disaster. But neither should we be lulled into a false sense of security. We must examine our circumstances realistically, carefully weigh the alternatives—and then move forward decisively.

WEIGHING THE ALTERNATIVES

Over 90 percent of the energy we consume today in the United States comes from three sources: natural gas, coal and petroleum. Each source presents us with a different set of problems.

Natural gas is our cleanest fuel and is most preferred in order to protect our environment, but ill-considered regulations of natural gas prices by the Federal Government have produced a serious and increasing scarcity of this fuel.

We have vast quantities of coal, but the extraction and use of coal have presented

such persistent environmental problems that, today, less than 20 percent of our energy needs are met by coal and the health of the entire coal industry is seriously threatened.

Our third conventional resource is oil, but domestic production of available oil is no longer able to keep pace with demands.

In determining how we should expand and develop these resources, along with others such as nuclear power, we must take into account not only our economic goals, but also our environmental goals and our national security goals. Each of these areas is profoundly affected by our decisions concerning energy.

If we are to maintain the vigor of our economy, the health of our environment, and the security of our energy resources, it is essential that we strike the right balance among these priorities.

The choices are difficult, but we cannot refuse to act because of this. We cannot stand still simply because it is difficult to go forward. That is the one choice Americans must never make.

The energy challenge is one of the great opportunities of our time. We have already begun to meet that challenge, and realize its opportunities.

NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY

In 1971, I sent to the Congress the first message on energy policies ever submitted by an American President. In that message I proposed a number of specific steps to meet our projected needs by increasing our supply of clean energy in America.

Those steps included expanded research and development to obtain more clean energy, increased availability of

energy resources located on Federal lands, increased efforts in the development of nuclear power, and a new Federal organization to plan and manage our energy programs.

In the twenty-two months since I submitted that message, America's energy research and development efforts have been expanded by 50 percent.

In order to increase domestic production of conventional fuels, sales of oil and gas leases on the Outer Continental Shelf have been increased. Federal and State standards to protect the marine environment in which these leases are located are being tightened. We have developed a more rigorous surveillance capability and an improved ability to prevent and clean up oil spills.

We are planning to proceed with the development of oil shale and geothermal energy sources on Federal lands, so long as an evaluation now underway shows that our environment can be adequately protected.

We have also taken new steps to expand our uranium enrichment capacity for the production of fuels for nuclear power plants, to standardize nuclear power plant designs, and to ensure the continuation of an already enviable safety record.

We have issued new standards and guidelines, and have taken other actions to increase and encourage better conservation of energy.

In short, we have made a strong beginning in our effort to ensure that America will always have the power needed to fuel its prosperity. But what we have accomplished is only a beginning.

Now we must build on our increased

knowledge, and on the accomplishments of the past twenty-two months, to develop a more comprehensive, integrated national energy policy. To carry out this policy we must:

- increase domestic production of all forms of energy;
- act to conserve energy more effectively;
- strive to meet our energy needs at the lowest cost consistent with the protection of both our national security and our natural environment;
- reduce excessive regulatory and administrative impediments which have delayed or prevented construction of energy-producing facilities;
- act in concert with other nations to conduct research in the energy field and to find ways to prevent serious shortages; and
- apply our vast scientific and technological capacities—both public and private—so we can utilize our current energy resources more wisely and develop new sources and new forms of energy.

The actions I am announcing today and the proposals I am submitting to the Congress are designed to achieve these objectives. They reflect the fact that we are in a period of transition, in which we must work to avoid or at least minimize short-term supply shortages, while we act to expand and develop our domestic supplies in order to meet long-term energy needs.

We should not suppose this transition period will be easy. The task ahead will require the concerted and cooperative efforts of consumers, industry, and government.

DEVELOPING OUR DOMESTIC ENERGY RESOURCES

The effort to increase domestic energy production in a manner consistent with our economic, environmental and security interests should focus on the following areas:

NATURAL GAS

Natural gas is America's premium fuel. It is clean-burning and thus has the least detrimental effect on our environment.

Since 1966, our consumption of natural gas has increased by over one-third, so that today natural gas comprises 32 percent of the total energy we consume from all sources. During this same period, our proven and available reserves of natural gas have decreased by a fifth. Unless we act responsibly, we will soon encounter increasing shortages of this vital fuel.

Yet the problem of shortages results less from inadequate resources than from ill-conceived regulation. Natural gas is the fuel most heavily regulated by the Federal Government—through the Federal Power Commission. Not only are the operations of interstate natural gas pipelines regulated, as was originally and properly intended by the Congress, but the price of the natural gas supplied to these pipelines by thousands of independent producers has also been regulated.

For more than a decade the prices of natural gas supplied to pipelines under this extended regulation have been kept artificially low. As a result, demand has been artificially stimulated, but the exploration and development required to provide new supplies to satisfy this increasing demand have been allowed to wither. This form of government regulation has contributed heavily to the short-

ages we have experienced, and to the greater scarcity we now anticipate.

As a result of its low regulated price, more than 50 percent of our natural gas is consumed by industrial users and utilities, many of which might otherwise be using coal or oil. While homeowners are being forced to turn away from natural gas and toward more expensive fuels, unnecessarily large quantities of natural gas are being used by industry.

Furthermore, because prices within producing States are often higher than the interstate prices established by the Federal Power Commission, most newly discovered and newly produced natural gas does not enter interstate pipelines. Potential consumers in non-producing States thus suffer the worst shortages. While the Federal Power Commission has tried to alleviate these problems, the regulatory framework and attendant judicial constraints inhibit the ability of the Commission to respond adequately.

It is clear that the price paid to producers for natural gas in interstate trade must increase if there is to be the needed incentive for increasing supply and reducing inefficient usage. Some have suggested additional regulation to provide new incentives, but we have already seen the pitfalls in this approach. We must regulate less, not more. At the same time, we cannot remove all natural gas regulations without greatly inflating the price of gas currently in production and generating windfall profits.

To resolve this issue, I am proposing that gas from new wells, gas newly-dedicated to interstate markets, and the continuing production of natural gas from expired contracts should no longer be subject to price regulation at the wellhead. Enactment of this legislation should stimu-

late new exploration and development. At the same time, because increased prices on new unregulated gas would be averaged in with the prices for gas that is still regulated, the consumer should be protected against precipitous cost increases.

To add further consumer protection against unjustified price increases, I propose that the Secretary of the Interior be given authority to impose a ceiling on the price of new natural gas when circumstances warrant. Before exercising this power, the Secretary would consider the cost of alternative domestic fuels, taking into account the superiority of natural gas from an environmental standpoint. He would also consider the importance of encouraging production and more efficient use of natural gas.

OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF

Approximately half of the oil and gas resources in this country are located on public lands, primarily on the Outer Continental Shelf (OCS). The speed at which we can increase our domestic energy production will depend in large measure on how rapidly these resources can be developed.

Since 1954, the Department of the Interior has leased to private developers almost 8 million acres on the Outer Continental Shelf. But this is only a small percentage of these potentially productive areas. At a time when we are being forced to obtain almost 30 percent of our oil from foreign sources, this level of development is not adequate.

I am therefore directing the Secretary of the Interior to take steps which would triple the annual acreage leased on the Outer Continental Shelf by 1979, beginning with expanded sales in 1974 in the

Gulf of Mexico and including areas beyond 200 meters in depth under conditions consistent with my oceans policy statement of May, 1970. By 1985, this accelerated leasing rate could increase annual energy production by an estimated 1.5 billion barrels of oil (approximately 16 percent of our projected oil requirements in that year), and 5 trillion cubic feet of natural gas (approximately 20 percent of expected demand for natural gas that year).

In the past, a central concern in bringing these particular resources into production has been the threat of environmental damage. Today, new techniques, new regulations and standards, and new surveillance capabilities enable us to reduce and control environmental dangers substantially. We should now take advantage of this progress. The resources under the Shelf, and on all our public lands, belong to all Americans, and the critical needs of all Americans for new energy supplies require that we develop them.

If at any time it is determined that exploration and development of a specific shelf area can only proceed with inadequate protection of the environment, we will not commence or continue operations. This policy was reflected in the suspension of 35 leases in the Santa Barbara Channel in 1971. We are continuing the Santa Barbara suspensions, and I again request that the Congress pass legislation that would provide for appropriate settlement for those who are forced to relinquish their leases in the area.

At the same time, I am directing the Secretary of the Interior to proceed with leasing the Outer Continental Shelf beyond the Channel Islands of California if the reviews now underway show that the environmental risks are acceptable.

I am also asking the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality to work with the Environmental Protection Agency, in consultation with the National Academy of Sciences and appropriate Federal agencies, to study the environmental impact of oil and gas production on the Atlantic Outer Continental Shelf and in the Gulf of Alaska. No drilling will be undertaken in these areas until its environmental impact is determined. Governors, legislators and citizens of these areas will be consulted in this process.

Finally, I am asking the Secretary of the Interior to develop a long-term leasing program for *all* energy resources on public lands, based on a thorough analysis of the Nation's energy, environmental, and economic objectives.

ALASKAN PIPELINE

Another important source of domestic oil exists on the North Slope of Alaska. Although private industry stands ready to develop these reserves and the Federal Government has spent large sums on environmental analyses, this project is still being delayed. This delay is not related to any adverse judicial findings concerning environmental impact, but rather to an outmoded legal restriction regarding the width of the right of way for the proposed pipeline.

At a time when we are importing growing quantities of oil at great detriment to our balance of payments, and at a time when we are also experiencing significant oil shortages, we clearly need the two million barrels a day which the North Slope could provide—a supply equal to fully one-third of our present import levels.

In recent weeks I have proposed legis-

lation to the Congress which would remove the present restriction on the pipeline. I appeal to the Congress to act swiftly on this matter so that we can begin construction of the pipeline with all possible speed.

I oppose any further delay in order to restudy the advisability of building the pipeline through Canada. Our interest in rapidly increasing our supply of oil is best served by an Alaskan pipeline. It could be completed much more quickly than a Canadian pipeline; its entire capacity would be used to carry domestically owned oil to American markets where it is needed; and construction of an Alaskan pipeline would create a significant number of American jobs both in Alaska and in the maritime industry.

SHALE OIL

Recoverable deposits of shale oil in the continental United States are estimated at some 600 billion barrels, 80 billion of which are considered easily accessible.

At the time of my Energy Message of 1971, I requested the Secretary of the Interior to develop an oil shale leasing program on a pilot basis and to provide me with a thorough evaluation of the environmental impact of such a program. The Secretary has prepared this pilot project and expects to have a final environmental impact statement soon. If the environmental risks are acceptable, we will proceed with the program.

To date there has been no commercial production of shale oil in the United States. Our pilot program will provide us with valuable experience in using various operational techniques and acting under various environmental conditions. Under the proposed program, the costs

both of development and environmental protection would be borne by the private lessee.

GEOTHERMAL LEASES

At the time of my earlier Energy Message, I also directed the Department of the Interior to prepare a leasing program for the development of geothermal energy on Federal lands. The regulations and final environmental analysis for such a program should be completed by late spring of this year.

If the analysis indicates that we can proceed in an environmentally acceptable manner, I expect leasing of geothermal fields on Federal lands to begin soon thereafter.

The use of geothermal energy could be of significant importance to many of our western areas, and by supplying a part of the western energy demand, could release other energy resources that would otherwise have to be used. Today, for instance, power from the Geysers geothermal field in California furnishes about one-third of the electric power of the city of San Francisco.

New technologies in locating and producing geothermal energy are now under development. During the coming fiscal year, the National Science Foundation and the Geological Survey will intensify their research and development efforts in this field.

COAL

Coal is our most abundant and least costly domestic source of energy. Nevertheless, at a time when energy shortages loom on the horizon, coal provides less than 20 percent of our energy demands, and there is serious danger that its use will

be reduced even further. If this reduction occurs, we would have to increase our oil imports rapidly, with all the trade and security problems this would entail.

Production of coal has been limited not only by competition from natural gas—a competition which has been artificially induced by Federal price regulation—but also by emerging environmental concerns and mine health and safety requirements. In order to meet environmental standards, utilities have shifted to natural gas and imported low-sulphur fuel oil. The problem is compounded by the fact that some low-sulphur coal resources are not being developed because of uncertainty about Federal and State mining regulations.

I urge that highest national priority be given to expanded development and utilization of our coal resources. Present and potential users who are able to choose among energy sources should consider the national interest as they make their choice. Each decision against coal increases petroleum or gas consumption, compromising our national self-sufficiency and raising the cost of meeting our energy needs.

In my State of the Union Message on Natural Resources and the Environment earlier this year, I called for strong legislation to protect the environment from abuse caused by mining. I now repeat that call. Until the coal industry knows the mining rules under which it will have to operate, our vast reserves of low-sulphur coal will not be developed as rapidly as they should be and the under-utilization of such coal will persist.

The Clean Air Act of 1970, as amended, requires that primary air quality standards—those related to health—must be met by 1975, while more stringent secondary standards—those related to the

"general welfare"—must be met within a reasonable period. The States are moving very effectively to meet primary standards established by the Clean Air Act, and I am encouraged by their efforts.

At the same time, our concern for the "general welfare" or national interest should take into account considerations of national security and economic prosperity, as well as our environment.

If we insisted upon meeting both primary and secondary clean air standards by 1975, we could prevent the use of up to 155 million tons of coal per year. This would force an increase in demand for oil of 1.6 million barrels per day. This oil would have to be imported, with an adverse effect on our balance of payments of some \$1.5 billion or more a year. Such a development would also threaten the loss of an estimated 26,000 coal mining jobs.

If, on the other hand, we carry out the provisions of the Clean Air Act in a judicious manner, carefully meeting the primary, health-related standards, but not moving in a precipitous way toward meeting the secondary standards, then we should be able to use virtually all of that coal which would otherwise go unused.

The Environmental Protection Agency has indicated that the reasonable time allowed by the Clean Air Act for meeting secondary standards could extend beyond 1975. Last year, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency sent to all State governors a letter explaining that during the current period of shortages in low-sulphur fuel, the States should not require the burning of such fuels except where necessary to meet the primary standards for the protection of health. This action by the States should permit the desirable substitution of coal for low-

sulphur fuel in many instances. I strongly support this policy.

Many State regulatory commissions permit their State utilities to pass on increased fuel costs to the consumer in the form of higher rates, but there are sometimes lags in allowing the costs of environmental control equipment to be passed on in a similar way. Such lags discourage the use of environmental control technology and encourage the use of low-sulphur fuels, most of which are imported.

To increase the incentive for using new environmental technology, I urge all State utility commissions to ensure that utilities receive a rapid and fair return on pollution control equipment, including stack gas cleaning devices and coal gasification processes.

As an additional measure to increase the production and use of coal, I am directing that a new reporting system on national coal production be instituted within the Department of the Interior, and I am asking the Federal Power Commission for regular reports on the use of coal by utilities.

I am also stepping up our spending for research and development in coal, with special emphasis on technology for sulphur removal and the development of low-cost, clean-burning forms of coal.

NUCLEAR ENERGY

Although our greatest dependence for energy until now has been on fossil fuels such as coal and oil, we must not and we need not continue this heavy reliance in the future. The major alternative to fossil fuel energy for the remainder of this century is nuclear energy.

Our well-established nuclear technology already represents an indispensable source of energy for meeting present needs. At present there are 30 nuclear power plants in operation in the United States; of the new electrical generator capacity contracted for during 1972, 70 percent will be nuclear powered. By 1980, the amount of electricity generated by nuclear reactors will be equivalent to 1.25 billion barrels of oil, or 8 trillion cubic feet of gas. It is estimated that nuclear power will provide more than one-quarter of this country's electrical production by 1985, and over half by the year 2000.

Most nuclear power plants now in operation utilize light water reactors. In the near future, some will use high temperature gas-cooled reactors. These techniques will be supplemented during the next decade by the fast breeder reactor, which will bring about a 30-fold increase in the efficiency with which we utilize our domestic uranium resources. At present, development of the liquid metal fast breeder reactor is our highest priority target for nuclear research and development.

Nuclear power generation has an extraordinary safety record. There has never been a nuclear-related fatality in our civilian atomic energy program. We intend to maintain that record by increasing research and development in reactor safety.

The process of determining the safety and environmental acceptability of nuclear power plants is more vigorous and more open to public participation than for any comparable industrial enterprise. Every effort must be made by the Government and industry to protect public health and safety and to provide satisfactory

answers to those with honest concerns about this source of power.

At the same time, we must seek to avoid unreasonable delays in developing nuclear power. They serve only to impose unnecessary costs and aggravate our energy shortages. It is discouraging to know that nuclear facilities capable of generating 27,000 megawatts of electric power which were expected to be operational by 1972 were not completed. To replace that generating capacity we would have to use the equivalent of one-third of the natural gas the country used for generating electricity in 1972. This situation must not continue.

In my first Energy Special Message in 1971, I proposed that utilities prepare and publish long-range plans for the siting of nuclear power plants and transmission lines. This legislation would provide a Federal-State framework for licensing individual plants on the basis of a full and balanced consideration of both environmental and energy needs. The Congress has not acted on that proposal. I am resubmitting that legislation this year with a number of new provisions to simplify licensing, including one to require that the Government act on all completed license applications within 18 months after they are received.

I would also emphasize that the private sector's role in future nuclear development must continue to grow. The Atomic Energy Commission is presently taking steps to provide greater amounts of enriched uranium fuel for the Nation's nuclear power plants. However, this expansion will not fully meet our needs in the 1980's; the Government now looks to private industry to provide the additional capacity that will be required.

Our nuclear technology is a national asset of inestimable value. It is essential

that we press forward with its development.

The increasing occurrence of unnecessary delays in the development of energy facilities must be ended if we are to meet our energy needs. To be sure, reasonable safeguards must be vigorously maintained for protection of the public and of our environment. Full public participation and questioning must also be allowed as we decide where new energy facilities are to be built. We need to streamline our governmental procedures for licensing and inspections, reduce overlapping jurisdictions and eliminate confusion generated by the government.

To achieve these ends I am taking several steps. During the coming year we will examine various possibilities to assure that all public and private interests are impartially and expeditiously weighed in all government proceedings for permits, licensing and inspections.

I am again proposing siting legislation to the Congress for electric facilities and for the first time, for deepwater ports. All of my new siting legislation includes provision for simplified licensing at both Federal and State levels. It is vital that the Congress take prompt and favorable action on these proposals.

ENCOURAGING DOMESTIC EXPLORATION

Our tax system now provides needed incentives for mineral exploration in the form of percentage depletion allowances and deductions for certain drilling expenses. These provisions do not, however, distinguish between exploration for new reserves and development of existing reserves.

In order to encourage increased explo-

ration, I ask the Congress to extend the investment credit provisions of our present tax law so that a credit will be provided for all exploratory drilling for new oil and gas fields. Under this proposal, a somewhat higher credit would apply for successful exploratory wells than for unsuccessful ones, in order to put an additional premium on results.

The investment credit has proven itself a powerful stimulus to industrial activity. I expect it to be equally effective in the search for new reserves.

IMPORTING TO MEET OUR ENERGY NEEDS

OIL IMPORTS

In order to avert a short-term fuel shortage and to keep fuel costs as low as possible, it will be necessary for us to increase fuel imports. At the same time, in order to reduce our long-term reliance on imports, we must encourage the exploration and development of our domestic oil and the construction of refineries to process it.

The present quota system for oil imports—the Mandatory Oil Import Program—was established at a time when we could produce more oil at home than we were using. By imposing quantitative restrictions on imports, the quota system restricted imports of foreign oil. It also encouraged the development of our domestic petroleum industry in the interest of national security.

Today, however, we are not producing as much oil as we are using, and we must import ever larger amounts to meet our needs.

As a result, the current Mandatory Oil Import Program is of virtually no benefit

any longer. Instead, it has the very real potential of aggravating our supply problems, and it denies us the flexibility we need to deal quickly and efficiently with our import requirements. General dissatisfaction with the program and the apparent need for change has led to uncertainty. Under these conditions, there can be little long-range investment planning for new drilling and refinery construction.

Effective today, I am removing by proclamation [4210] all existing tariffs on imported crude oil and products. Holders of import licenses will be able to import petroleum duty free. This action will help hold down the cost of energy to the American consumer.

Effective today, I am also suspending direct control over the quantity of crude oil and refined products which can be imported. In place of these controls, I am substituting a license-fee quota system.

Under the new system, present holders of import licenses may import petroleum exempt from fees up to the level of their 1973 quota allocations. For imports in excess of the 1973 level, a fee must be paid by the importer.

This system should achieve several objectives.

First, it should help to meet our immediate energy needs by encouraging importation of foreign oil at the lowest cost to consumers, while also providing incentives for exploration and development of our domestic resources to meet our long-term needs. There will be little paid in fees this year, although all exemptions from fees will be phased out over several years. By gradually increasing fees over the next two and one-half years to a maximum

level of one-half cent per gallon for crude oil and one and one-half cents per gallon for all refined products, we should continue to meet our energy needs while encouraging industry to increase its domestic production.

Second, this system should encourage refinery construction in the United States, because the fees are higher for refined products than for crude oil. As an added incentive, crude oil in amounts up to three-fourths of new refining capacity may be imported without being subject to any fees. This special allowance will be available to an oil company during the first five years after it builds or expands its refining capacity.

Third, this system should provide the flexibility we must have to meet short and long-term needs efficiently. We will review the fee level periodically to ensure that we are imposing the lowest fees consistent with our intention to increase domestic production while keeping costs to the consumer at the lowest possible level. We will also make full use of the Oil Import Appeals Board to ensure that the needs of all elements of the petroleum industry are met, particularly those of independent operators who help to maintain market competition.

Fourth, the new system should contribute to our national security. Increased domestic production will leave us less dependent on foreign supplies. At the same time, we will adjust the fees in a manner designed to encourage, to the extent possible, the security of our foreign supplies. Finally, I am directing the Oil Policy Committee to examine incentives aimed at increasing our domestic storage capacity or shut-in production. In this way we

will provide buffer stocks to insulate ourselves against a temporary loss of foreign supplies.

DEEPWATER PORTS

It is clear that in the foreseeable future, we will have to import oil in large quantities. We should do this as cheaply as we can with minimal damage to the environment. Unfortunately, our present capabilities are inadequate for these purposes.

The answer to this problem lies in deepwater ports which can accommodate those larger ships, providing important economic advantages while reducing the risks of collision and grounding. Recent studies by the Council on Environmental Quality demonstrate that we can expect considerably less pollution if we use fewer but larger tankers and deepwater facilities, as opposed to the many small tankers and conventional facilities which we would otherwise need.

If we do not enlarge our deepwater port capacity it is clear that both American and foreign companies will expand oil transshipment terminals in the Bahamas and the Canadian Maritime Provinces. From these terminals, oil will be brought to our conventional ports by growing numbers of small and medium size transshipment vessels, thereby increasing the risks of pollution from shipping operations and accidents. At the same time, the United States will lose the jobs and capital that those foreign facilities provide.

Given these considerations, I believe we must move forward with an ambitious program to create new deepwater ports for receiving petroleum imports.

The development of ports has usually been a responsibility of State and local governments and the private sector. How-

ever, States cannot issue licenses beyond the three-mile limit. I am therefore proposing legislation to permit the Department of the Interior to issue such licenses. Licensing would be contingent upon full and proper evaluation of environmental impact, and would provide for strict navigation and safety, as well as proper land use requirements. The proposed legislation specifically provides for Federal cooperation with State and local authorities.

CONSERVING ENERGY

The abundance of America's natural resources has been one of our greatest advantages in the past. But if this abundance encourages us to take our resources for granted, then it may well be a detriment to our future.

Common sense clearly dictates that as we expand the types and sources of energy available to us for the future, we must direct equal attention to conserving the energy available to us today, and we must explore means to limit future growth in energy demand.

We as a nation must develop a national energy conservation ethic. Industry can help by designing products which conserve energy and by using energy more efficiently. All workers and consumers can help by continually saving energy in their day-to-day activities: by turning out lights, tuning up automobiles, reducing the use of air conditioning and heating, and purchasing products which use energy efficiently.

Government at all levels also has an important role to play, both by conserving energy directly, and by providing leadership in energy conservation efforts.

I am directing today that an Office of

Energy Conservation be established in the Department of the Interior to coordinate the energy conservation programs which are presently scattered throughout the Federal establishment. This office will conduct research and work with consumer and environmental groups in their efforts to educate consumers on ways to get the greatest return on their energy dollar.

To provide consumers with further information, I am directing the Department of Commerce, working with the Council on Environmental Quality and the Environmental Protection Agency, to develop a voluntary system of energy efficiency labels for major home appliances. These labels should provide data on energy use as well as a rating comparing the product's efficiency to other similar products. In addition, the Environmental Protection Agency will soon release the results of its tests of fuel efficiency in automobiles.

There are other ways, too, in which government can exercise leadership in this field. I urge again, for example, that we allow local officials to use money from [the] Highway Trust Fund for mass transit purposes. Greater reliance on mass transit can do a great deal to help us conserve gasoline.

The Federal Government can also lead by example. The General Services Administration, for instance, is constructing a new Federal office building using advanced energy conservation techniques, with a goal of reducing energy use by 20 percent over typical buildings of the same size. At the same time, the National Bureau of Standards is evaluating energy use in a full-size house within its laboratories. When this evaluation is complete, analyti-

cal techniques will be available to help predict energy use for new dwellings. This information, together with the experience gained in the construction and operation of the demonstration Federal building, will assist architects and contractors to design and construct energy-efficient buildings.

Significant steps to upgrade insulation standards on single and multi-family dwellings were taken at my direction in 1971 and 1972, helping to reduce heat loss and otherwise conserve energy in the residential sector. As soon as the results of these important demonstration projects are available, I will direct the Federal Housing Administration to update its insulation standards in light of what we have learned and to consider their possible extension to mobile homes.

Finally, we should recognize that the single most effective means of encouraging energy conservation is to ensure that energy prices reflect their true costs. By eliminating regulations such as the current ceiling on natural gas prices and by ensuring that the costs of adequate environmental controls are equitably allocated, we can move toward more efficient distribution of our resources.

Energy conservation is a national necessity, but I believe that it can be undertaken most effectively on a voluntary basis. If the challenge is ignored, the result will be a danger of increased shortages, increased prices, damage to the environment and the increased possibility that conservation will have to be undertaken by compulsory means in the future. There should be no need for a nation which has always been rich in energy to have to turn to energy rationing. This is a part of the

energy challenge which every American can help to meet, and I call upon every American to do his or her part.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

If we are to be certain that the forward thrust of our economy will not be hampered by insufficient energy supplies or by energy supplies that are prohibitively expensive, then we must not continue to be dependent on conventional forms of energy. We must instead make every useful effort through research and development to provide both alternative sources of energy and new technologies for producing and utilizing this energy.

For the short-term future, our research and development strategy will provide technologies to extract and utilize our existing fossil fuels in a manner most compatible with a healthy environment.

In the longer run, from 1985 to the beginning of the next century, we will have more sophisticated development of our fossil fuel resources and on the full development of the Liquid Metal Fast Breeder Reactor. Our efforts for the distant future center on the development of technologies—such as nuclear fusion and solar power—that can provide us with a virtually limitless supply of clean energy.

In my 1971 Energy Special Message to the Congress I outlined a broadly based research and development program. I proposed the expansion of cooperative Government-industry efforts to develop the Liquid Metal Fast Breeder Reactor, coal gasification, and stack gas cleaning systems at the demonstration level. These programs are all progressing well.

My budget for fiscal year 1974 pro-

vides for an increase in energy research and development funding of 20 percent over the level of 1973.

My 1974 budget provides for creation of a new central energy fund in the Interior Department to provide additional money for non-nuclear research and development, with the greatest part designated for coal research. This central fund is designed to give us the flexibility we need for rapid exploitation of new, especially promising energy technologies with near-term payoffs.

One of the most promising programs that will be receiving increased funding in fiscal year 1974 is the solvent refined coal process which will produce low-ash, low-sulphur fuels from coal. Altogether, coal research and development and proposed funding is increased by 27 percent.

In addition to increased funding for the Liquid Metal Fast Breeder Reactor, I am asking for greater research and development on reactor safety and radioactive waste disposal, and the production of nuclear fuel.

The waters of the world contain potential fuel—in the form of a special isotope of hydrogen—sufficient to power fusion reactors for thousands of years. Scientists at the Atomic Energy Commission now predict with increasing confidence that we can demonstrate laboratory feasibility of controlled thermonuclear fusion by magnetic confinement in the near future. We have also advanced to the point where some scientists believe the feasibility of laser fusion could be demonstrated within the next several years. I have proposed in my 1974 budget a 35 percent increase in funding for our total fusion research and development

effort to accelerate experimental programs and to initiate preliminary reactor design studies.

While we look to breeder reactors to meet our mid-term energy needs, today's commercial power reactors will continue to provide most of our nuclear generating capacity for the balance of this century. Although nuclear reactors have had a remarkable safety record, my 1974 budget provides additional funds to assure that our rapidly growing reliance on nuclear power will not compromise public health and safety. This includes work on systems for safe storage of the radioactive waste which nuclear reactors produce. The Atomic Energy Commission is working on additional improvements in surface storage and will continue to explore the possibility of underground burial for long-term containment of these wastes.

Solar energy holds great promise as a potentially limitless source of clean energy. My new budget triples our solar energy research and development effort to a level of \$12 million. A major portion of these funds would be devoted to accelerating the development of commercial systems for heating and cooling buildings.

Research and development funds relating to environmental control technologies would be increased 24 percent in my 1974 budget. This research includes a variety of projects related to stack gas cleaning and includes the construction of a demonstration sulphur dioxide removal plant. In addition, the Atomic Energy Commission and the Environmental Protection Agency will continue to conduct research on the thermal effects of power plants.

While the Federal Government is sig-

nificantly increasing its commitment to energy research and development, a large share of such research is and should be conducted by the private sector.

I am especially pleased that the electric utilities have recognized the importance of research in meeting the rapidly escalating demand for electrical energy. The recent establishment of the Electric Power Research Institute, which will have a budget in 1974 in excess of \$100 million, can help develop technology to meet both load demands and environmental regulations currently challenging the industry.

Historically the electric power industry has allocated a smaller portion of its revenues to research than have most other technology-dependent industries. This pattern has been partly attributable to the reluctance of some State utility commissions to include increased research and development expenditures in utility rate bases. Recently the Federal Power Commission instituted a national rule to allow the recovery of research and development expenditures in rates. State regulatory agencies have followed the FPC's lead and are liberalizing their treatment of research and development expenditures consistent with our changing national energy demands.

I am hopeful that this trend will continue and I urge all State utility commissions to review their regulations regarding research and development expenditures to ensure that the electric utility industry can fully cooperate in a national energy research and development effort.

It is foolish and self-defeating to allocate funds more rapidly than they can be effectively spent. At the same time, we must carefully monitor our progress and our needs to ensure that our funding

is adequate. When additional funds are found to be essential, I shall do everything I can to see that they are provided.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The energy challenge confronts every nation. Where there is such a community of interest, there is both a cause and a basis for cooperative action.

Today, the United States is involved in a number of cooperative, international efforts. We have joined with the other 22 member-nations of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development to produce a comprehensive report on long-term problems and to develop an agreement for sharing oil in times of acute shortages. The European Economic Community has already discussed the need for cooperative efforts and is preparing recommendations for a Community energy policy. We have expressed a desire to work together with them in this effort.

We have also agreed with the Soviet Union to pursue joint research in magnetohydrodynamics (MHD), a highly efficient process for generating electricity, and to exchange information on fusion, fission, the generation of electricity, transmission and pollution control technology. These efforts should be a model for joint research efforts with other countries. Additionally, American companies are looking into the possibility of joint projects with the Soviet Union to develop natural resources for the benefit of both nations.

I have also instructed the Department of State, in coordination with the Atomic Energy Commission, other appropriate Government agencies, and the Congress to move rapidly in developing a program of international cooperation in research and development on new forms of energy

and in developing international mechanisms for dealing with energy questions in times of critical shortages.

I believe the energy challenge provides an important opportunity for nations to pursue vital objectives through peaceful cooperation. No chance should be lost to strengthen the structure of peace we are seeking to build in the world, and few issues provide us with as good an opportunity to demonstrate that there is more to be gained in pursuing our national interests through mutual cooperation than through destructive competition or dangerous confrontation.

FEDERAL ENERGY ORGANIZATION

If we are to meet the energy challenge, the current fragmented organization of energy-related activities in the executive branch of the Government must be overhauled.

In 1971, I proposed legislation to consolidate Federal energy-related activities within a new Department of Natural Resources. The 92nd Congress did not act on this proposal. In the interim I have created a new post of Counsellor to the President on Natural Resources to assist in the policy coordination in the natural resources field.

Today I am taking executive action specifically to improve the Federal organization of energy activities.

I have directed the Secretary of the Interior to strengthen his Department's organization of energy activities in several ways.

—The responsibilities of the new Assistant Secretary for Energy and Minerals will be expanded to incorporate all departmental energy activities;

—The Department is to develop a

capacity for gathering and analysis of energy data;

—An Office of Energy Conservation is being created to seek means for reducing demands for energy;

—The Department of the Interior has also strengthened its capabilities for overseeing and coordinating a broader range of energy research and development.

By Executive order [11703], I have placed authority in the Department of the Treasury for directing the Oil Policy Committee. That Committee coordinates the oil import program and makes recommendations to me for changes in that program. The Deputy Secretary of the Treasury has been designated Chairman of that Committee.

Through a second Executive order [11712], effective today, I am strengthening the capabilities of the Executive Office of the President to deal with top level energy policy matters by establishing a special energy committee composed of three of my principal advisors. The order also reaffirms the appointment of a Special Consultant, who heads an energy staff in the Office of the President.

Additionally, a new division of Energy and Science is being established within the Office of Management and Budget.

While these executive actions will help, more fundamental reorganization is needed. To meet this need, I shall propose legislation to establish a Department of Energy and Natural Resources (DENR) building on the legislation I submitted in 1971, with heightened emphasis on energy programs.

This new Department would provide leadership across the entire range of national energy. It would, in short, be re-

sponsible for administering the national energy policy detailed in this message.

CONCLUSION

Nations succeed only as they are able to respond to challenge, and to change when circumstances and opportunities require change.

When the first settlers came to America, they found a land of untold natural wealth, and this became the cornerstone of the most prosperous nation in the world. As we have grown in population, in prosperity, in industrial capacity, in all those indices that reflect the constant upward thrust in the American standard of living, the demands on our natural resources have also grown.

Today, the energy resources which have fueled so much of our national growth are not sufficiently developed to meet the constantly increasing demands which have been placed upon them. The time has come to change the way we meet these demands. The challenge facing us represents one of the great opportunities of our time—an opportunity to create an even stronger domestic economy, a cleaner environment, and a better life for all our people.

The proposals I am submitting and the actions I will take can give us the tools to do this important job.

The need for action is urgent. I hope the Congress will act with dispatch on the proposals I am submitting. But in the final analysis, the ultimate responsibility does not rest merely with the Congress or with this Administration. It rests with all of us—with government, with industry and with the individual citizen.

Whenever we have been confronted with great national challenges in the past, the American people have done their duty. I am confident we shall do so now.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
April 18, 1973.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the message by Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz. Also released was the transcript of a news briefing on oil import policy by William E. Simon, Deputy Secretary, and William A. Johnson, Energy Advisor to the Deputy Secretary, Department of the Treasury; and Charles J. DiBona, Special Consultant to the President on energy matters.

129 Statement About the Death of Hamilton Fish Armstrong. *April 25, 1973*

HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG distinguished himself as a scholar, a diplomat, and an editor. His vast learning, combined with his extensive practical experience, made him a valuable source of counsel for several generations of American leaders. As the inspired and inspiring editor of *Foreign Affairs*, he was a strong

force for a more peaceful, more stable world.

Mrs. Nixon and I extend our deepest sympathy to his family.

NOTE: Mr. Armstrong, 80, died in New York City, on April 24, 1973.

He was a founder of *Foreign Affairs* and its editor from 1928 until his retirement in the fall of 1972.

130 Statement Following an Inspection Flight Over Flooded Areas in Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana. *April 27, 1973*

AS THE Missouri and Mississippi Rivers and their tributaries have ravaged large areas of the Midwest and South with record-breaking floods during the past 6 weeks, I have followed the situation with great concern and have taken steps to ensure that maximum Federal assistance is available to those who have suffered.

This morning I have made a low-level airplane flight over the swollen headwaters of the Yazoo River in Mississippi and from there west to the Mississippi River and downstream to Vicksburg. From the air, we were able to view heavily affected portions of three States—Mississippi, southeastern Arkansas, and north-

eastern Louisiana—not closely enough to see the full dimensions of this tragedy, but enough to gain a better idea of the magnitude of the damage being done.

Preliminary estimates covering all eight States hit by the floods, including Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana, indicate that some \$147.5 million in property damage has already occurred. Agricultural areas are particularly hard-hit. The situation is expected to remain serious through mid-June, particularly in Louisiana and here in Mississippi.

To deal with this emergency, Federal agencies have been mobilized to assist

State and local governments in the most massive flood-fighting effort of this century.

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers deserves considerable credit for its performance. So far the Corps has provided materials and assistance for flood mitigation and prevention amounting to \$24 million. It is estimated that close to \$6 billion in additional damage might have resulted this spring if extensive flood control works had not been previously constructed through combined private and government efforts.

I have already issued major disaster declarations for Missouri, Illinois, and Mississippi. Today, I am declaring Arkansas and Louisiana disaster areas as well.

I can assure all of the people who live in the stricken areas that full Federal assistance will be provided as long as needed. Because farmers have often borne the brunt of the damage, I have asked Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz to make a special inspection tour of the Mississippi Valley from Moline, Illinois, south

to Greenville, Mississippi, during his trip to the Midwest next week. He will report his findings to me upon his return to Washington. I have also directed the Acting Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness, Darrell Trent, to continue working closely with the Governors of all the flood-affected States as he has been doing since the beginning of the emergency and to keep me personally informed.

Countless acts of heroism and sacrifice have been performed by the people of Mississippi and the other States hit by floods this spring, and remarkable resourcefulness in the face of adversity has been shown by the various State and local governments here in the region. I am confident that the people and communities concerned can and will make a strong comeback from this tragedy, and I pledge full Federal support for their recovery and rebuilding efforts.

NOTE: The statement was released at Meridian, Miss.

131 Remarks at the Dedication of the John C. Stennis Naval Technical Training Center, Meridian, Mississippi. April 27, 1973

Secretary Richardson, Senator and Mrs. Stennis, all of the very distinguished guests here on the platform, and all of the very distinguished people who are here on this very special occasion:

Senator Stennis has referred to the fact that he has seldom seen a crowd quite this large. I can only say in response to that that I have seen crowds perhaps almost as large as this, some a little larger, but, Senator, I think you and I would agree

that never have we appeared before a crowd in which more people were behind us.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, so much has been said on this occasion with regard to Senator Stennis, and also by him with regard to me, that it will appear that this is one of those mutual back-scratching societies, but I want to speak to you a moment, if I can, about this State and about this man and, if I may say so, also

about his wife. And what I say about this State and its people and this man, this Senator and his wife, is very closely related.

The Senator and I were referring to the fact, as we flew over the flood-stricken areas of Mississippi today, that this is my second visit to Mississippi since becoming President, and the irony is that on both occasions Mississippi was suffering from a great natural disaster.

I met some of you Mississippians on the occasion of Hurricane Camille when I visited Gulfport very late at night,¹ and the Governor, Governor Waller, presented a painting to me in memory of that visit and of the assistance that was rendered not by me, but by our Government, which I was able to approve on that occasion.

But as I went over this country today and looked down at all those flooded fields, I asked Senator Stennis, "What about the farmers? Will they come back, or are they going to desert that country because of these floods that are the worst, I understand, since 1927, and some say even the worst in history?" And Senator Stennis looked me in the eye and he said, "Look, the folks in Mississippi always come back. They don't desert the land."

I recalled then the spirit that I saw in the eyes and faces of those on that night in Gulfport, people there who had been driven out of their homes. The winds had come and destroyed them, and they were living in trailers, or even worse, but I recall that what impressed me about it is that while others may have given up on them, they haven't given up on themselves. And that is why the spirit of the people of this State has always impressed me and impresses me today.

And so it is now—another disaster—but that, too, will pass. And after that natural disaster, the farmers will come back and the businessmen will come back and the workers will come back, and Mississippi will continue to grow and to prosper. It will continue to grow and prosper because the people of this State have the courage, they have what Senator Stennis has suggested is the ability and the will and the desire to tough it out, no matter how difficult it is, and that makes a strong people and a good people. And we are very proud of you, and I say that to you as I speak to you here in Mississippi today.

And now, incidentally, a word about how all of that has to do with Senator Stennis and Mrs. Stennis. It is that character, that strength, that toughness of moral fiber that Senator Stennis stands for and that his wife stands for.

I was at the hospital, I think one of the first outside visitors to go there after he was able to receive visitors after the terrible accident occurred in Washington a few months ago. And I remember, Mrs. Stennis was there and their son was there, the doctor, and the Senator was sitting up in bed. I talked to them a bit and tried to give them some encouragement. I told him then, and I told her, and I told him on several occasions thereafter when I called him about once a week to see how he was doing, I said, "Senator, what counts even more than the doctor, even more than medicine, is you, your will, your spirit, how you feel." And he said, "I am going to make it."

He has made it, and he is back, and thank God he is.

And because this strong man from Mississippi and this strong, wonderful wife of his, who was always by his side,

¹ See 1969 volume, Item 358.

because they stood together, fought together, prayed together, the Nation is very fortunate, because we continue to have his service.

Now a word about that service and what it has meant. Senator Stennis has made some very kind remarks about the leadership of the President of the United States over these past 4 years and particularly the year 1972. Let me, in turn, tell you how it was possible.

There were some hard decisions. There were times when I made those decisions when I felt that I was pretty much alone, at least as far as the city of Washington was concerned. However, out in the country that wasn't the case. And it wasn't also the case as far as Washington itself was concerned, once you talked to people like Senator Stennis, Senator Eastland, Congressman Hébert, the other Congressmen who are here—and there were many in the House and Senate, Democrat and Republican, who stood firm during these crises.

What I am suggesting is this: A President can make a hard decision, but a President is not able to carry out that decision unless, in the final analysis, he has the support of the people. And in this case, whether it was the decision which I thought was essential on May 8 to mine Haiphong and bomb North Vietnam, which triggered the first negotiation, or whether it was the decision, the much more difficult one, at Christmastime to renew the bombing of North Vietnam with B-52's, another very difficult decision, whatever the case was, I understood why many disagreed.

I understood why many did not understand. I understood why many people said, "Get us peace; get it any way you can.

Get out of Vietnam if they will just give our POW's back." And may I say that that was a very attractive argument at times, because I thought about those POW's and their wives, most of whom or many of whom I had spoken before and many of whom I had met, and I wanted them back.

But what made me realize I had made the right decision was when one of them came in to see me a few weeks ago and he said, "The slogan of our POW camp was 'Home With Honor,' " and they are home with honor, and that is what matters.

Why does honor matter? It matters because Senator Stennis has pointed out that the United States, whether we want it or not, has the responsibility to be the leader in the world for peace and freedom. There is no other free nation that has the strength and no other one that has the will, and if we abdicate that responsibility, our children will grow up in a world in which there will be neither peace nor freedom. So that is the choice that we are making now; that is the choice that this center and all the other naval installations and other installations for our national defense are about.

What I am saying very simply is this: In the year 1972 we opened communications with the leaders of one-fourth of the people in the world, the People's Republic of China. In the year 1972 we began negotiations with the Soviet Union and for the first time have an arms limitation agreement in terms of nuclear arms. And in the year 1972, as it ended and came into 1973, we got a peace agreement in Vietnam, one which now must be enforced.

The question now is where do we go

from here? And I can tell you that the prospects for peace and freedom are bright, provided the United States stays strong, and provided we meet our responsibilities as a world power. And that is why Senator Stennis' remarks are so significant on this occasion. Let me lay it out very directly to you:

Many people applauded—in fact, the whole world applauded—the arms limitation agreement we negotiated with the Soviet Union last year. My friends, we would never have gotten an agreement with the Soviet Union had not Senator Stennis, Congressman Hébert, Senator Eastland, and a number of other Congressmen and Senators stood firm against those who, before the President went to Moscow, said, "Let's cut our arms down first, and then hope they do."

Don't ever send the President of the United States to negotiate with anybody as the head of the second strongest nation in the world. And I say that not because we want to use our strength against somebody else, but because in the world in which we live you can only negotiate something you want from somebody else if the other individual nation or leader has something that he wants to get from you. And that is why we want to limit arms. We would like to reduce the burden of armaments, but in order to do so, let us do it by mutual agreement. Let not the United States move down first and then trust to the good will and the good intentions of others who may not have the same attitudes that we have toward building a world of peace, and one in which we can all be free—or more free—from the burden of armaments.

I can say finally that the great decisions that have been made in the year 1972, and

previously, have been ones that have been difficult, yes. But what has really meant something, a great deal to me, has been the personal association as well as the personal support that I have had from and with John Stennis in that period.

Time after time we have met, we have talked about the tough decisions, the close votes. I have told him that we cannot go to these negotiations in the event that the Senate moved on well-intentioned but, in my view, misguided resolutions that would have reduced our defenses before the negotiations began.

And John Stennis, night after night, went down through those long sessions and stood there holding the fort, fighting for that kind of strong defense because of the conversations we had had, knowing what was on the line, and winning those votes.

I remember one in particular that impressed me. The debate finished at about three in the morning. It was a very close vote. I called the Senator. He had driven home and I reached him at home. And I said, "Senator, I just want to thank you for your leadership, because as a result of your holding the line on that vote, that means that there is now a good possibility we will be able to have a successful negotiation with the Soviet Union on limiting arms, which everybody wants to do."

The Senator said—and this is typical of the greatness and the humility of the man—he said, "Mr. President, I appreciate your calling me and thanking me." And he said, "I am only sorry that we are causing you so much trouble down there in the Senate when you are going to have to go over and do that very important negotiation."

That is John Stennis—not thinking of

himself, but thinking of the President. He is a man who does not think of himself first, who does not think of his party first, but who thinks always of America, his country.

My friends, the strength that he stands for, the military strength, the character that he stands for, that strength and that character is what America needs in the days and years and months ahead, this period which can lead to and, in my view, will lead to a new period of peace in the world and eventually, we trust, to a reduction of the burden of armaments which weighs too heavily, not only on our own people but on other peoples around the world.

I see the plaque here. It reads, "John Stennis, United States Senator, State of Mississippi." And then a quote, "A strong national defense is essential to the preservation of our great Nation."

Ladies and gentlemen, a strong national defense is also essential to the preservation of peace in the world—not just the preservation of our great Nation, but the preservation of peace in the world. A strong America is the world's best guaran-

tee of peace, and John Stennis is the man who stands for that strong America.

And may I say with regard to that man, remarks have been made very eloquently by Secretary Richardson as to how he should be described. He can be described as a proud son of Mississippi. He can be described, also, as a very, very proud leader of the United States Senate. He can be described as a great American. But today I go further than that. This man, his leadership, it will be written in history, helped the whole world, not just his State, not just his Nation, but the whole world.

So, if I may add to the dedication, I would say very simply: I dedicate this John C. Stennis Center not just as a military base—it is that—I dedicate this center as a base that is essential in America's great role, our destiny, to build a world of peace.

John Stennis will be remembered not as a man of war, but as a man who was strong enough to help America lead the way to peace.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:50 a.m. at the new training center at the naval air station.

132 Statement About Signing a Supplemental Appropriations Bill. *April 28, 1973*

I HAVE SIGNED into law House Joint Resolution 496, a bill providing supplemental appropriations of some \$1.3 billion for a number of critical needs.

This legislation was urgently necessary in order to meet this Nation's obligations to our veterans. Last fall we substantially increased the allowances for educational and training assistance for our veterans. That increase, along with a concerted

effort by the Veterans Administration to inform veterans of their rights, has encouraged over 2 million veterans to participate in the program during this fiscal year—almost 125,000 more than we anticipated.

As a result, money for educational assistance and training assistance would have become insufficient by April 30. House Joint Resolution 496, by providing

\$468 million in supplemental funds for this program—as this Administration requested earlier—enables us to continue this assistance at the higher rates.

House Joint Resolution 496 also provides funds to meet one other important request which this Administration has submitted to the Congress: funding of some \$26 million for the Civil Aeronautics Board so that necessary payments may be made to local service air carriers.

Unfortunately, the Congress has used this bill as a vehicle for other provisions which could impede the accomplishment of significant reforms in the student assistance programs of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. My budget proposed \$622 million to fund a new program for basic educational opportunity grants. Such grants which would be made directly to needy students according to need, in contrast to the current method—an outmoded, inequitable one, I think—of channeling student assistance funds to schools through State formula grants. In enacting House Joint Resolution 496, the Congress has appropriated the same total amount which I requested but has diverted \$500 million to continue financing the present forms of assistance.

The Congress, however, has begun to clear the way for significant educational reform, since the bill does provide \$122 million to begin the new grants program. This amount is too small to set up a broad assistance effort but it could provide a useful pilot program and a reformed approach to student assistance—provided that participation is limited to first-year,

full-time students. Legislation which would permit such a pilot program is now before the Congress in the form of House Joint Resolution 393. The Senate has already passed this resolution; I urge the House to take similar action immediately upon its return.

In order to expand the basic grant program so that improved assistance can be provided to all post-secondary students, a crippling provision in present law must be repealed. That provision required that the outmoded programs be financed at levels which prohibit significant funding of the new program. I urge this reform through the enactment of H.R. 6735.

The bill I have signed also provides funds for federally impacted school districts. While the levels of funding exceed my recommendations by \$85 million, the way in which the money is provided recognizes the principle I set forth originally: Impact aid should be targeted to those school districts which bear the heaviest burdens as a result of Federal activities. I am anxious to eliminate payments to districts for children whose parents work for the Federal Government but live in the local community and pay full property, sales, and other taxes. This bill does not eliminate those payments to the extent that I would like, but it does represent a reasonable compromise, and it does take us a long step toward the sweeping reforms that I support.

NOTE: As enacted, H.J. Res. 496, approved April 26, 1973, is Public Law 93-25 (87 Stat. 25).

133 Statement Announcing Resignation of the Attorney General and Members of the White House Staff, and Intention To Nominate Elliot L. Richardson To Be Attorney General. *April 30, 1973*

I HAVE TODAY received and accepted the resignation of Richard G. Kleindienst as Attorney General of the United States. I am appointing Elliot L. Richardson to succeed him as Attorney General and will submit Mr. Richardson's name to the Senate for confirmation immediately.

Mr. Kleindienst asked to be relieved as Attorney General because he felt that he could not appropriately continue as head of the Justice Department now that it appears its investigation of the Watergate and related cases may implicate individuals with whom he has had a close personal and professional association. In making this decision, Mr. Kleindienst has acted in accordance with the highest standards of public service and legal ethics. I am accepting his resignation with regret and with deep appreciation for his dedicated service to this Administration.

Pending Secretary Richardson's confirmation as Attorney General, I have asked him to involve himself immediately in the investigative process surrounding the Watergate matter. As Attorney General, Mr. Richardson will assume full responsibility and authority for coordinating all Federal agencies in uncovering the whole truth about this matter and recommending appropriate changes in the law to prevent future campaign abuses of the sort recently uncovered. He will have total support from me in getting this job done.

In addition, I have today accepted the resignations of two of my closest friends and most trusted assistants in the White

House, H. R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman.

I know that their decision to resign was difficult; my decision to accept it was difficult; but I respect and appreciate the attitude that led them to it.

I emphasize that neither the submission nor the acceptance of their resignations at this time should be seen by anyone as evidence of any wrongdoing by either one. Such an assumption would be both unfair and unfounded.

Throughout our association, each of these men has demonstrated a spirit of selflessness and dedication that I have seldom seen equaled. Their contributions to the work of this Administration have been enormous. I greatly regret their departure.

Finally, I have today requested and accepted the resignation of John W. Dean III from his position on the White House Staff as Counsel.

Effective immediately, Leonard Garment, Special Consultant to the President, will take on additional duties as Counsel to the President and will continue acting in this capacity until a permanent successor to Mr. Dean is named. Mr. Garment will represent the White House in all matters relating to the Watergate investigation and will report directly to me.

NOTE: The texts of the letters of resignation of Richard G. Kleindienst, Attorney General, H. R. Haldeman, Assistant to the President, and John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, dated April 30, 1973,

and released with the President's statement, read as follows:

Dear Mr. President:

It is with deep regret and after long and searching thought that I hereby submit my resignation as Attorney General, to take effect upon the appointment and qualification of my successor.

Even though, as you know, I had previously indicated a desire to leave the government this year for family and financial reasons, the circumstances surrounding the disclosures made to me on Sunday, April 15, 1973 by Assistant Attorney General Petersen, United States Attorney Titus, and Assistant United States Attorney Silbert, dictate this decision at this time. Those disclosures informed me, for the first time, that persons with whom I had had close personal and professional associations could be involved in conduct violative of the laws of the United States. Fair, and impartial enforcement of the law requires that a person who has not had such intimate relationships be the Attorney General of the United States.

It is not for me to comment now on the tragedy that has occurred. However, I will always be mindful of your charge to me from the very beginning that the entire matter be fully investigated and that the full effect of the law be administered no matter who it might involve or affect. You can be proud of the Department of Justice for the manner in which it, from the beginning, has responded to that charge.

Finally, let me express my deep personal appreciation to you for having appointed me the 68th Attorney General of the United States. It is the greatest honor I shall ever have. I shall always be humbly proud to have been a part of the Department of Justice and to have had the opportunity to serve my country as a part of your Administration.

Sincerely,

RICHARD G. KLEINDIENST

[The President, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

Dear Mr. President:

As you know, I had hoped and expected to have had an earlier opportunity to clear up

various allegations and innuendos that have been raised in connection with matters related to the Watergate case. It now appears that this process may consume considerable time. Meanwhile, there is apparently to be no interruption in the flood of stories arising every day from all sorts of sources.

I fully agree with the importance of a complete investigation by the appropriate authorities of all the factors that may be involved; but am deeply concerned that, in the process, it has become virtually impossible under these circumstances for me to carry on my regular responsibilities in the White House.

It is imperative that the work of the Office of the President not be impeded and your staff must be in a position to focus their attention on the vital areas of domestic and international concern that face you, rather than being diverted by the daily rumors and developments in the Watergate case. For these reasons, I submit my resignation as Assistant to the President.

I intend to cooperate fully with the investigation—and will at my request be meeting this week for that purpose with the U.S. Attorneys and with the counsel to the Senate Select Committee.

I am convinced that, in due course, I will have the opportunity not just to clear up any allegations or implications of impropriety but also to demonstrate that I have always met the high and exacting standards of integrity which you have so clearly and properly demanded of all who serve on the White House staff.

I have full confidence that when the truth is known the American people will be totally justified in their pride in the Office of the President and in the conduct of that office by President Nixon.

Respectfully,

H. R. HALDEMAN

[The President, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

Dear Mr. President:

For the past two weeks it has become increasingly evident that, regardless of the actual facts, I have been a target of public attack. The nature of my position on your staff has always demanded that my conduct be both apparently and actually beyond reproach. I have always

felt that the appearance of honesty and integrity is every bit as important to such a position as the fact of one's honesty and integrity.

Unfortunately, such appearances are not always governed by facts. Realistically, they can be affected by repeated rumor, unfounded charges or implications and whatever else the media carries. For instance, this week totally unfounded stories appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* claiming I had asked our Embassy in Lebanon to help the Vesco group in a banking deal. I not only did not do so but, in actual fact, I caused the State Department to cable the Embassy that no one at the White House had any interest in the Vesco dealings. Since I have already reported to you many of the facts in the Gray case, I need only say that at no time did I directly or indirectly suggest that Mr. Gray should do other than keep the Hunt documents, although there have been reports to the contrary. Equally without merit are the source stories about some alleged involvement in the Watergate matter.

As I analyze my situation, I have to conclude that my present usefulness to you and ability to discharge my duties have been impaired by these attacks, perhaps beyond repair.

It is not fair to you and my staff colleagues for me to try to do my job under these cir-

cumstances. Too much of my time and attention is and will be consumed in concern for and straightening out such allegations. At my request, I am going to have separate interviews this week with the District Attorney and the Senate Committee Counsel. Thus, I am looking forward to an early review of the facts and evidence with the appropriate authorities, and I should spend the time necessary in relation thereto.

One of the toughest problems we have in this life is in seeing the difference between the apparent and the real, and in basing our actions only on that which is real. We all must do that more than we do. I have confidence in the ultimate prevalence of truth; I intend to do what I can to speed truth's discovery.

Therefore, Mr. President, I submit to you my resignation. There are on the Domestic Council staff so many good people of ability that I am confident a transition of my responsibilities can be affected without loss of progress. I will do all I can to assist in accomplishing the transition.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN D. EHRLICHMAN,
Assistant to the President

[The President, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

134 Address to the Nation About the Watergate Investigations. April 30, 1973

Good evening:

I want to talk to you tonight from my heart on a subject of deep concern to every American.

In recent months, members of my Administration and officials of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President—including some of my closest friends and most trusted aides—have been charged with involvement in what has come to be known as the Watergate affair. These include charges of illegal activity during and preceding the 1972 Presidential election and charges that responsible officials par-

ticipated in efforts to cover up that illegal activity.

The inevitable result of these charges has been to raise serious questions about the integrity of the White House itself. Tonight I wish to address those questions.

Last June 17, while I was in Florida trying to get a few days rest after my visit to Moscow, I first learned from news reports of the Watergate break-in. I was appalled at this senseless, illegal action, and I was shocked to learn that employees of the Re-Election Committee were apparently among those guilty. I im-

mediately ordered an investigation by appropriate Government authorities. On September 15, as you will recall, indictments were brought against seven defendants in the case.

As the investigations went forward, I repeatedly asked those conducting the investigation whether there was any reason to believe that members of my Administration were in any way involved. I received repeated assurances that there were not. Because of these continuing reassurances, because I believed the reports I was getting, because I had faith in the persons from whom I was getting them, I discounted the stories in the press that appeared to implicate members of my Administration or other officials of the campaign committee.

Until March of this year, I remained convinced that the denials were true and that the charges of involvement by members of the White House Staff were false. The comments I made during this period, and the comments made by my Press Secretary in my behalf, were based on the information provided to us at the time we made those comments. However, new information then came to me which persuaded me that there was a real possibility that some of these charges were true, and suggesting further that there had been an effort to conceal the facts both from the public, from you, and from me.

As a result, on March 21, I personally assumed the responsibility for coordinating intensive new inquiries into the matter, and I personally ordered those conducting the investigations to get all the facts and to report them directly to me, right here in this office.

I again ordered that all persons in the Government or at the Re-Election Committee should cooperate fully with the

FBI, the prosecutors, and the grand jury. I also ordered that anyone who refused to cooperate in telling the truth would be asked to resign from Government service. And, with ground rules adopted that would preserve the basic constitutional separation of powers between the Congress and the Presidency, I directed that members of the White House Staff should appear and testify voluntarily under oath before the Senate committee which was investigating Watergate.

I was determined that we should get to the bottom of the matter, and that the truth should be fully brought out—no matter who was involved.

At the same time, I was determined not to take precipitate action and to avoid, if at all possible, any action that would appear to reflect on innocent people. I wanted to be fair. But I knew that in the final analysis, the integrity of this office—public faith in the integrity of this office—would have to take priority over all personal considerations.

Today, in one of the most difficult decisions of my Presidency, I accepted the resignations of two of my closest associates in the White House—Bob Haldeman, John Ehrlichman—two of the finest public servants it has been my privilege to know.

I want to stress that in accepting these resignations, I mean to leave no implication whatever of personal wrongdoing on their part, and I leave no implication tonight of implication on the part of others who have been charged in this matter. But in matters as sensitive as guarding the integrity of our democratic process, it is essential not only that rigorous legal and ethical standards be observed but also that the public, you, have total confidence that they are both being observed and enforced by those in authority and

particularly by the President of the United States. They agreed with me that this move was necessary in order to restore that confidence.

Because Attorney General Kleindienst—though a distinguished public servant, my personal friend for 20 years, with no personal involvement whatever in this matter—has been a close personal and professional associate of some of those who are involved in this case, he and I both felt that it was also necessary to name a new Attorney General.

The Counsel to the President, John Dean, has also resigned.

As the new Attorney General, I have today named Elliot Richardson, a man of unimpeachable integrity and rigorously high principle. I have directed him to do everything necessary to ensure that the Department of Justice has the confidence and the trust of every law-abiding person in this country.

I have given him absolute authority to make all decisions bearing upon the prosecution of the Watergate case and related matters. I have instructed him that if he should consider it appropriate, he has the authority to name a special supervising prosecutor for matters arising out of the case.

Whatever may appear to have been the case before, whatever improper activities may yet be discovered in connection with this whole sordid affair, I want the American people, I want you to know beyond the shadow of a doubt that during my term as President, justice will be pursued fairly, fully, and impartially, no matter who is involved. This office is a sacred trust and I am determined to be worthy of that trust.

Looking back at the history of this case, two questions arise:

How could it have happened?

Who is to blame?

Political commentators have correctly observed that during my 27 years in politics I have always previously insisted on running my own campaigns for office.

But 1972 presented a very different situation. In both domestic and foreign policy, 1972 was a year of crucially important decisions, of intense negotiations, of vital new directions, particularly in working toward the goal which has been my overriding concern throughout my political career—the goal of bringing peace to America, peace to the world.

That is why I decided, as the 1972 campaign approached, that the Presidency should come first and politics second. To the maximum extent possible, therefore, I sought to delegate campaign operations, to remove the day-to-day campaign decisions from the President's office and from the White House. I also, as you recall, severely limited the number of my own campaign appearances.

Who, then, is to blame for what happened in this case?

For specific criminal actions by specific individuals, those who committed those actions must, of course, bear the liability and pay the penalty.

For the fact that alleged improper actions took place within the White House or within my campaign organization, the easiest course would be for me to blame those to whom I delegated the responsibility to run the campaign. But that would be a cowardly thing to do.

I will not place the blame on subordinates—on people whose zeal exceeded their judgment and who may have done wrong in a cause they deeply believed to be right.

In any organization, the man at the

top must bear the responsibility. That responsibility, therefore, belongs here, in this office. I accept it. And I pledge to you tonight, from this office, that I will do everything in my power to ensure that the guilty are brought to justice and that such abuses are purged from our political processes in the years to come, long after I have left this office.

Some people, quite properly appalled at the abuses that occurred, will say that Watergate demonstrates the bankruptcy of the American political system. I believe precisely the opposite is true. Watergate represented a series of illegal acts and bad judgments by a number of individuals. It was the system that has brought the facts to light and that will bring those guilty to justice—a system that in this case has included a determined grand jury, honest prosecutors, a courageous judge, John Sirica, and a vigorous free press.

It is essential now that we place our faith in that system—and especially in the judicial system. It is essential that we let the judicial process go forward, respecting those safeguards that are established to protect the innocent as well as to convict the guilty. It is essential that in reacting to the excesses of others, we not fall into excesses ourselves.

It is also essential that we not be so distracted by events such as this that we neglect the vital work before us, before this Nation, before America, at a time of critical importance to America and the world.

Since March, when I first learned that the Watergate affair might in fact be far more serious than I had been led to believe, it has claimed far too much of my time and my attention.

Whatever may now transpire in the

case, whatever the actions of the grand jury, whatever the outcome of any eventual trials, I must now turn my full attention—and I shall do so—once again to the larger duties of this office. I owe it to this great office that I hold, and I owe it to you—to my country.

I know that as Attorney General, Elliot Richardson will be both fair and he will be fearless in pursuing this case wherever it leads. I am confident that with him in charge, justice will be done.

There is vital work to be done toward our goal of a lasting structure of peace in the world—work that cannot wait, work that I must do.

Tomorrow, for example, Chancellor Brandt of West Germany will visit the White House for talks that are a vital element of “The Year of Europe,” as 1973 has been called. We are already preparing for the next Soviet-American summit meeting later this year.

This is also a year in which we are seeking to negotiate a mutual and balanced reduction of armed forces in Europe, which will reduce our defense budget and allow us to have funds for other purposes at home so desperately needed. It is the year when the United States and Soviet negotiators will seek to work out the second and even more important round of our talks on limiting nuclear arms and of reducing the danger of a nuclear war that would destroy civilization as we know it. It is a year in which we confront the difficult tasks of maintaining peace in Southeast Asia and in the potentially explosive Middle East.

There is also vital work to be done right here in America: to ensure prosperity, and that means a good job for everyone who wants to work; to control inflation, that I know worries every housewife,

everyone who tries to balance a family budget in America; to set in motion new and better ways of ensuring progress toward a better life for all Americans.

When I think of this office—of what it means—I think of all the things that I want to accomplish for this Nation, of all the things I want to accomplish for you.

On Christmas Eve, during my terrible personal ordeal of the renewed bombing of North Vietnam, which after 12 years of war finally helped to bring America peace with honor, I sat down just before midnight. I wrote out some of my goals for my second term as President.

Let me read them to you.

"To make it possible for our children, and for our children's children, to live in a world of peace.

"To make this country be more than ever a land of opportunity—of equal opportunity, full opportunity for every American.

"To provide jobs for all who can work, and generous help for those who cannot work.

"To establish a climate of decency and civility, in which each person respects the feelings and the dignity and the God-given rights of his neighbor.

"To make this a land in which each person can dare to dream, can live his dreams—not in fear, but in hope—proud of his community, proud of his country, proud of what America has meant to himself and to the world."

These are great goals. I believe we can, we must work for them. We can achieve them. But we cannot achieve these goals unless we dedicate ourselves to another goal.

We must maintain the integrity of the White House, and that integrity must be

real, not transparent. There can be no whitewash at the White House.

We must reform our political process—ridding it not only of the violations of the law but also of the ugly mob violence and other inexcusable campaign tactics that have been too often practiced and too readily accepted in the past, including those that may have been a response by one side to the excesses or expected excesses of the other side. Two wrongs do not make a right.

I have been in public life for more than a quarter of a century. Like any other calling, politics has good people and bad people. And let me tell you, the great majority in politics—in the Congress, in the Federal Government, in the State government—are good people. I know that it can be very easy, under the intensive pressures of a campaign, for even well-intentioned people to fall into shady tactics—to rationalize this on the grounds that what is at stake is of such importance to the Nation that the end justifies the means. And both of our great parties have been guilty of such tactics in the past.

In recent years, however, the campaign excesses that have occurred on all sides have provided a sobering demonstration of how far this false doctrine can take us. The lesson is clear: America, in its political campaigns, must not again fall into the trap of letting the end, however great that end is, justify the means.

I urge the leaders of both political parties, I urge citizens, all of you, everywhere, to join in working toward a new set of standards, new rules and procedures to ensure that future elections will be as nearly free of such abuses as they possibly can be made. This is my goal. I ask you to join in making it America's goal.

When I was inaugurated for a second time this past January 20, I gave each member of my Cabinet and each member of my senior White House Staff a special 4-year calendar, with each day marked to show the number of days remaining to the Administration. In the inscription on each calendar, I wrote these words: "The Presidential term which begins today consists of 1,461 days—no more, no less. Each can be a day of strengthening and renewal for America; each can add depth and dimension to the American experience. If we strive together, if we make the most of the challenge and the opportunity that these days offer us, they can stand out as great days for America, and great moments in the history of the world."

I looked at my own calendar this morning up at Camp David as I was working on this speech. It showed exactly

1,361 days remaining in my term. I want these to be the best days in America's history, because I love America. I deeply believe that America is the hope of the world. And I know that in the quality and wisdom of the leadership America gives lies the only hope for millions of people all over the world that they can live their lives in peace and freedom. We must be worthy of that hope, in every sense of the word. Tonight, I ask for your prayers to help me in everything that I do throughout the days of my Presidency to be worthy of their hopes and of yours.

God bless America and God bless each and every one of you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:01 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

135 Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Proposed Legislation for Funding of Foreign Assistance Programs in Fiscal Year 1974. May 1, 1973

To the Congress of the United States:

One of the most important building blocks in erecting a durable structure of peace is the foreign assistance program of the United States. Today, in submitting my proposed Foreign Assistance Act of 1973, I urge the Congress to act on it with a special sense of urgency so that we may continue the important progress we have made toward achieving peace during the past year.

Perhaps the most persuasive reason for a strong foreign assistance program was set forth by President Roosevelt in the days shortly before World War II, when Brit-

ain needed help. "Suppose my neighbor's home catches fire," he said, "and I have a length of garden hose four or five hundred feet away. If he can take my garden hose and connect it up with his hydrant, I may help him to put out his fire."

Implicit in Roosevelt's analogy was the mutual benefit of giving assistance, for if the fire in question spread, both neighbors would be in danger. Those clear and simple assumptions underlaid our wartime assistance to our European allies and our post-war policy toward the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

Today, we see the wisdom of this policy

on every hand. Western Europe is now a bulwark of freedom in the Atlantic Alliance. In the Pacific, Japan has emerged as a major economic power. The remarkable vigor and talents of her people and the dynamic efficiency of her industry are making significant and increasing contributions to other countries, so that Japan itself now plays an extremely important role in working toward a lasting peace in the Pacific.

In recent years, as we have sought a new definition of American leadership in the world, assistance to other nations has remained a key part of our foreign policy. Under the Nixon Doctrine of shared responsibilities, we have tried to stimulate greater efforts by others. We want them to take on an increasing commitment to provide for their own defenses, their security and their economic development. Most importantly, we hope they will assume greater responsibility for making the decisions which shape their future.

We must not, however, try to shift the full weight of these responsibilities too quickly. A balance must be struck between doing too much ourselves and thus discouraging self-reliance, and doing too little to help others make the most of their limited resources. The latter course would spell defeat for the promising progress of many developing nations, destroy their growing self-confidence, and increase the likelihood of international instability. Thus it is critical that we provide a level of foreign assistance that will help to assure our friends safe passage through this period of transition and development.

The sums I am requesting in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973 represent the absolute minimum prudent investment which the United States can afford to make if we wish to help create a peaceful

and prosperous world. Altogether, authorizations under this bill amount to \$2.9 billion for economic and military assistance in the coming fiscal year. During the current fiscal year, some \$2.6 billion has been appropriated for such purposes under the strictures of a continuing resolution passed by the Congress.

This new Foreign Assistance Act has several fundamental objectives:

- To help the developing countries achieve a greater measure of self-reliance in their struggle against hunger, disease and poverty;
- To respond swiftly to the ravages of natural disasters;
- To assist friendly governments in building and maintaining the military capability to protect their independence and security;
- And to help South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos begin the task of rehabilitating and reconstructing their war-torn countries.

Let us look more closely at each of these objectives.

DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

Hunger, poverty and disease are still widespread among developing countries, despite their significant progress of recent years. Their economic growth—averaging some 5.5 percent a year over the last decade—as well as rapid improvements in agricultural methods and in health care have not yet overcome many deep-seated problems in their societies. Their current needs represent a moral challenge to all mankind.

In providing assistance, however, we should not mislead ourselves into thinking that we act out of pure altruism. Successful development by friendly nations is im-

portant to us both economically and politically. Economically, many of the developing countries have energy resources and raw materials which the world will need to share in coming years. They also could represent larger markets for our exports. Politically, we cannot achieve some of our goals without their support. Moreover, if essential needs of any people go entirely unsatisfied, their frustrations only breed violence and international instability. Thus we should recognize that we assist them out of self-interest as well as humanitarian motives.

While development progress as a result of our aid has been less visible than some would like, I believe it is essential for us to persevere in this effort. I am therefore asking the Congress to authorize some \$1 billion for development assistance programs during fiscal year 1974 and approximately the same amount for fiscal year 1975.

EMERGENCY AID

America's fund of goodwill in the world is substantial, precisely because we have traditionally given substance to our concern and compassion for others. In times of major disaster, American assistance has frequently provided the margin of difference between life and death for thousands. Our aid to victims of disasters—such as the earthquake in Peru and floods in the Philippines—has earned us a reputation for caring about our fellowman.

No nation is more generous in such circumstances. And the American people respond with open hearts to those who suffer such hardship. I am therefore asking the Congress to authorize such amounts as may be needed to meet emergency requirements for relief assistance in the case of major disasters.

SECURITY ASSISTANCE

Security assistance has been a cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy throughout the last quarter century. Countries whose security we consider important to our own national interest frequently face military challenges, often prompted by third countries. In order to maintain a stable international order, it is important that these threatened countries not only be economically developed but also be able to defend themselves, primarily through their own resources.

The United States can rightly claim a number of successes in this regard during recent years. Our programs to help South Vietnam and South Korea build capable forces of their own, for instance, have permitted us to withdraw all of our forces—over 500,000 men—from South Vietnam and 20,000 men from South Korea.

It is unrealistic to think we can provide all of the money or manpower that might be needed for the security of friendly nations. Nor do our allies want such aid; they prefer to rely on their own resources.

We can and should, however, share our experience, counsel and technical resources to help them develop adequate strength of their own. It is for this reason that I ask the Congress to authorize \$652 million in grant military assistance, \$525 million in foreign military sales credits, and \$100 million in supporting assistance funds for fiscal year 1974.

This year's foreign aid bill includes for the first time separate authority for a foreign military education and training program. We want to strengthen this program so that we can help friendly governments better understand our policies,

while they develop a greater sense of self-reliance and professional capability in their own military services.

AID FOR INDOCHINA

The signing of cease-fire agreements in Vietnam and Laos marks the beginning of a trend toward a peaceful environment in Indochina. This change will permit us to turn our attention to the considerable post-war needs of Southeast Asia. To ignore these needs would be to risk the enormous investment we have made in the freedom and independence of the countries of Southeast Asia.

The legislation I am presenting today would authorize the continuation of our economic assistance to South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and would provide for a sound beginning in the process of rehabilitation and reconstruction there. I anticipate other nations will join in this effort, as they have elsewhere, to solidify the foundations for a new era of reconciliation and progress in Southeast Asia.

Relief assistance for refugees of the war in Southeast Asia is vital to this effort. These refugees number in the hundreds of thousands. In addition to their resettlement, this Administration proposes a major effort to help restore essential community services in areas which have suffered because of the war.

In this bill, I ask the Congress to authorize \$632 million for the reconstruction effort in Indochina in fiscal year 1974.

My present request does not include any assistance for North Vietnam. It is my hope that all parties will soon adhere fully to the Paris agreements. If and when that occurs, I believe that American assistance for reconstruction and development of both South and North Vietnam

would represent a sound investment in confirming the peace.

Representatives of the United States have recently been holding discussions with representatives of the Government of North Vietnam to assess economic conditions there and to consider possible forms of United States economic assistance. This assessment has now been suspended, pending clarification of North Vietnam's intentions regarding implementation of the cease-fire. Once Hanoi abandons its military efforts and the assessment is complete, the question of aid for North Vietnam will receive my personal review and will be a subject for Congressional approval.

For a quarter century, America has borne a great burden in the service of freedom in the world. As a result of our efforts, in which we have been joined by increasing numbers of free world nations, the foundation has been laid for a structure of world peace. Our military forces have left Vietnam with honor, our prisoners have returned to their families, and there is a cease-fire in Vietnam and Laos, although still imperfectly observed.

Our foreign assistance program responds to the needs of others as well as our own national needs—neither of which we can afford to ignore.

For our own sake—and for the sake of world peace—I ask the Congress to give these recommendations prompt and favorable consideration.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

May 1, 1973.

NOTE: Prior to transmitting the special message, the President met with the bipartisan leadership of the Congress to discuss its contents.

136 Toasts of the President and Chancellor Willy Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany. May 1, 1973

Mr. Chancellor, Mr. Vice President, and all of our very distinguished guests from the Federal Republic and from the United States:

We hope that you agree with what the Chancellor just said that he always hopes that the Army will be used for playing violins.

In my brief remarks presenting our very distinguished guests to this company, all of whom respect him and most of whom have met him, I have told him that they want to hear from him and not from me, and so, therefore, I will be quite personal and, I hope, perhaps to the point.

I was thinking how much we have in common. I was thinking, for example, that my wife's mother was born in Germany. I was thinking, for example, her father is Irish. I remember that another German Chancellor, Chancellor Adenauer, once a rival of our present guest, said to me that the most beautiful combination of woman was Irish and German, and I agree.

I was thinking, too, of how much my wife and my very lovely dinner partner, Madam von Staden—who is the wife of the German Ambassador we have just received today and his credentials—how much they have in common. They attended the same school, of course a few years apart—she in 1937, my wife, and Madam von Staden in 1950—but the same man was president of the University of Southern California, Rufus von Klein-smid, and when I think of him and of them, I think of what we owe to those of German background who have given so much to America.

I think, too, of how much the Chancel-

lor and I have in common. We were remarking that we were born in the same year. But then they looked at him, how young he was, and I said, "Mr. Chancellor, what month were you born in?" I was born in January and he was born in December, so he is much younger than I am.

I was thinking, too, that our political careers have been somewhat the same. As a matter of fact, on my first visit to the Federal Republic as President, there was a small dinner when a member of the other party was then Chancellor, and the present Chancellor was present, and in a rather jocular mood, looking across at the then leader of the opposition, I said, "Well, Mr. Brandt, don't give up. You know, you can come back. I am the expert on coming back." [*Laughter*]

So here we are, Chancellor of the Federal Republic, President of the United States, and each of us in office until 1976. And I think of all that can happen in those 3½ years. I think how much depends upon the German-American alliance and on the dedication of the leaders of these two countries to the same goals—the goals of strength, of maintaining the strength of this great alliance that has brought us to where we are now, where we can now discuss the possibilities of mutual balanced force reductions. I think, too, of the fact that there have been occasions in the past when our two nations—and no blame is attached in this respect to either side—were not friends. And I think that together, as we are together and will always be in the future, we can do everything.

That is what the German alliance

means and that is what this visit means, because as the Chancellor and I, in our long discussions today, which will continue tomorrow, agreed, we have domestic problems that we will wrestle with, problems of inflation and the economy and others, but his goal and mine, above everything else, is to build a world in which our children, our children's children, can grow up in peace.

And the key to that peaceful world, if there is a key, more than anyplace else in the world, is for the strong, resilient, able people that he represents, and the strong, able, dedicated people that I am proud to represent—for us to work together.

I can assure you—this company and all the American people tonight—that the Chancellor of the Federal Republic and the President of the United States have as their goal for the year 1976, doing everything that we can to build a new structure of peace, not just in Europe, not just in the Atlantic community, but in the Middle East, all over the world. And these two great peoples—the German people, the American people—we can, we will do it together.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is in that spirit that I know that all of you proudly will raise your glasses to the Chancellor, Willy Brandt.

To Willy Brandt, Chancellor Brandt.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:50 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

See also Item 138.

Chancellor Brandt responded as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

I thank you, Mr. President, for the cordial welcome you have extended to me and my delegation. We consider the hospitality shown to us here tonight, shown to us in these days, anything but an act of routine, because we

know that you, Mr. President, had to settle, in addition to receiving us here in Washington, problems of a domestic nature, as we all have to deal with from time to time.

By the way, the story about soldiers playing violins was the President's and not mine. [Laughter]

Last year, you, Mr. President, were given an impressive confirmation by your fellow countrymen and you were able to exert particularly strong influence on international affairs.

In the meantime, it may be said that the cease-fire in Vietnam has brought the world nearer to peace. We also share the joy over the return of the prisoners of war, and we join you in the hope that in the tormented countries of Southeast Asia, arms will at long last become silent.

At the beginning of this year, Mr. President, you had thorough talks here with our British friend, Edward Heath, and only 2 weeks ago, our Italian partner, Signor Andreotti, was given a cordial reception in this house. And not very long from now you will be meeting President Pompidou. None of us meets you any longer solely as the representative of his own country but at the same time already, to a certain degree, as a representative of the European Community as well.

So, I, too, am here not as the spokesman of Europe, but definitely as a spokesman for Europe.

I have spoken about a new feeling of European impatience among our nations, but I think I can put this more affectionately in the words of the first President of the United States, George Washington, who said, "We have the surprising luck to discover that apples will make pies."

Seriously speaking, we do have the right already today to speak of the personality of Europe in about the same way that General de Gaulle spoke of the personality of nations.

The declared aim on this and on the other side of the Atlantic has been and, as I am confident, is equal partnership. We realize that this requires Europe to assume a larger amount of responsibility as regards both regional self-responsibility and the share in world responsibility.

New problems have come to confront us,

the very products of a peace that is no longer as much threatened as it used to be. In this "Year of Europe," as you have called it, we must begin to seek solutions based on principles which will guide our Atlantic zone of partnership for long periods to come. For this, you, Mr. President, have had an orientation indicated as the European summit conference tried to do last fall.

Security, trade, monetary affairs, noneconomic cooperation—there is certainly no lack of common tasks. Helsinki and Vienna: Chances of the relations between East and West begin to become clearer. But without the American commitment, this will not become a reality.

By means of the treaties of Moscow and Warsaw and especially by means of our treaty with East Germany, the Federal Republic of Germany has played its part in order to open the way for multilateral efforts toward détente. The efforts of our so-called *Ostpolitik* are indeed, as Secretary of State, Mr. Rogers, and Dr. Kissinger have underlined, in perfect harmony with your own worldwide peace diplomacy, Mr. President.

We shall face all challenges in the spirit of your own words, Mr. President: Courage, you once said, or putting it more accurately, lack of fear is the result of discipline.

We are confident that we shall succeed in organizing European peace in the course of establishing the balance of world power which you have described. And this is where the words of an author may come true, who is not en-

tirely unknown to those present here this evening, and who wrote power could be transformed into "an instrument of self-control."

Yet we should not deceive ourselves. Organized peace will not be a period of social immobility. This would be neither possible nor desirable for our nations. European Europe has begun the search for common answers to these problems, too, conscious that for our nations a good overall policy can no longer be kept separate from the dynamics of developments in the social field.

Though the process of European union is by far not complete, you will, I am sure, sense the reality of our desire that this Europe be approached already now in such a way that it will be the one big important partner. I perceive of the courage to face the reality of tomorrow the most dependable guarantee for our belonging together.

I am most grateful for the talks today, Mr. President, and also grateful that you have given me the chance to say that it is not only a great honor, but it is just as if a soldier is put into the most important task, that you ask me to join in this common fight to make peace safer together, the two of us, and together with our partners.

Thank you very much.

I propose a toast, ladies and gentlemen, to the health of the President of the United States, to the health of Mrs. Nixon, to the future of what ties Europe and America together, and hence to the happiness of our peoples. To the President of the United States.

137 Statement About Signing a Bill Extending the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970. May 2, 1973

THE CONGRESS has passed, and I have signed into law, an extension of the Economic Stabilization Act. This legislation will permit continuation of a constructive and orderly program to restore price stability, and I congratulate the Congress on its action.

After 18 months of great progress against inflation, prices soared again in

February and March. Most of the increases were in the price of food, an area that strikes home for each of us every day. In these circumstances the temptation was strong to go for the superficially simple solution—to freeze prices across the board or even roll them back. We carefully considered that alternative. We firmly concluded, however, that such a

move, taken at this time, would have created more problems for the average American than it would solve.

If, on the one hand, the freeze had been brief, the country would soon have confronted all the old problems again with even greater urgency when the freeze expired. But if, on the other hand, the freeze were planned to last for an extended period, then our present rising prosperity would have ground to a halt, and the controls system would eventually have broken down.

Concerned as we are about the rise of prices, we must also recognize that there are some cases in which necessary supplies will not be available if prices are frozen or rolled back. We are seeing this now with oil and gas products. Similarly, if we had forced the prices of meat back to their January levels, as some have suggested, customers would not be boycotting meat today, but would instead be storming supermarkets to be the first in line for the scarce supply of meat.

There are times, of course, when a price-wage freeze is necessary. August of 1971 was such a time.

But the situation is very different today. The American economy is operating much closer to capacity than in the summer of 1971. As a result, there are many more cases today where freezing prices would cause shortages. More than that, today we have a flexible price and wage control system already in existence. If conditions require firmer action, generally or selectively, we are already well-equipped to take it.

The price-wage control system is part of a larger anti-inflation program the cornerstone of which is a responsible budget policy. The healthy expansion of our economy, which is creating more jobs and

better wages today, could be transformed into a dangerously inflationary boom tomorrow if the rise in Federal spending accelerates. We must not let that happen.

At the same time that we are following fiscal and monetary policies to restrain excessive demand in the marketplace, we also are acting to increase supplies, the best of all ways to fight rising prices.

One area of special concern, of course, is food prices. We have been working in many ways to increase the supply of food. We have greatly increased the acreage of land available for raising crops and grazing livestock. We have sold the Government-owned stocks of wheat and feed grains. We are no longer subsidizing the export of food, and we have acted to increase imports of meat, dried milk, and cheese. These measures cannot immediately offset the food shortages we have recently experienced—including those caused by the blizzards and floods of the last few months. However, what has been done, together with the spontaneous response of farmers to the present high prices, will have the effect of increasing food supplies and thus holding down prices. In fact, retail food prices have been rising less rapidly in recent weeks than earlier this year. We will continue to explore every possible way to meet the food inflation problem.

We are also seeking to increase supplies of industrial materials by selling off stocks held in the Government's strategic stockpile that are no longer required for national security. I have sent to the Congress the legislation necessary to effect this disposal and I urge its prompt enactment. I have also sent to the Congress a request for authority to suspend tariffs or other restrictions on imports where such action would be useful to restrain inflation; I

hope this legislation will also be promptly and favorably considered.

The third element in the Government's anti-inflation program, in addition to checking the expansion of demand through appropriate fiscal and monetary policies and stimulating the expansion of supply, is the price-wage control system, now known as Phase III.

In Phase III the Government has set forth standards of desirable price and wage behavior which are essentially the same standards used during Phase II. In some areas—food processing and distributing, construction, and medical care—observance of these standards is mandatory just as it was in Phase II. For the rest of the economy, compliance is on a self-administering basis unless the Government, through the Cost of Living Council, finds mandatory control necessary. As I have said before, Phase III will be as voluntary as it can be and as mandatory as it has to be.

Since Phase III began, we have taken a number of steps to ensure the achievement of its goals. Mandatory price control has been imposed on the larger oil companies. Ceiling prices have been set for beef, pork, and lamb. Those wage agreements that have appeared inconsistent with price stabilization have been held up pending further study. The Internal Revenue Service is checking on some 500 large companies to be sure that their pricing procedures conform with the standards of Phase III. The Cost of Living Council is meeting with representatives of a number of large industries to gain a better understanding of the causes of their recent price increases.

So that the Government can administer the Phase III price control program more effectively, I have directed the Cost

of Living Council to take several further steps.

First, it will obtain from the largest firms a full and detailed report on price changes that have been put into effect since the beginning of Phase III, so that it may order reduction of increases that have exceeded the standards.

Second, a new system of prenotification will be instituted. If a major firm intends to raise its average prices more than 1.5 percent above the January 10 authorized level, it must notify the Cost of Living Council 30 days in advance. This will give the Cost of Living Council an opportunity to determine whether or not the use of its authority to stop the increase, or some other action, is warranted.

Third, firms not exceeding the 1.5 percent limit will still be required to report their actions quarterly, so that their conformity to the cost-justification standards may be checked.

Fourth, additional resources will be assigned to ensure that these strengthened efforts are carried out fairly and effectively.

The Cost of Living Council will provide the details of these actions.

This Administration will continue to do everything it can to fight inflation, but others must also do their part if we are to succeed. Everyone has an interest in restoring reasonable price stability without ending the present prosperity and without rigid suppression of free markets and free collective bargaining.

Our great need is for more production. Only with more production can we fight inflation while still providing the goods and services people want.

Today I address the call for more production particularly to the Nation's farmers, because it is the price of food

more than anything else that now blocks the return of price stability. There are many grounds on which such an appeal can be based. Prices are high, world demand is strong, and economic conditions are such that farmers will improve their incomes by producing more. This is especially true of animal products—meat, dairy products, and eggs. Continuously rising food prices, on the other hand, would create greater pressure for controls, pressures which could be hard to resist even though the controls would hurt consumers as well as farmers.

The country needs more food, and American farmers have never failed to deliver when the country needed them. Although our farmers have had to contend with miserable weather conditions in recent months, their productive capacity is still not fully utilized.

Labor and management also can contribute to the fight against inflation by continuing to improve productivity. Rising productivity attacks inflation both by increasing supplies and by holding down costs. Progress on this front to date has been encouraging. Since the summer of 1971, output per man-hour has risen 50 percent faster than it has over the long term. It is imperative that we continue this excellent performance, even though it will become more difficult to do so as the economy reaches higher levels.

Labor and management have also been contributing to our stabilization efforts through responsible collective bargaining. The average size of increases in collective bargaining agreements was lower in the first quarter of 1973 than before the new economic policy began. I am also encouraged by the record to date in maintaining industrial peace. In short, the cooperation

of American labor and management in the stabilization effort has been outstanding.

The American people look to labor and management to continue constructive behavior.

Although I believe that prices will not rise as much in the months ahead as they did in February and March, price increases will probably be higher than we would like for some months. We should be mature enough to recognize that there is no instant remedy for this problem. We are dealing with a condition that is worldwide in scope and indeed has been less severe and more effectively confronted here than in most other countries. Working together, the American people will solve the problem of inflation, but that process will require patience, cooperation, and understanding from us all.

Meanwhile, let us not overlook the great strengths of our economy. We have more people at work than ever before, earning higher real incomes and consuming more goods and services per capita than at any time in our past. Inflation is a potential danger to all and a present hardship for some, but nevertheless the American people are enjoying the fruits of an extraordinarily effective economic system. Any superficially appealing actions that would disrupt or abandon that system would ultimately cause far more damage than they would repair.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 398), approved April 30, 1973, is Public Law 93-28 (87 Stat. 27).

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the economic stabilization program by George P. Shultz, Secretary of the Treasury; Herbert Stein, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers; and John T. Dunlop, Director of the Cost of Living Council.

138 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Chancellor Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany. *May 2, 1973*

THE PRESIDENT of the United States of America Richard M. Nixon and the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany Willy Brandt confirmed at their meetings in Washington on May 1 and 2 the relationship of trust and confidence between the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany, and discussed the future relationship between the United States and Western Europe, questions of Alliance and Defense Policy, current and long-term problems of West-East relations and other international questions. Secretary of State William P. Rogers and Foreign Minister Walter Scheel held complementary talks and shared in part of the discussions between the President and the Chancellor. Federal Minister Egon Bahr discussed particular questions relating to Berlin.

There was full agreement that the relations between the United States and Western Europe will be governed in the future as in the past by adherence to their common ideals of democratic freedom, human rights and social justice.

The President and the Chancellor are convinced that the peace and prosperity of their nations depend on the preservation and consolidation of Atlantic solidarity.

The Chancellor welcomed the assurance given by President Nixon that the United States will continue to support European unification and affirmed the readiness of the Federal Republic of Germany, together with the other members of the European Community and its institutions, to participate in an open and

comprehensive discussion concerning the nature of a balanced partnership between the uniting Western Europe and the United States. It was noted by the President and the Chancellor that these discussions must deal with common problems as well as common opportunities, and should also consider arrangements in which Japan and Canada could share. In this context the constructive dialogue with the United States envisaged by the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the European Community last October will be particularly useful. The Chancellor welcomed President Nixon's intention to intensify this dialogue by his visit to Western Europe later this year, including the President's plan to meet with NATO and the European Community.

The Chancellor recalled the decisions taken at the Conference of Heads of State and Government in Paris.

He expressed the conviction that the nine States which aim at a comprehensive transformation of their relations into a European Union by 1980, will, acting in common, make a joint contribution in the international field in line with Western Europe's determination to follow an outward-looking policy, toward social progress, peace and cooperation. Europe's enlarged responsibility in international politics will be evident in its loyalty to traditional friendships and alliances.

The President and the Federal Chancellor were in agreement that the new round of negotiations in GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade], which

originated in the common initiative of the United States, the European Community and Japan, will have a decisive importance for the future liberalization and development of international trade, for the improvement of world living standards, and for the maintenance of peace. The President and the Chancellor consider the successful course of these negotiations to be a political task of great significance in the solution of which their governments will constructively participate. They agreed on the importance that all participants enter the GATT negotiations, which they expect to start in the fall, with a liberal negotiating concept.

There was agreement that the multilateral negotiations on the reform of world-wide monetary and trade relations must constitute another contribution to a new phase of productive cooperation between the United States and the European Community in the spirit of a comprehensive Atlantic partnership among equals.

The President and the Chancellor noted that good cooperation in the monetary field during the last months facilitated the solution of the recent monetary crisis. The initiative and determination shown in this connection by the governments concerned have strengthened the prospects of a comprehensive reform.

The President and the Chancellor underlined the identity of interests in security and detente in Europe and emphasized in this context the continued need of a balanced military power relationship between West and East. The unity and solidarity of the Alliance, an adequate presence of US forces in Europe, and a credible deterrent are indispensable for this purpose. Both sides agreed that the negotiations on a mutual and bal-

anced reduction of forces and on the limitation of strategic armaments must meet these requirements. The President and the Chancellor shared the conviction that while seeking to reduce the military confrontation in Europe, the capacity of the Alliance to assure the security of all of its partners at any time must be preserved without qualification.

The President and the Chancellor, in discussing the broad nature of the Atlantic partnership during the coming period, agreed that the relationship must develop in a way to ensure that each partner contributes appropriately toward the burden of the common defense. Intensified cooperation among the European Alliance partners in the defense field will be of substantial assistance.

The results produced so far by the policy of detente pursued by the United States and the countries of Western Europe on the one hand and the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe on the other encourage the governments of the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany to continue along the road of negotiations and to respond positively to a constructive policy on the part of the East. This applies above all to the preparations for a Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The two governments share the hope that such a conference will soon come about, that it will produce tangible humanitarian improvements, promote mutual cooperation and communication and thus help gradually to overcome the division of Europe. The President and the Chancellor expressed their satisfaction at the intensive Atlantic cooperation during the preparations which should be continued in close consultation within the Alliance.

They also reviewed the implementation

of the Berlin Agreement of 1971 and noted the practical improvements it has brought to the life of the city and its inhabitants. They agreed that respect of the letter and spirit of the Berlin Agreement by all parties concerned is essential for a continuing relaxation of tension in Europe.

It was considered that expanded international air traffic to the Western Sectors of Berlin would constitute further progress.

The President and the Chancellor, in discussing events in Southeast Asia, emphasized that it is now imperative for the Paris Agreement to be fully and scrupulously implemented. Until this is

the case the contributions which the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany desire to make to the humanitarian relief and reconstruction of all the states of Indochina cannot become fully effective.

The President and the Chancellor underlined the interest of their governments in peace and stability in the Middle East. They expressed their conviction that steps to initiate negotiations between the parties most directly concerned, based on the November 1967 Security Council Resolution, are essential to help bring about progress towards a stable peace in the area.

NOTE: See also Item 136.

139 Radio Address About the Fourth Annual Foreign Policy Report to the Congress. *May 3, 1973*

Good evening:

The year 1972 was a time of more dramatic progress toward a lasting peace in the world than any other year since the end of World War II. But as encouraging as that progress was, we cannot rest on our laurels now.

Nineteen hundred seventy-three and the years to come will test whether America will go forward into a new era of international relations or whether we will go backward into preoccupation with ourselves, thus allowing the world to slip back into its age-old patterns of conflict.

If we meet this test, the rewards can be great. If we do not, a priceless opportunity may be tragically lost.

It is against this background of hope and danger that I have today submitted to the Congress my fourth annual report on United States foreign policy. Tonight

I want to share with you some highlights of that report.

Since the time of my last foreign policy review, we have witnessed historic achievements on a number of fronts. After more than two decades of hostility and isolation, we have begun an entirely new relationship with the People's Republic of China when I visited Peking last year.

Travel, exchanges, and trade between our two countries are accelerating. This month we shall open liaison offices in each other's capitals, headed by distinguished senior diplomats.

The United States and the Soviet Union have taken a decisive turn away from the confrontation of the past quarter century. At our meeting last May, the Soviet leaders and I established a set of basic principles to govern our relations.

We signed a series of cooperative agree-

ments, and we laid the foundation for major increases in trade. Most importantly, we reached an unprecedented agreement limiting the nuclear arsenals that have haunted the world for a generation.

In the early months of 1973, intensive negotiations and a decisive military policy brought us at last to a just settlement of the long and costly war in Vietnam. We achieved our fundamental objectives—a cease-fire, the return of our prisoners, a commitment to account for those missing in action, the honorable withdrawal of our forces, and the right of the people of South Vietnam to determine their own political future.

But the peace in Vietnam and the parallel peace in Laos remain fragile because of North Vietnam's continued violations of the peace agreement. A cease-fire still has not been reached in Cambodia. We earnestly hope these problems can be solved at the conference table. We will not turn our back on our friends and allies while Hanoi makes a mockery of its promise to help keep the peace.

During recent months, with less fanfare than in negotiations with our adversaries but with no less dedication, we have also been working closely with our Atlantic and Pacific partners. In addition, we have moved toward major reform of the international economic system, although the process of readjustment is still marked by crises.

We have continued to share more responsibilities with our friends under the Nixon Doctrine. In sum, recalling the challenges we faced and the goals we set at the outset of this Administration, all Americans can take satisfaction in the record of the recent past.

But our progress in the early 1970's has

been more marked in reducing tensions than in restructuring partnerships. That is why we must make 1973 not only the "Year of Europe," as some have called it, but also the year of renewal for all of America's alliances and friendships.

In this spirit, we shall cooperate with our European friends to forge even stronger partnerships, cemented by a new articulation of the goals we share.

There will be the closest collaboration on such major issues as the mutual and balanced reduction of forces in Europe, the European Security Conference, and the current round of strategic arms limitation talks. Before the end of the year, I will visit our Atlantic allies.

We shall also continue to attach the highest priority to our relations with our major Pacific ally, Japan. Prime Minister Tanaka will visit the United States this summer for talks on this subject.

We shall work with all concerned nations to create a stable monetary system and to promote freer trade. To make this possible, I again urge the Congress to pass promptly the crucial trade legislation I submitted last month.

We are also seeking in 1973 to further the positive momentum in our relations with the Soviet Union. I look forward to welcoming the Soviet leadership to this country later in the year.

Dr. Kissinger leaves tonight for Moscow to prepare for that visit. New U.S.-Soviet talks are already underway, aiming for further agreements on controlling nuclear weapons.

We shall also continue this year to build our promising new relationship with the People's Republic of China.

We shall pay particular attention to our neighbors in this hemisphere. Secretary Rogers is soon to embark on a trip to Latin

America, and I look forward to a similar journey myself during my second term.

We shall do our part with others to reduce tensions and increase opportunity in such areas as the Middle East, South Asia, and Africa.

We shall continue building new partnerships of shared responsibilities with all our friends around the globe. Approval of the foreign aid bill which I sent to the Congress this week will be fundamental to this effort.

Our policy in the world for the next 4 years can be summarized quite simply:

Where peace is newly planted, we shall work to make it thrive.

Where bridges have been built, we shall

work to make them stronger.

Where friendships have endured, we shall work to make them grow.

We shall keep America strong, involved in the world, meeting the responsibilities which no other free nation is able to meet in building a structure of peace.

I said upon taking office more than 4 years ago that a nation could aspire to no higher honor than the title of peacemaker. America has done much to earn that title since then. Let us resolve to do still more in the years ahead.

Thank you and good evening.

NOTE: The President recorded the remarks for use on radio.

140 Message to the Congress Transmitting Fourth Annual Report on United States Foreign Policy. May 3, 1973

To the Congress of the United States:

This Administration attaches fundamental importance to the articulation as well as the execution of foreign policy.

Public understanding is, of course, essential in a democracy. It is all the more urgent in a fast changing world, which requires continuing, though redefined, American leadership. One of my basic goals is to build a new consensus of support in the Congress and among the American people for a responsible foreign policy for the 1970's.

These were the reasons that I began the practice of annual Presidential Reports to the Congress. This fourth Review, like the previous ones, sets forth the philosophical framework of our policy and discusses major trends and events in this context. Two other important documents

complement this one with the more detailed record of current questions and policies. The Secretary of State's third annual report of April 19, 1973, covers our specific country, regional, and functional policies and provides basic documentation. The Secretary of Defense's yearly report of April 3, 1973, presents a thorough accounting of our policies and programs for national defense.

It is my hope that this Report will inform and lift the national dialogue on our purposes and our place in the world.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
May 3, 1973.

NOTE: The President signed the report at a ceremony in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

141 Fourth Annual Report to the Congress on
United States Foreign Policy. May 3, 1973

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Pag</i>
INTRODUCTION.....	348	PART IV: REGIONS OF TENSION AND OPPORTUNITY	
PART I: BUILDING NEW RELATIONSHIPS		The Middle East.....	445
China.....	358	South Asia.....	453
The Soviet Union.....	365	Africa.....	460
PART II: ENDING CONFLICT		PART V: DESIGNING A NEW ECONOMIC SYSTEM	
Vietnam.....	376	International Economic Policy.....	467
Laos and Cambodia.....	396	PART VI: MAINTAINING SECURITY	
PART III: STRENGTHENING PARTNERSHIPS		Defense Policy.....	477
Europe and the Atlantic Alliance... ..	402	Arms Control.....	490
Japan.....	416	PART VII: NEW INTERNATIONAL CHALLENGES	
Asia and the Pacific.....	426	The United Nations.....	501
Latin America.....	432	The Global Challenges of Peace.....	506
		CONCLUSION.....	516

INTRODUCTION

In January 1969, America needed to change the philosophy and practice of its foreign policy.

Whoever took office four years ago would have faced this challenge. After a generation, the postwar world had been transformed and demanded a fresh approach. It was not a question of our previous policies having failed; indeed, in many areas they had been very successful. It was rather that new conditions, many of them achievements of our policies, summoned new perspectives.

THE WORLD WE FOUND

The international environment was dominated by seemingly intractable confrontation between the two major nuclear

powers. Throughout the nuclear age both the fears of war and hopes for peace revolved around our relations with the Soviet Union. Our growing nuclear arsenals were largely directed at each other. We alone had the capacity to wreak catastrophic damage across the planet. Our ideologies clashed. We both had global interests, and this produced many friction points. We each led and dominated a coalition of opposing states.

As a result, our relationship was generally hostile. There were positive interludes, but these were often atmospheric and did not get at the roots of tension. Accords were reached on particular questions, but there was no broad momentum in our relationship. Improvements in the climate were quickly replaced by con-

frontation and, occasionally, crisis. The basic pattern was a tense jockeying for tactical advantage around the globe.

This was dangerous and unsatisfactory. The threat of a major conflict between us hung over the world. This in turn exacerbated local and regional tensions. And our two countries not only risked collision but were constrained from working positively on common problems.

The weight of China rested outside the international framework. This was due partly to its own attitude and its preoccupation with internal problems, and partly to the policies of the outside world, most importantly the United States. In any event, this Administration inherited two decades of mutual estrangement and hostility. Here the problem was not one of a fluctuating relationship but rather of having no relationship at all. The People's Republic of China was separated not only from us but essentially from the world as a whole.

China also exemplified the great changes that had occurred in the Communist world. For years our guiding principle was containment of what we considered a monolithic challenge. In the 1960's the forces of nationalism dissolved Communist unity into divergent centers of power and doctrine, and our foreign policy began to differentiate among the Communist capitals. But this process could not be truly effective so long as we were cut off from one-quarter of the globe's people. China in turn was emerging from its isolation and might be more receptive to overtures from foreign countries.

The gulf between China and the world distorted the international landscape. We could not effectively reduce tensions in Asia without talking to Peking. China's isolation compounded its own sense of in-

security. There could not be a stable world order with a major power remaining outside and hostile to it.

Our principal alliances with Western Europe and Japan needed adjustment. After the devastation of the Second World War we had helped allies and former adversaries alike. Fueled by our assistance and secure behind our military shield, they regained their economic vigor and political confidence.

Throughout the postwar period our bonds with Europe had rested on American prescriptions as well as resources. We provided much of the leadership and planning for common defense. We took the diplomatic lead. The dollar was unchallenged. But by the time this Administration took office, the tide was flowing toward greater economic and political assertiveness by our allies. European unity which we had always encouraged, was raising new issues in Atlantic relations. The economic revival of Europe was straining the Atlantic monetary and commercial framework. The relaxation of tensions with the Communist world was generating new doctrines of defense and diplomacy.

The imperatives of change were equally evident in our Pacific partnership with Japan. Its recovery of strength and self-assurance carried political and psychological implications for our relationship. Its spectacular economic growth had made it the world's third industrial power; our entire economic relationship was undergoing transformation. The earlier paternalism of U.S.-Japanese relations no longer suited either partner.

The Vietnam war dominated our attention and was sapping our self-confidence. Our role and our costs had steadily grown without decisive impact

on the conflict. The outlook at the conference table was bleak. The war was inhibiting our policy abroad and fostering dissent and self-doubt at home. There was no prospect of either an end to the fighting or an end to our involvement.

Although the historical imperatives for a new international approach existed independently, the war made this challenge at once more urgent and more difficult. More than any other factor, it threatened to exhaust the American people's willingness to sustain a reliable foreign policy. As much as any other factor, the way we treated it would shape overseas attitudes and American psychology.

The context for our national security policy was fundamentally altered. From the mid-1940's to the late 1960's we had moved from America's nuclear monopoly to superiority to rough strategic balance with the Soviet Union. This created fresh challenges to our security and introduced new calculations in our diplomacy. The U.S. defense effort remained disproportionate to that of our allies who had grown much stronger. The threats from potential enemies were more varied and less blatant than during the more rigid bipolar era. These changes, combined with spiraling military costs and the demands of domestic programs, were prompting reexamination of our defense doctrines and posture. They were underlining the importance of arms control as an element in national security. They were also leading some in this country to call for policies that would seriously jeopardize our safety and world stability.

Around the world, friends were ready for a greater role in shaping their own security and well-being. In the 1950's and 1960's other nations had looked to America for ideas and resources, and they

found us a willing provider of both. Our motives were sound, the needs were clear, and we had many successes. By 1969, scores of new nations, having emerged from colonial status or dependency on major powers, were asserting themselves with greater assurance and autonomy.

Four years ago this growing capacity of friends was not reflected in the balance of contributions to security and development. This meant that others could do more, and the United States need do proportionately less, in the provision of material resources. More fundamentally, it meant that increasingly the devising of plans belonged outside of Washington. The sweeping American presence was likely to strain our capabilities and to stifle the initiative of others.

There were new issues that called for global cooperation. These challenges were not susceptible to national solutions or relevant to national ideologies. The vast frontiers of space and the oceans beckoned international exploration for humanity's gain. Pollution of air, sea, and land could not be contained behind national frontiers. The brutal tools of assassination, kidnapping, and hijacking could be used to further any cause in any country. No nation's youth was immune from the scourge of international drug traffic. The immediate tragedies of national disasters and the longer-term threat of overpopulation were humanitarian, not political, concerns.

At home we faced pressures that threatened to swing America from over-extension in the world to heedless withdrawal from it. The American people had supported the burdens of global leadership with enthusiasm and generosity into the 1960's. But after almost three decades, our enthusiasm was waning and the results

of our generosity were being questioned. Our policies needed change, not only to match new realities in the world but also to meet a new mood in America. Many Americans were no longer willing to support the sweeping range of our postwar role. It had drained our financial, and especially our psychological, reserves. Our friends clearly were able to do more. The Vietnam experience was hastening our awareness of change. Voices in this country were claiming that we had to jettison global concerns and turn inward in order to meet our domestic problems.

Therefore the whole underpinning of our foreign policy was in jeopardy. The bipartisan consensus that once existed for a vigorous American internationalism was now being torn apart. Some of the most active proponents of America's commitment in the world in previous decades were now pressing for indiscriminate disengagement. What was once seen as America's overseas obligation was now seen as our overseas preoccupation. What was once viewed as America's unselfishness was now viewed as our naivete. By 1969 we faced the danger that public backing for a continuing world role might be swept away by fatigue, frustration and over-reaction.

THIS ADMINISTRATION'S APPROACH

We were determined to shape new policies to deal with each of these problems. But our first requirement was philosophic. We needed a fresh vision to inspire and to integrate our efforts.

We began with the conviction that a major American commitment to the world continued to be indispensable. The many changes in the postwar landscape did not alter this central fact. America's

strength was so vast, our involvement so broad, and our concerns so deep, that to remove our influence would set off tremors around the globe. Friends would despair, adversaries would be tempted, and our own national security would soon be threatened. There was no escaping the reality of our enormous influence for peace.

But the new times demanded a new definition of our involvement. For more than a score of years our foreign policy had been driven by a global mission that only America could fulfill—to furnish political leadership, provide for the common defense, and promote economic development. Allies were weak and other nations were young, threats were palpable and American power was dominant.

By 1969, a mission of this scale was no longer valid abroad or supportable at home. Allies had grown stronger and young nations were maturing, threats were diversified and American power was offset. It was time to move from a paternal mission *for* others to a cooperative mission *with* others. Convinced as we were that a strong American role remained essential for world stability, we knew, too, that a peace that depends primarily on the exertions of one nation is inherently fragile.

So we saw the potential and the imperative of a pluralistic world. We believed we could move from an environment of emergencies to a more stable international system. We made our new purpose a global structure of peace—comprehensive because it would draw on the efforts of other countries; durable because if countries helped to build it, they would also help to maintain it.

To pursue this fundamental vision, we had to move across a wide and coordi-

nated front, with mutually reinforcing policies for each challenge we faced.

Peace could not depend solely on the uneasy equilibrium between two nuclear giants. We had a responsibility to work for positive relations with the Soviet Union. But there was ample proof that assertions of good will or transitory changes in climate would not erase the hard realities of ideological opposition, geopolitical rivalry, competing alliances, or military competition. We were determined not to lurch along—with isolated agreements vulnerable to sudden shifts of course in political relations, with peaks and valleys based on atmosphere, with incessant tension and maneuvering. We saw as well that there were certain mutual interests that we could build upon. As the two powers capable of global destruction, we had a common stake in preserving peace.

Thus we decided to follow certain principles in our policy toward the Soviet Union. We would engage in concrete negotiations designed to produce specific agreements, both where differences existed and where cooperation was possible. We would work with Moscow across a broad front, believing that progress in one area would induce progress in others. Through the gathering momentum of individual accords we would seek to create vested interests on both sides in restraint and the strengthening of peace. But this process would require a reduction in tactical maneuvering at each other's expense in favor of our shared interest in avoiding calamitous collision, in profiting from cooperation, and in building a more stable world.

Peace could not exclude a fourth of humanity. The longer-term prospects for peace required a new relationship with

the People's Republic of China. Only if China's weight was reflected in the international system would it have the incentive, and sense of shared responsibility, to maintain the peace. Furthermore, the time was past when one nation could claim to speak for a bloc of states; we would deal with countries on the basis of their actions, not abstract ideological formulas. Our own policies could be more flexible if we did not assume the permanent enmity of China. The United States had a traditional interest in an independent and peaceful China. We seemed to have no fundamental interests that need collide in the longer sweep of history. There was, indeed, rich potential benefit for our two peoples in a more normal relationship.

So we launched a careful process of private diplomacy and public steps to engage the People's Republic of China with us and involve it more fully in the world. We did so, confident that a strong, independent China was in our national interest; resolved that such a process need not—and would not—be aimed at any other country; and looking for a reciprocal attitude on the part of the Chinese.

Peace must draw upon the vitality of our friends. Our alliances with Western Europe and Japan would continue as major pillars of our foreign policy, but they had not kept pace with the changed international environment. We thus sought to forge more equal partnerships based on a more balanced contribution of both resources and plans.

America had been the automatic source of political leadership and economic power. Now we needed new modes of action that would accommodate our partners' new dynamism. The challenge was to reconcile traditional unity with new

diversity. While complete integration of policy was impossible, pure unilateralism would be destructive.

Before, we were allied in containment of a unified Communist danger. Now Communism had taken various forms; our alliances had stabilized the European and Northeast Asian environments; and we had laid the foundations for negotiation. We had to decide together not only what we were against, but what we were for.

Peace required the ending of an on-going war. Our approach to the Vietnam conflict and our shaping of a new foreign policy were inextricably linked. Naturally, our most urgent concern was to end the war. But we had to end it—or at least our involvement—in a way that would continue to make possible a responsible American role in the world.

We could not continue on the course we inherited, which promised neither an end to the conflict nor to our involvement. At the same time, we would not abandon our friends, for we wanted to shape a structure of peace based in large measure on American steadiness. So we sought peace with honor—through negotiation if possible, through Vietnamization if the enemy gave us no choice. The phased shifting of defense responsibilities to the South Vietnamese would give them the time and means to adjust. It would assure the American people that our own involvement was not open-ended. It would preserve our credibility abroad and our cohesion at home.

Given the enemy's attitude, peace was likely to take time, and other problems in the world could not wait. So we moved promptly to shape a new approach to allies and adversaries. And by painting on

this larger canvas we sought both to put the Vietnam war in perspective and to speed its conclusion by demonstrating to Hanoi that continued conflict did not frustrate our global policies.

Peace needed America's strength. Modifications in our defense policy were required, but one central truth persisted—neither our nation nor peace in the world could be secure without our military power. If superiority was no longer practical, inferiority would be unthinkable.

We were determined to maintain a national defense second to none. This would be a force for stability in a world of evolving partnerships and changing doctrines. This was essential to maintain the confidence of our friends and the respect of our adversaries. At the same time, we would seek energetically to promote national and international security through arms control negotiations.

Peace involved a fresh dimension of international cooperation. A new form of multilateral diplomacy was prompted by a new set of issues. These challenges covered a wide range—the promise of exploration, the pollution of our planet, the perils of crime—but they were alike in going beyond the traditional considerations doctrine and geography. They required cooperation that reached not only across boundaries but often around the globe. So we resolved to work both with friends and adversaries, in the United Nations and other forums, to practice partnership on a global scale.

Above all, peace demanded the responsible participation of all nations. With great efforts during the postwar period we had promoted the revitalization of former powers and the growing assurance of new states. For this changed world we

needed a new philosophy that would reflect and reconcile two basic principles: *A structure of peace requires the greater participation of other nations, but it also requires the sustained participation of the United States.*

To these ends, we developed the Nixon Doctrine of shared responsibilities. This Doctrine was central to our approach to major allies in the Atlantic and Pacific. But it also shaped our attitude toward those in Latin America, Asia, and Africa with whom we were working in formal alliances or friendship.

Our primary purpose was to invoke greater efforts by others—not so much to lighten our burdens as to increase their commitment to a new and peaceful structure. This would mean that increasingly they would man their own defenses and furnish more of the funds for their security and economic development. The corollary would be the reduction of the American share of defense or financial contributions.

More fundamental than this material redistribution, however, was a psychological reorientation. Nations had habitually relied on us for political leadership. Much time and energy went into influencing decisions in Washington. Our objective now was to encourage them to play a greater role in formulating plans and programs. For when others design their security and their development, they make their destiny truly their own. And when plans are their plans, they are more motivated to make them realities.

The lowering of our profile was not an end in itself. Other countries needed to do more, but they could not do so without a concerned America. Their role had to be increased, but this would prove empty

unless we did what we must. We could not go from overinvolvement to neglect. A changing world needed the continuity of America's strength.

Thus we made clear that the Nixon Doctrine represented a new definition of American leadership, not abandonment of that leadership. In my 1971 Report, I set forth the need for a responsible balance:

"The Nixon Doctrine recognizes that we cannot abandon friends, and must not transfer burdens too swiftly. We must strike a balance between doing too much and thus preventing self-reliance, and doing too little and thus undermining self-confidence.

"The balance we seek abroad is crucial. We only compound insecurity if we modify our protective or development responsibilities without giving our friends the time and the means to adjust, materially and psychologically, to a new form of American participation in the world.

"Precipitate shrinking of the American role would not bring peace. It would not reduce America's stake in a turbulent world. It would not solve our problems, either abroad or at home."

Peace had a domestic dimension. Steadiness abroad required steadiness at home. America could continue to make its vital contribution in the world only if Americans understood the need and supported the effort to do so. But understanding and support for a responsible foreign policy were in serious jeopardy in 1969. Years of burdens, Cold War tensions, and a difficult war threatened to undermine our constancy.

While new policies were required to meet transformed conditions abroad, they were equally imperative because of the

changing climate at home. Americans needed a new positive vision of the world and our place in it. In order to continue to do what only America could, we had to demonstrate that our friends were doing more. While maintaining strong defenses, we also had to seek national security through negotiations with adversaries. And where American families were most directly affected, we had to gain a peace with honor to win domestic support for our new foreign policy as well as to make it credible abroad.

We have thus paid great attention, as in these Reports, to the articulation, as well as the implementation, of our new role in the world.

THE PAST YEAR

My previous Reports chronicled our progress during the first three years of this Administration. Despite shifting currents, and recognizing that the calendar cannot draw neat dividing lines, there has been a positive evolution.

In 1969, we defined our basic approach, drawing the blueprint of a new strategy for peace.

In 1970, we implemented new policies, building toward peace.

In 1971, we made essential breakthroughs, and a global structure of peace emerged.

This past year we realized major results from our previous efforts. Together they are shaping a durable peace.

—Three years of careful groundwork produced an historic turning point in our relations with the *People's Republic of China*. My conversations with Chinese leaders in February 1972 reestablished contact between the world's most powerful and the

world's most populous countries, thereby transforming the postwar landscape. The journey to Peking launched a process with immense potential for the betterment of our peoples and the building of peace in Asia and the world. Since then we have moved to concrete measures which are improving relations and creating more positive conditions in the region. China is becoming fully engaged with us and the world. The process is not inexorable, however. Both countries will have to continue to exercise restraint and contribute to a more stable environment.

—The May 1972 summit meeting with the leadership of the *Soviet Union* achieved a broad range of significant agreements. Negotiations across a wide front, which set the stage for the meeting, were successfully concluded in Moscow. Progress in one area reinforced progress in others. For the first time two nations agreed to limit the strategic weapons that are the heart of their national survival. We launched cooperative ventures in several fields. We agreed on basic principles to govern our relations. Future areas of cooperation and negotiation were opened up. There has been, in sum, major movement toward a steadier and more constructive relationship. On the other hand, areas of tension and potential conflict remain, and certain patterns of Soviet behavior continue to cause concern.

—The attainment of an honorable settlement in *Vietnam* was the most satisfying development of this past year. Successful Vietnamization and

intensive negotiations culminated in the Agreement signed on January 27, 1973. This was quickly followed by a settlement in neighboring Laos in February. The steady courage and patience of Americans who supported our policy through the years were echoed in the moving salutes of our returning men. But the coals of war still glow in Vietnam and Laos, and a ceasefire remains elusive altogether in Cambodia. Much work remains to consolidate peace in Indochina.

- In *Western Europe* the inevitable strains of readjustment persisted as we moved from American predominance to balanced partnerships. Generally these were healthy manifestations of the growing strength of countries who share common values and objectives. With less fanfare, but no less dedication, than in our negotiations with adversaries, we consulted closely with our friends. Such a process may not be as susceptible to dramatic advances, but we believe that we have paved the way for substantial progress in Atlantic relations in the coming months. Major political, security and economic negotiations are on the agenda. They will test the wisdom and adaptability of our Alliance.
- There was continued evolution toward a more mature and equitable partnership with *Japan*. Confidence in our shared purposes, which appeared shaken in 1971, has since been reaffirmed. Nevertheless we have not yet fully defined our new political relationship, and serious economic problems confront us. Our relations

with Tokyo will be an area of prime attention during the coming year.

- In the past year we advanced toward major reform of the *international economic system*. With others we have launched proposals to create a more stable international monetary system, and a more open world trading order through new international trade negotiations. This process of readjustment is not without crises, however, and voices of narrow nationalism are heard on both sides of the ocean. We have a long and difficult way to go.
- The explosive *Middle East* continued in the twilight zone between peace and open conflict. The ceasefire arranged at our initiative lasted into its third year, but no genuine progress was made toward a permanent settlement. Some foreign military forces were withdrawn from the region, but the mix of local animosities and external power still makes the Middle East a most dangerous threat to world peace. Efforts to find political solutions are menaced by the upward spiral of terrorism and reprisal.
- For the *South Asian Subcontinent* it was a year of rebuilding and readjustment after the conflict in 1971. India, Pakistan, and the new nation of Bangladesh made tentative moves toward accommodation. But there is still a long road to the stability and reconciliation that are required if the massive human needs of one-fifth of mankind are to be met.
- In the *Western Hemisphere* the United States followed its deliberate policy of restraint, encouraging others to furnish concepts as well as

resources for Hemispheric development. A healthy process of regional initiatives and self-definition is now underway, and the foundations have been established for a more mature partnership with our Latin American friends. The common task of redefining and imparting fresh purpose to our community, however, is far from completed.

- Asia* has witnessed a settlement of the Vietnam war and major developments in relations among the principal powers. It is there that the Nixon Doctrine has been most extensively applied. There has been positive growth in self-help and regional cooperation. But these nations are entering a period of delicate readjustment and American steadiness will be crucial.
- In *Africa* our goals remained economic development, racial justice, and a stable peace resting on independent states. We continue to recognize, however, that these are largely the tasks of the African nations themselves—and there were both hopeful and discouraging events this past year. Our policies of political restraint and economic support are designed to help Africa realize its rich potential.
- We moved down the interrelated paths of *national security*, arms control, and a strong defense. The strategic arms limitation pacts with the Soviet Union were a milestone, but major tasks remain—the extension of limitations on strategic arms and then their reduction; the mutual and balanced reduction of conventional forces in Central Europe. In our de-

fense posture we have maintained a clearly sufficient power, and we reached an all-volunteer army. But we are still searching for doctrines and deployments fully adequate to changing times and surging costs. Our fundamental principle remains keeping America strong enough to preserve our vital interests and promote the prospects of peace.

- We paid increasing attention to *global issues* that more and more demand international solutions. Progress was encouraging in some areas, such as reducing the flow of drugs. The world community still refused to grapple effectively, however, with other issues such as terrorism. The global dimension of diplomacy has been developing unevenly.

Since last year's Report, there has been historic progress. A changed world has moved closer to a lasting peace. Many events were colorful, but their true drama is that they can herald a new epoch, not fade as fleeting episodes.

As in any year, however, there were disappointments as well as successes. And wherever there is progress, new challenges are added to an always unfinished agenda.

Shaping a peaceful world requires, first of all, an America that stays strong, an America that stays involved.

But the United States alone cannot realize this goal. Our friends and adversaries alike must share in the enterprise of peace.

The President and the Administration alone cannot pursue this goal. We need the cooperation of the Congress and the support of the American people.

It is to these audiences at home and abroad that this Report is addressed.

PART I: BUILDING NEW RELATIONSHIPS

—China

—The Soviet Union

CHINA

In this Administration we have begun a new chapter in American-Chinese relations, and as a result the international landscape has been fundamentally changed.

For two decades our two countries stared at each other icily across a gulf of hostility and suspicion. Misunderstanding was assured. Miscalculation was a constant danger. And constructing a permanent peace was impossible.

This estrangement had global ramifications that went far beyond our bilateral relationship. So long as we were not dealing with the People's Republic of China, our foreign policy could not truly reflect the emerging multipolar world. The isolation of one-fourth of the human race, partly self-imposed and partly the result of the policies of others, distorted the international scene. It also tended to reinforce China's own sense of insecurity. There could be no stable world order if one of the major powers remained outside it and antagonistic toward it.

In the past four years this situation has been transformed. Bilaterally, deep differences in ideology and policy remain; neither we nor the Chinese leaders have illusions that our discussions will convert each other. But extensive and frank dialogue has greatly increased mutual understanding. The risk of confrontation therefore has been sharply reduced, and in any event it should no longer flow from miscalculation. Without either side aban-

doning its principles, we now have the potential for positive enterprises.

There are concrete manifestations of this new chapter in our relationship.

Before, there was no dialogue at all between our governments, except for desultory meetings in third countries. Now we have held hundreds of hours of direct talks at the highest levels. Liaison Offices are being established in Peking and Washington.

Before, there was virtually no contact between a quarter of the world's population and the American people. Now there is a significant exchange of groups and persons in a wide spectrum of fields. This will increase substantially.

Before, our bilateral trade was miniscule. Now it is reaching very substantial levels. There will be further expansion.

This process in turn has helped to create new possibilities on a global scale. Our own diplomacy has been broadened; we can more effectively promote an inclusive peace. The People's Republic of China has become more fully engaged in the world scene; much more than before, it is making its contributions to shaping the international order.

The turning point came at the summit in February 1972 when the leaders of the People's Republic of China and the United States met and put their personal imprint on a new direction for our two nations, and with it new contours for the world.

THE ROAD TO THE SUMMIT

Three years of meticulous preparation preceded my trip to Peking.

When I took office, I was determined to reestablish contact between the most

populous and most powerful countries in the world. The following considerations prompted us and served as policy guidelines:

- We could not build toward a global structure of peace while excluding 800 million people. A more stable international system had to reflect the massive weight and potential of China.
- Changes in the world generally, and in the Communist world particularly, called for a broader American approach. Having recovered from the ravages of World War II, our allies began asserting their autonomy. Independent voices began to be heard in the once solid Socialist community. The international environment had become multipolar; it was time our diplomacy did too.
- The United States has had a traditional interest in a peaceful, independent, and self-reliant China. This remained a more positive prospect than a China that felt isolated or threatened.
- There were many potential areas where bilateral contact could enrich the lives of our two peoples.
- There did not seem to be major clashes of national interest between our two countries over the longer term. Our policies could be less rigid if we and the Chinese did not treat each other as permanent adversaries.
- A new approach was not to be directed against other countries. Indeed it could serve to broaden the horizons of international dialogue and accommodation.
- We believed that the People's Republic of China might be receptive to our approach.

So the times called for a fresh approach to China. But formidable obstacles, technical as well as political, lay in the way. In last year's Report I described the problems and the policies we employed to overcome them. Against a twenty-year backdrop of non-communication and sterile mutual recrimination, our task was twofold: to convey privately our views to the Chinese leadership and to indicate publicly the direction of our policy.

We had to find discreet and reliable means to transmit our views to Peking and get authoritative Chinese responses. We began this effort during the first weeks of my Administration. Up until the summer of 1971, we engaged in a delicate diplomatic minuet during which mutual confidence gradually increased and mutual intentions became more concrete.

Meanwhile we carefully orchestrated a succession of unilateral initiatives and positive statements. From mid-1969 onwards, we took a series of steps to relax trade and travel restrictions. They did not require a response from the Chinese; they were therefore neither dependent on Chinese reciprocity nor vulnerable to Chinese rejection. Individually these were not major steps, but cumulatively they etched the pattern more and more clearly. At the same time in official speeches and statements, such as my annual foreign policy reports, we mapped in increasingly sharp relief the road we were taking.

During the spring of 1971 the tempo accelerated in public and in private, with greater responsiveness from the Chinese. Peking's invitation to an American table tennis team to visit China in April was one among many public signals. Privately during that period we agreed that Dr. Kissinger should visit Peking from July 9 to July 11.

On that trip we opened the door. Dr. Kissinger held intensive discussions with Premier Chou En-lai, and agreement was reached that I would visit the People's Republic of China. In the brief joint announcement that I read on July 15 we stated that "the meeting between the leaders of China and the United States is to seek the normalization of relations between the two countries and also to exchange views on questions of concern to the two sides."

In October, Dr. Kissinger returned to Peking to discuss the broad agenda for my visit and settle on the other major arrangements. The groundwork was thus laid for meetings at the highest levels.

THE JOURNEY TO PEKING

My trip to the People's Republic of China from February 21 to February 28, 1972 was the watershed in reestablishing Sino-American relations.

The carefully nurtured preparation held out the promise of a new direction; my meetings with Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai firmly set our course. The Joint Communiqué at the end of my visit established the framework for progress; developments since then have accelerated the process of normalization.

Seldom have the leaders of two major countries met with such an opportunity to create a totally new relationship. It had taken two and a half years to cross the gulf of isolation and reach the summit. At the same time, the very factors which had made this journey so complicated offered unusual opportunities. The absence of communication, while making initial contact complex to arrange, also gave us a clean slate to write upon. Factors such

as geography and China's recent concentration on internal matters meant that we had few bilateral matters of contention, though we lined up often on different sides of third country or multilateral problems.

Accordingly, the agenda for our discussions could be general and our dialogue philosophical to a much greater extent than is normally possible between nations. Indeed, it was this context and these prospects that, in our view, called for a summit meeting. With the Soviet Union a meeting at the highest levels was required to give impetus to, and conclude, a broad range of concrete negotiations. With the People's Republic of China, on the other hand, such a meeting was needed to set an entirely new course. Only through direct discussions at the highest levels could we decisively bridge the gulf that had divided us, conduct discussions on a strategic plane, and launch a new process with authority.

The primary objective, then, of my talks with the Chinese leaders was not the reaching of concrete agreements but a sharing of fundamental perspectives on the world. First, we had to establish a joint perception of the shape of our future relationship and its place in the international order. We needed a mutual assessment of what was involved in the new process we were undertaking and of one another's reliability in carrying the process forward. If we could attain this type of mutual comprehension, agreements could and would flow naturally.

Last February I described our expectations as I set out on my journey:

"Both sides can be expected to state their principles and their views with complete frankness. We will each know clearly where the other stands on the issues that divide us. We will look for ways to begin

reducing our differences. We will attempt to find some common ground on which to build a more constructive relationship.

"If we can accomplish these objectives, we will have made a solid beginning."

Our discussions ranged broadly and freely. Both sides set forth their views with candor, neither evading nor downgrading differences. We were able to fulfill the expectations I had set forth earlier.

On February 27, 1972 we issued a Joint Communiqué in Shanghai that reflected this solid beginning. This document purposely was very unorthodox. Communiqués often use general language, stress agreements, gloss over disputes, and use ambiguous formulas to bridge differences.

The Chinese leaders and we thought that such an approach would be unworthy of our unique encounter and our discussions. To pretend that two nations, with such a long separation and such fundamental differences, suddenly were in harmony would have been neither honest nor credible. The use of general or compromise language to paper over disputes would have been subject to misinterpretation by others; and it ran the risk of subsequent conflicting interpretations by the two sides.

We decided instead to speak plainly. We echoed the frankness of our private talks in our public announcement. Each side forthrightly stated its world and regional views in the communiqué, and the lines of our ideology and foreign policy were clearly drawn.

Against this candid background, the areas where we could find agreement emerged with more authority. Our conversations made clear that in addition to genuine differences there were also broad principles of international relations to which we both subscribed. There was as

well a joint determination to improve our relations both by accommodating our differences and developing concrete ties.

Accordingly, in the communiqué we agreed that despite differences in social systems and foreign policies, countries should conduct their relations on the basis of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of others, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. International disputes should be settled on this basis without the use or threat of force. We and the People's Republic of China agreed to apply these principles to our mutual relations.

With these international principles in mind we stated that:

"—progress toward the normalization of relations between China and the United States is in the interests of all countries;

"—both wish to reduce the danger of international military conflict;

"—neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony; and

"—neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other states.

"Both sides are of the view that it would be against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major country to collude with another against other countries, or for major countries to divide up the world into spheres of interest."

These principles were of major significance. They demonstrated that despite our clear disagreements and our long separation we shared some fundamental

attitudes toward international relations. They provided both a framework for our future relations and a yardstick by which to measure each other's performance.

With respect to the relationship of Taiwan to the mainland, the United States reaffirmed its interest in a peaceful solution of this question by the Chinese themselves. We based this view on the fact that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain that there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China.

The communique then laid down the foundations for tangible improvements in our relations. These would allow us to move from the elimination of mistrust and the establishment of broad understandings to more concrete accomplishments:

- We agreed to facilitate bilateral exchanges in order to broaden the understanding between our peoples. Specific areas mentioned were science, technology, culture, sports, and journalism.
- We undertook to facilitate the progressive growth of trade between our countries. Both sides viewed economic relations based on equality and mutual benefit as being in the interests of our peoples.
- We decided to maintain contact through various channels, including sending a senior U.S. representative to Peking periodically to exchange views directly. This reflected a mutual desire to expand our communications.
- We also subsequently established a formal channel through our two embassies in Paris. This would institutionalize our contacts and facilitate exchanges, trade, and travel.

MAJOR ADVANCES IN THE PAST YEAR

Since my visit to Peking the momentum of our relations has grown in all the fields covered by the Shanghai Communique.

As foreseen in the communique, Dr. Kissinger returned to Peking in June to review international issues with the Chinese and to stimulate progress in the various bilateral programs. Our embassies in Paris also facilitated the flow of groups and goods.

The growth of our bilateral trade has exceeded expectations. In 1971, U.S. imports from China totalled \$4.9 million, while our exports were negligible. In 1972 we imported \$32.3 million worth of goods and exported \$60.2 million, an expansion of trade helped by the attendance of more than 150 American businessmen at the spring and fall sessions of the Canton Export Commodities Fair. In 1973, two-way trade is likely to show substantial additional growth, and may well place the United States among China's five largest trading partners. To encourage this expansion of commercial relations, a National Council for U.S.-China Trade was formed in early 1973 by a distinguished group of private business executives. This organization will seek to promote the orderly development of bilateral trade through exchange of information and facilitation of contacts between Chinese and American manufacturers, exporters, and traders.

A substantial beginning was made in the development of exchanges between our two countries. A championship table tennis team from the People's Republic toured the United States in April 1972, in return for the visit of the American team which had played in Peking a year earlier.

Groups of Chinese doctors and scientists visited their counterparts in this country during the fall, under the sponsorship of the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China. And in December, the Shenyang Acrobatic Troupe performed in four major American cities in a visit facilitated by the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations.

In turn, increasing numbers of Americans visited the People's Republic of China. The Majority and Minority leaders of the Senate were guests of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs in April 1972, as were the House leaders in June. A group of doctors from the National Medical Association and a delegation of computer scientists visited their counterparts in China in the summer and fall. Among the journalists who toured the People's Republic during the year was a delegation from the American Society of Newspaper Editors. And in the scholarly areas, groups of distinguished American economists and China specialists toured the country, as well as substantial numbers of individual scientists and scholars from various fields.

Thus there was a significant resumption of cultural, scientific, and scholarly contacts, and the public media began to inform our peoples about one another. Chinese and Americans were rebuilding historic bonds.

A solid foundation was therefore established before Dr. Kissinger returned to Peking in February of this year in the wake of the Vietnam peace settlement. The joint announcement after that trip pointed to major progress in our relations with the People's Republic of China:

—There were “earnest, frank, and constructive” talks in an “unconstrained

atmosphere” with Chairman Mao, Premier Chou, and other Chinese officials.

- The two sides reaffirmed the principles of the Shanghai Communique and agreed to accelerate the normalization of relations.
- We agreed to broaden contacts in all fields, and establish a concrete program to expand trade and exchanges still further.
- We decided to settle in a comprehensive manner the long-standing issues of private U.S. claims against the Chinese government and blocked Chinese assets in the United States. Secretary of State Rogers and Chinese Foreign Minister Chi P'eng-fei reached agreement in principle on this issue a week later in Paris. Final settlement will open the way for further expansion of our bilateral commercial relations.
- Most importantly, we agreed that each country would establish a Liaison Office in the capital of the other. They will be functioning very shortly. Both sides have appointed senior representatives with long diplomatic experience. This major step both reflects—and will promote—the increase in our communications and bilateral programs. Practically, the offices will enable us to deal with each other directly in Washington and Peking. Symbolically, they underline the progress made to date and our joint intention to proceed on the path we have chosen. They represent a milestone in our developing relationship.
- The Chinese agreed to free the two American pilots captured during the Vietnam War. They also promised to

review later the already shortened sentence of another American prisoner. The pilots were released on March 15, 1973, while the other American was released early on March 10, 1973.

We thus moved decisively from the conceptual to the concrete. What was theoretically desirable was increasingly being practiced. What was still partly tentative and experimental would now be reinforced and expanded. What was indirect could now be made direct.

Several factors contributed to this major advance in our relationship:

- Eighteen months of authoritative and wide-ranging discussions had made clear to each side the other's philosophy and principles. We both decided that our shared interests in bettering relations, outweighed our differences on specific questions. Where differences existed, we had found ways to accommodate them without sacrificing principles.
- Since the initial openings, the two sides had established considerable reliability in our dealings, both bilateral and multilateral.
- Implementation of the Shanghai Communique had proceeded satisfactorily, and it was agreed that new steps were required to accelerate progress. Both we and the Chinese believed that it was important to institutionalize our new relationship.
- Finally, while most of these factors had been developing for many months, the Vietnam War had still inhibited our progress. With the achievement of a negotiated settlement, the major obstacle to improved relations was removed.

OUR FUTURE COURSE

In my first term we moved a long way with the People's Republic of China. Together we have revived our historic association, set a new direction, and launched a purposeful process.

We are resolved to continue on this course. We are under no illusions, however, that its development is inexorable. There will be a continuing need for meticulousness and reliability for although we have come a remarkable distance, two decades of blanket hostility cannot be erased completely in two years. In any event, our ideologies and views of history will continue to differ profoundly. These differences, in turn, will be translated into opposing policies on some issues which will continue to require mutual restraint and accommodation. And over the longer term the inevitable changes in the world environment will continually inject new factors that could test our relationship.

We nevertheless remain basically confident that relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China will continue to develop in a positive direction. The driving force behind this process is not personalities, or atmosphere, or a sense of adventure, or transitory tactical benefits. Our two nations undertook this course in full knowledge of our differences. We chose to change our relationship because this served our fundamental national purposes.

America maintains its historic concern for an independent and peaceful China. We see in this prospect nothing inimical to our interests. Indeed, we consider it to be strongly in the interest of regional and world stability. China, in turn, has nothing to fear from America's strength. The

broadening of diplomatic horizons has already paid dividends for us both and represents an enduring asset. Or past differences notwithstanding, we have many positive elements to draw upon—the traditional friendship of our two peoples, the cultural and scientific contributions we offer one another, the lack of any directly conflicting interests, and the commonly shared principles of international relations expressed in the Shanghai Communiqué.

This Administration will pursue the further improvement of relations with the People's Republic of China with dedication and care. The same considerations that prompted us to begin this process four years ago motivate us now to continue it. And our guidelines remain constant:

- Our objective is to build a broader and steadier structure of peace.
- We seek the tangible dividends of a flourishing relationship between the Chinese and American peoples.
- Our relations will be based on equality and reciprocity.
- This process is not directed against any other country.
- We shall pursue our policy in close consultation with our friends.

Within this framework we will work increasingly to realize the perspectives that we and the Chinese envisioned at the close of the Shanghai Communiqué:

“The two sides expressed the hope that the gains achieved during this visit would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries. They believe that the normalization of relations between the two countries is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world.”

THE SOVIET UNION

In the week of May 22–29, 1972, the United States and the Soviet Union took a decisive turn away from the confrontations of the past quarter-century. We agreed to limit the growth of strategic weaponry. We established a set of basic principles to govern our relations. And we constructed a framework of agreements leading to more normal bilateral cooperation.

Each of the accords signed in Moscow was a significant achievement in itself. Never before have two adversaries, so deeply divided by conflicting ideologies and political rivalries, been able to agree to limit the armaments on which their survival depends. Nor has there been, at any time in the postwar period, a code of conduct that both sides could accept as the basis for regulating their competition and channeling their efforts toward more constructive endeavors.

But beyond their individual merits, the summit agreements taken together represent a major advance toward a goal set forth at the beginning of this Administration: to effect a basic change in our relations with the Soviet Union in the interest of a stable world peace from which all countries would benefit.

In considering the course of Soviet-American relations during the past year, it is important to understand the nature of the specific agreements, the conditions that have made these achievements possible, and what the future may hold.

THE INITIAL APPROACH: 1969–70

Four years ago, our relations with the Soviet Union and international relations generally were still dominated by the fears,

anxieties, and atmosphere of the Cold War. The invasion of Czechoslovakia had recently occurred. While the Soviet Government made overtures for better relations, its motives seemed largely tactical. Yet, beneath the surface, it was apparent that the pattern of world politics was in the process of major transformation. The salient features of this change have been described in my previous Reports. Certain elements had special relevance for our relations with the Soviet Union.

—Divisions within the Communist world had deepened; state and national interests of the major Communist powers were increasingly reflected in their policies toward non-Communist countries.

—The realignment of political forces in the Communist world coincided with the economic revival of Western Europe and Japan, reinforcing the trend toward multipolarity.

—In particular, the more nearly equal strategic balance between the United States and the Soviet Union suggested that conditions might be optimal for reaching agreement to limit strategic competition.

Recognizing these international trends, this Administration began in 1969 to reassess our relations with the Communist countries. Certain aspects of Soviet-American relations were clear: the post-war rivalry with the Soviet Union was not a result simply of misunderstanding, or personal animosities, or a failure to create a good atmosphere for negotiations. The conflict was rooted in deeper differences: irreconcilable ideologies, the inevitable geopolitical competition of great powers conducting global policies and, to a certain degree, bureaucratic momentum and the disillusionment created by decades of

fluctuation between hopes and tensions.

To break the pattern of the postwar period required policies that distinguished between the sources of conflict and their external or temporary manifestations. We needed not merely a better climate for our relations, but a new environment in which the United States and the Soviet Union could exercise their special responsibilities for peace. Ultimately we hoped to create mutual interests in maintaining and developing an international structure based on self-restraint in the pursuit of national interests.

The approach we adopted reflected certain general concepts.

—It was no longer realistic to allow Soviet-American relations to be predetermined by ideology. We had to recognize, of course, that many basic Soviet values would remain inimical to ours. Both sides had to accept the fact that neither was likely to persuade the other through polemical debates. But ideological elements did not preclude serious consideration of disputed issues.

—Irrespective of ideology, any relationship between two great powers would be highly competitive. Both sides had to recognize, however, that in this continuing competition there would be no permanent victor, and equally important, that to focus one's own policy on attempts to gain advantages at the other's expense, could only aggravate tensions and precipitate counteractions.

—Both sides had to accept the fact that our differences could not be hidden merely by expressions of goodwill; they could only be resolved by precise solutions of major issues.

—Both sides had to understand that

issues were interrelated; we could not effectively reduce tensions through marginal agreements or even an isolated agreement of importance. Experience had shown that isolated accomplishments were likely to fall victim to tensions and crises in other aspects of the relationship. Thus, if we were to achieve more than a superficial change, we had to address a broad range of issues.

—Finally, we would judge Soviet actions rather than words. The basic criterion would be a willingness to act with restraint. We would respond constructively to Soviet initiatives; progress in one area would help maintain momentum in other negotiations. We would also make it clear that aggressive behavior could imperil our entire relationship. By linking all aspects of Soviet-American relations, we could hope that progress, if it came, could lead to a broadly based understanding about international conduct.

These general principles were translated into specific proposals during 1969 and 1970.

After a painstaking evaluation of all aspects of limiting strategic arms, we agreed to begin negotiations in November 1969. On other disarmament matters, we revived negotiations on prohibiting nuclear arms from the seabeds and took up the new challenge of limiting biological warfare.

In Europe, we reconfirmed NATO proposals to begin discussing mutual and balanced force reductions in Central Europe where the concentrations of opposing forces were heaviest. We proposed to approach the issue of European security by negotiating, first of all, improvements in

the situation in Berlin. The Berlin negotiations would be critical, not only because that divided city had been the scene of tense confrontations in the past, but because it was also the keystone in West Germany's effort to create a more normal relationship with its Eastern neighbors. That normalization would, in turn, influence the new prospects for a wider discussion of European security and cooperation, including a possible conference of European governments, Canada, and the United States.

As for economic relations, I indicated that the United States was prepared to have normal economic exchanges with any country that was equally willing to move toward normal relations in both political and economic fields.

On the Middle East, we agreed to discussions with the United Kingdom, France, and the Soviet Union, and we encouraged the Arab governments and Israel to undertake direct negotiations.

In this initial period, we tried to create circumstances that would offer the Soviet leaders an opportunity to move away from confrontation through carefully prepared negotiations. We hoped that the Soviet Union would acquire a stake in a wide spectrum of negotiations and would become convinced that its interests, like ours, would be best served if this process involved most of our relations. We sought, above all, to create a vested interest in mutual restraint.

Our relations with the Soviet Union passed through several tactical phases. It was apparent that Soviet policy had contradictory tendencies. Some factors pointed toward a more stable relationship with the United States; others suggested a continued probing for tactical gains. In this period, we dealt with these contradic-

tory manifestations by responding to positive efforts and demonstrating firmness in the face of pressures. I opened a direct channel to the Soviet leaders so we could discuss the issues frankly and privately.

The first phase, lasting throughout 1969, was marked by obvious caution, as we made only limited progress in engaging major issues but achieved some improvement in the tone of exchanges. In the spring of 1970 we agreed to negotiate on Berlin, and the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT) moved from initial explorations to concrete discussions.

A period of tension, however, occurred in 1970 over the Soviet role in Egyptian ceasefire violations in the Middle East, the Syrian attack on Jordan, and Soviet naval activities in Cuba. Similar tension arose from the crisis in the Indian subcontinent for a period in late 1971. Such developments gave us grounds for serious concern, and we reacted vigorously.

At the same time, the Soviet Union pursued a policy of relaxing tensions in Europe, suggesting that its strategy was to differentiate between the United States and our allies. This tactic, however, had limited potential since European issues were inseparable from the strategic framework of U.S.-Soviet relations. Moreover, the Soviet emphasis on certain bilateral relations lacked a general European framework, which could not be developed without the United States or without considering the impact of a controlled relaxation of tensions in East Europe.

THE ROAD TO THE SUMMIT

Thus we passed through a series of episodes that gave the Soviet Union no advantage and achieved no fundamental change. In each phase we sought to dem-

onstrate the wisdom of restraint and the dangers of its absence. At the end of 1970, it appeared that the tensions in U.S.-Soviet relations might lead the Soviet leaders to reconsider their relations with the United States. I felt that an opportune moment had arrived for new initiatives to end tactical maneuvering and to move toward accommodation.

Despite the erratic developments of 1969 and 1970, some positive trends were evident. As I said at the United Nations in the fall of 1970, we shared certain compelling common interests, above all an interest in reducing the dangers of war. That the Soviet Union shared this concern was reflected in the continuation of the negotiations on strategic arms limitations, the mutual willingness to pursue an agreement on Berlin and the insulation of these serious issues from developments in Southeast Asia.

In the winter of 1970-71 Soviet leaders were looking toward their Party Congress, where broad policy guidelines are usually enunciated. It appeared at the time, and even more clearly in retrospect, that the broad changes in the nature of international relations, as well as their experience of the previous two years in relations with us, were having an impact on their preparations. It was thus a promising moment to delineate the progress that could be made if certain decisions were taken.

—SALT negotiations were temporarily deadlocked over whether to negotiate an agreement limiting anti-ballistic missiles (ABMs) alone, as the Soviets insisted, or an agreement embracing both defensive and offensive limits. For the United States, it was essential that an initial SALT agreement should begin to break the momentum

in the growth of offensive forces. If the buildup continued unchecked, it would almost certainly produce dangerous strategic instabilities—especially if limitations on missile defense created a premium on striking first. This was not a tactical dispute, but a major substantive issue that could only be resolved by high-level political decisions.

- The treaty reached between West Germany and the Soviet Union in August 1970 had changed the character and significance of the Berlin negotiations among the Four Powers. Ratification of this treaty depended on the outcome of the negotiations over Berlin. And it was general Western policy that the prospect for a wider European dialogue on security was similarly conditioned on a Berlin agreement that would safeguard access to the city and its links to the Federal Republic. Thus, progress on Berlin would also involve basic decisions in Moscow.

Through intense and private exchanges with the Soviet leaders, a breakthrough was made, first in SALT, then in the Berlin negotiations.

- A new framework was created for SALT in May 1971 maintaining the link between offensive and defensive limitations, as the United States believed essential. At the same time, we agreed to concentrate our efforts on ABM limitations. Since these systems were not extensively deployed, we envisaged a permanent treaty. We also agreed to work out an interim accord limiting certain offensive weapons. Both agreements would be completed simultaneously.

- The Berlin agreements were blocked

by conflicting legal positions on the status of the city and on West Berlin's ties to the Federal Republic of Germany. Progress became possible in July and August 1971 when all concerned agreed to seek an agreement that dealt concretely with the practical question of how to maintain West Berlin's many links to the Federal Republic, including unimpeded access to West Berlin by road and rail.

These breakthroughs on major substantive issues made it possible to look toward a summit meeting.

The SALT discussion resumed in July 1971, building on the political framework agreed upon with the Soviet leaders. Two agreements were signed in September—one to improve the "hot line" between Washington and Moscow, and the other to reduce the likelihood of an accidental nuclear war by exchanging information on certain missile testing activities. The breakthrough on Berlin led to the signing in September of 1971 of the first part of the Four Power Agreement, which in turn opened the way for further negotiations between East and West Germany on the technical questions of access to the city.

My private communications with the Soviet leaders had included the possibility of a meeting at the highest level. My views on this question of a meeting had been stated in the first weeks of my Administration: a meeting at the summit would only be justified if it were carefully prepared and if there were sufficient reasons to believe that it would be the most effective way of proceeding toward solutions of major questions. By the fall of 1971, it appeared we could meet these conditions. Thus, when Foreign Minister Gromyko visited Washington in October

1971, we agreed that a summit meeting would be held, not for its own sake, but as a culmination of concrete progress and as a means of stimulating further advances. It was agreed the meeting should be held in May 1972.

I envisaged this meeting as having four aspects:

- As political relations improved, it became possible to initiate discussions on a wide range of projects for bilateral cooperation. In themselves, these projects were not crucial to our relationship. But cumulatively, as cooperation in such fields widened and deepened, they would reinforce the trend toward more constructive political relations. In the pre-summit period we discussed cooperation in science, technology, health, the environment, outer space, and maritime activities. The prospect of a summit meeting gave these discussions a special impetus and high-level attention. At the summit, these discussions could culminate in a series of agreements.
- Advances in political relations had by that time made it possible to address economic relations. The starting point was the removal of long-standing obstacles to closer commercial contacts—such as the unsettled World War II lend-lease debt. Then we could go on to establish longer-term arrangements for expanding trade and other types of economic cooperation on a scale appropriate to the size of our two economies.
- The summit could complete the first phase of the SALT negotiations and provide impetus for the next, even more far-reaching phase.
- Finally, on the basis of all of these

specific achievements, carefully prepared in the previous months of painstaking negotiations, the summit would afford an opportunity to review the whole range of international issues and to delineate certain fundamental principles to govern U.S.-Soviet relations in the future.

Thus, the summit could redirect the momentum of the past and chart a new direction in our relations with the Soviet Union, creating in the process a vested interest in restraint and in the preservation of peace.

THE MOSCOW SUMMIT

We prepared for and conducted the summit on this basis. We sought to establish not a superficial “spirit of Moscow” but a record of solid progress. The number and scope of the agreements that emerged make it clear we accomplished that goal.

Bilateral Cooperation. The prospect of a meeting at the highest level accelerated the negotiations on bilateral matters. At the summit it was thus possible to conclude agreement on significant cooperative projects.

- Cooperation in the exploration of *outer space*, including a joint experiment in rendezvous and docking of Apollo and Soyuz space vehicles during 1975.

- Cooperation in solving the most important of the *problems of the environment*.

- Joint efforts in the field of *medical science and public health*.

- Expanded cooperation in many areas of *science and technology* and establishment of a Joint Commission for this purpose.

- Cooperation between the American

and Soviet navies to *reduce the chances of dangerous incidents between ships and aircraft at sea.*

Since the summit, all of the agreements have been carried out as expected. Our space agencies have conducted preliminary tests of models of the spacecraft docking system and crew training will begin this summer. The Joint Committee on Environmental Protection met in Moscow in September 1972 and planned 30 collaborative projects on a variety of subjects, including air and water pollution. Programs for cooperative research on cancer and heart disease were developed by our public health authorities in October and November 1972. The Joint Commission on Science and Technology met in Washington in March 1973 and agreed to carry out some 25 projects in such fields as energy, chemistry, biology, and agricultural research. American and Soviet naval officers will meet this year to review the agreement on reducing incidents between ships and aircraft.

This process of cooperation has begun to engage an ever widening circle of people in various professions and government bureaus in both countries. Direct contact, exchanges of information and experience, and joint participation in specific projects will develop a fabric of relationships supplementing those at the higher levels of political leadership. Both sides have incentives to find additional areas for contact and cooperation, and I anticipate further agreements patterned on those already concluded.

Economic Relations. In the past, many in the United States believed trade could open the way to improved political relations. Others argued that increased economic relations would only strengthen the power of a potential adversary. In fact,

trade and other aspects of economic relations could never flourish if political relations remained largely hostile. Occasional business transactions might be worked out on an individual basis. But without some reasonable certainty that political relations would be stable and free from periodic turbulence, both sides would be reluctant to enter into long-term commercial relations. Nor would the Congress support an expanding economic relationship while our basic relations with the Soviet Union were antagonistic. With these considerations in mind, in the earlier years of this Administration I linked the expansion of economic relations with improved political relations.

Since progress was being made in the pre-summit period in removing sources of political tension, I authorized explorations in the economic sphere. I sent the Secretaries of Commerce and Agriculture to the Soviet Union for discussions. The Soviet Ministers of Foreign Trade and Agriculture came to the United States for the same purpose. We began negotiations on a maritime agreement to make concrete arrangements for orderly transport of goods between the two countries.

By the time of the summit, sufficient progress had been made so that in my discussion with the Soviet leaders we were able to agree on a general plan for moving toward a more normal economic relationship. We agreed it was essential to clear away the long-standing Soviet lend-lease debt to the United States. We also decided that a formal trade agreement was needed to provide the basis for resolving the many technical problems resulting from the long absence of economic intercourse. We agreed to act in accord with generally established international practice as regards: arbitration of disputes, establish-

ment of commercial facilities in each country, procedures to prevent market disruption, reciprocal extension of Most Favored Nation (MFN) treatment, reciprocal extension of commercial credits, and determination of the general level of trade. We established a Joint Commercial Commission to maintain contacts, to resolve issues that might arise, and to be responsible for carrying out the general agreement worked out with the Soviet leaders.

Following the summit, intensive negotiations began under the leadership of U.S. Secretary of Commerce Peterson and Soviet Minister of Foreign Trade Patolichev. In July 1972, a three-year agreement for the export of United States agricultural products and for the extension of credits to finance these sales was concluded. By October, the principal agreements were completed: a settlement of the lend-lease question, a formal trade agreement, and a maritime agreement.

—We had tried to work out a lend-lease settlement immediately after World War II, again in 1951 and in 1960, but had failed on each occasion. The main issues were the amount of settlement, whether interest payments should be included, and the length of time for repayment. The settlement reached in October 1972 provides for a total repayment of approximately \$722 million, to be paid over a period of about 30 years. This compares favorably with other settlements of wartime obligations.

—The trade agreement anticipates a total exchange over the next three years of goods worth about \$1.5 billion; it also provides for expanded business facilities for American firms in the Soviet Union, a large trade

center complex in Moscow, provisions for third-party arbitration of disputes, and procedures to prevent market disruptions.

—Each country will reduce tariffs on the other's imports, so that the level of tariff charges is about the same as that charged against the products of any other country (MFN treatment). This had been the practice in Soviet-American relations from 1935 to 1951, when it was terminated during the Korean War. Extension of Most Favored Nation treatment is consistent with the principles of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

—The October agreement also provides for the reciprocal extension of credit arrangements, customary in financing an expansion of exports. I authorized the Export-Import Bank to engage in credit transactions with the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Foreign Trade Bank and other Soviet organizations will provide credits to American businesses.

—An agreement on maritime relations signed on October 14, 1972, was another essential element to the orderly expansion of commerce. We agreed to ease procedures for access of Soviet and American ships to each other's ports. The agreement also provides that the ships of each side will carry equal and substantial shares of future oceanborne commerce. And it provides for a system of equitable freight rates.

These agreements open the way not only for a prompt invigoration of trade but also for developing these relations into a permanent component of the overall relationship projected at the summit. It is

not a question of whether certain elements should be separable, or conditional, but whether we wish the entire process of a broadly based new relationship with the Soviet Union to unfold.

The next step is to end discrimination against imports of Soviet goods into this country so that the Soviet Union can earn the dollars to help it pay for imports from the United States. This step will require action by the Congress to provide the President with authority to negotiate the reciprocal extension of Most Favored Nation treatment. I have submitted legislation to the Congress in this regard, as I am committed to do under the agreements reached with the Soviet Union. Extension of MFN is a logical and natural step in the emerging relationship; it is not a unilateral concession but a means to expand commerce in the context of broadly improved relations.

We are also prepared to consider possible longer-term cooperative ventures. The Soviet Union has vast natural resources, such as natural gas, that can be developed with the help of American capital and technology. These resources would then be available for export to the United States, thus enabling the Soviet Union to repay our credits and pay for imports from the United States. The role of our government should be to establish a framework within which private firms might work out specific contracts. Since the Soviet Union plans its economic program for five-year periods, its willingness to enter into long-term ventures of this kind suggests an expectation of cooperative relations and imports requiring dollar payments well into the future. Such ventures do not create a one-sided dependence by the United States upon So-

viet resources; they establish an interdependence between our economies which provides a continuing incentive to maintain a constructive relationship.

The SALT Agreements. Of historic significance were the two agreements which General Secretary Brezhnev and I reached limiting strategic arms: a treaty limiting anti-ballistic missile systems, and an interim agreement limiting certain strategic offensive weapons. These agreements are discussed in detail in the Arms Control section of this Report. Technical aspects of arms control were at the core of the negotiations, but the significance of the agreements transcends specific provisions and goes to the heart of the post-war competition between us.

Some years ago, when the United States was strategically predominant, an agreement freezing the strategic balance was unrealistic. It was highly improbable that the Soviet Union would resign itself to permanent inferiority. Indeed, after the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, the Soviet Union began a major expansion in its strategic weaponry. Had this expansion continued unabated through the 1970's, the United States would have had no choice but to launch a massive new strategic armament program. The present moment thus offered a unique opportunity to strike a reasonable balance in strategic capabilities and to break with the pattern of unlimited competition.

Such an opportunity posed a fundamental question: could both sides accept the risks of restraint explicit in arms limitations? In the defensive field, new programs offered some element of protection but beckoned a new round of competition. Offensive systems were required to guarantee security, but their steady accu-

mulation created a momentum toward capabilities that threatened strategic equilibrium.

Each of us had the power singlehandedly to destroy most of mankind. Paradoxically, this very fact, and the global interests of both sides, created a certain common outlook, a kind of interdependence for survival. Although we competed, our conflict did not admit of resolution by victory in the classical sense. We seemed compelled to coexist. We had an inescapable joint obligation to build a structure for peace. Recognition of this reality has been the keystone of United States policy since 1969.

Obviously, no agreement could be reached involving weapons that guaranteed national survival if both sides did not believe their interests were served despite the risks. No decision of this magnitude could have been taken unless it was part of a broader commitment to place relations on a new foundation of restraint, cooperation, and steadily evolving confidence. Even agreements of such overriding importance cannot stand alone, vulnerable to the next crisis. Their tremendous historical and political significance is guaranteed, in part, by the fact that they are woven into the fabric of an emerging new relationship that makes crises less likely.

There is reason to hope that these accords represent a major break in the pattern of suspicion, hostility, and confrontation that has dominated U.S.-Soviet relations for a generation.

Principles of U.S.-Soviet Relations. The fourth area of major progress at the summit was the agreement on twelve Basic Principles signed on May 29, 1972. This far-reaching step placed all our other

efforts on a broader foundation. A new relationship would require new attitudes and aspirations. It was appropriate that this change be reflected in a formal statement. These principles codify goals that the United States had long advocated, as I did for example, in my address to the United Nations in October 1970. The main provisions state that both sides will:

- do their utmost to avoid military confrontations and to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war;
- always exercise restraint in their mutual relations and will be prepared to negotiate and settle differences by peaceful means. Discussions and negotiations on outstanding issues will be conducted in a spirit of reciprocity, mutual accommodation, and mutual benefit;
- recognize that efforts to obtain unilateral advantage at the expense of the other, directly or indirectly, are inconsistent with these objectives;
- make no claim for themselves, and not recognize the claims of anyone else, to any special rights or advantages in world affairs.

These are specific obligations. They meet some of our fundamental concerns of the postwar period. They are the elements that made it possible to summarize one general principle governing Soviet-American relations:

“They will proceed from the common determination that in the nuclear age there is no alternative to conducting their mutual relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence. Differences in ideology and in the social systems of the United States and the Soviet Union are not obstacles to the bilateral development of normal relations based on the principles of sover-

eignty, equality, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual advantage.”

What we have agreed upon is not a vain attempt to bridge ideological differences, or a condominium of the two strongest powers, or a division of spheres of influence. What we have agreed upon are principles that acknowledge differences, but express a code of conduct which, if observed, can only contribute to world peace and to an international system based on mutual respect and self-restraint.

These principles are a guide for future action, not a commentary on the past. In themselves, they will have no meaning if they are not reflected in action. The leaders of the Soviet Union are serious men. Their willingness to commit themselves to certain principles for the future must be taken as a solemn obligation. For our part we are prepared to adhere to these principles, and hope that the Soviet leaders have the same serious intention.

THE ROAD AHEAD

In reporting last year to the Congress on prospects for a summit meeting, I noted that we could not expect to solve the accumulated problems of two decades in one meeting, but that we did have the opportunity to open a new era in international relations. If we were successful, I said, the transformation of Soviet-American relations could become one of the most significant achievements of our time.

I believe we have now taken that essential first step in freeing both of our countries from perpetual confrontation. From confrontation we have moved to negotiation and then to a broadening range of fields. The promise of this beginning obliges us to see it through.

The tasks ahead reflect the successes of this past year as well as the disappointments:

—We are now in the second phase of our effort to limit strategic arms. We can build on what has been achieved. We understand each other's concerns better now than four years ago. We have established a common vocabulary and a technical framework in which to examine issues. And we have developed a measure of respect and confidence in each other's seriousness of purpose.

—But we face a severe challenge: each side is called on to make commitments, limiting its strategic offensive weapons for this decade and beyond. This will require political decisions to respect each other's basic security requirements and a willingness to balance each other's legitimate interests in an equitable and mutually satisfactory settlement.

—In Europe, the progress in Soviet-American relations has been a catalyst for further change. Whereas East-West relations in Europe were confined to bilateral relations in the past few years, we are now entering negotiations that involve fuller participation by our allies. The issues of European security and cooperation or reciprocal and balanced force reductions cannot be settled by the United States and the Soviet Union alone. We and the Soviet Union, however, can each make a significant contribution to progress on these issues—and that progress, in turn, will reinforce the favorable momentum in our bilateral relations by demonstrating that détente is broadly based and

serves the interest of all European countries.

- In the Middle East, the United States and the Soviet Union, separately and perhaps together, can also make a contribution to peace. Each of us plays a different role and has different interests and conceptions. But we have a common interest in averting confrontation. Proceeding from this principle, we can both exert our influence in the direction of a peaceful settlement among the parties directly concerned.
- In bilateral relations we can build on the progress already achieved at the summit. Though less dramatic than the larger political issues, harnessing our technological expertise and creativity in the service of both our peoples can produce lasting benefits for all.
- We have an opportunity and obligation to convert the promise of our agreements on economic relations into reality. We are discovering areas where the American and Soviet economies are complementary. The Soviet Union has certain resources that meet our needs, while we can export commodities and products which the Soviet Union wishes to import.

A year ago, I reported that a new momentum had been given to efforts for achieving a more constructive relationship with the Soviet Union. I believe that this momentum has carried us across a new threshold.

We are now in a new period, but we have only witnessed its initial phase. It is only realistic to recognize that there have been periods of relaxed tensions before, and earlier hopes for a permanent end to

the hostilities of the Cold War. Present trends of course can be reversed; new factors will appear; attitudes can shift. This may be particularly true in a period of transition.

In the past, changes in our relations with the Soviet Union proved episodic, in part because they reflected tactical motives or were limited to changes in climate rather than substance. What we created at the summit last year is more durable. It rests on solid, specific achievements that engage the interests of both sides. But it will take patience, hard work, and perseverance to translate our broad understandings into concrete results. If we can do this, the United States and the Soviet Union can move from coexistence to broad cooperation and make an unparalleled contribution to world peace.

PART II: ENDING CONFLICT

—Vietnam

—Laos and Cambodia

VIETNAM

On January 27, 1973, when the United States and the three Vietnamese parties signed "The Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace In Vietnam," we completed one of the most difficult chapters in our history. It was an honorable ending to a long and costly effort.

Peace in Indochina is not yet solid or comprehensive. But four years of intensive negotiations and the steady transfer of responsibilities to our friends achieved the fundamental goals we had set. As a result of the Agreement:

- Our military forces have left South Vietnam with honor.

- Our prisoners have returned to their homes and families. A full accounting for all those missing in action is stipulated.
- There is a ceasefire, though still imperfectly observed, in Vietnam and Laos.
- The South Vietnamese people have the opportunity to determine their own political future.

The settlement is a tribute to the brave people of South Vietnam. It is also a monument to the valor of American fighting men and the steadfastness of the American people who supported an unselfish but extremely difficult mission until that mission was accomplished.

WHAT WE FOUND

From the moment I took office, my highest priority was to bring an honorable end to the war in Vietnam. America had been involved for eight years in a well-motivated but costly and seemingly endless effort. Every year we had sent more men to Vietnam. Our casualties, draft calls, and financial costs had risen steadily. The war dominated our national attention. Abroad it complicated our efforts to adjust to changing conditions. At home it fostered growing dissent.

Clearly we needed to end the war, or at least our involvement in it. But if this was our most urgent task, it was also our most difficult. For the way we went about it would have much to do with the future of American foreign policy and the future of our own society.

The costs and frustrations of our involvement had led an increasing number of Americans to urge extreme solutions—

either massive military escalation or immediate retreat. We rejected both options. Trying to win the conflict by all-out military measures would have deepened the divisions in our society, and risked drawing other nations into the war. It would not have addressed the complex nature of the struggle and therefore was likely to be indecisive.

Immediate withdrawal from Vietnam might have brought a sense of temporary relief in this country. But soon this mood would have turned to regret and recrimination. We could not suddenly abandon allies with whom we had stood for so many years. We could not mock the sacrifices of Americans who had given their lives. We could not set out to shape a responsible American foreign policy with a first step of heedless abdication. Reckless withdrawal certainly would have brought neither peace to South Vietnam nor honor to America. It might have led to the collapse of Southeast Asia, and it would have crippled our efforts to build peace in the world.

But neither could we continue on the path we found. Our troop levels had risen steadily for five years and had reached an authorized level of 549,500. Our combat deaths had mounted to an average of 278 weekly during 1968. We were spending an additional \$22 billion each year on the war. Draft calls had risen to a monthly average of 30,000. And despite this investment, there was no decisive outcome on the battlefield.

The picture was similarly bleak at the conference table. As a result of our bombing halt, public negotiations had been launched in Paris, but they had proved sterile. Only procedural matters had been

settled. No comprehensive plans for a settlement lay on the table. No prospects for a breakthrough existed.

THE BASIC FOUNDATION:
VIETNAMIZATION

Faced with this situation, we chose what we believed to be the only responsible course—to follow the parallel tracks of negotiation and Vietnamization. Our first preference was a negotiated settlement, and we undertook both public and private diplomacy to this end. Our irreducible conditions were that the people of South Vietnam be allowed to determine their own future and that all our prisoners be returned. We also looked toward a ceasefire to end the war for all participants.

But one side cannot negotiate a peace, and the North Vietnamese constantly made two unacceptable demands. First, they insisted we withdraw totally from South Vietnam before any other conditions were even discussed. Secondly, they demanded we overthrow the existing government in South Vietnam and replace it with a Communist-dominated structure. This was the only way, they said, to get our prisoners back or obtain an overall settlement. Unless we were prepared to hand South Vietnam over to the enemy, there was no prospect of an early breakthrough at the conference table.

Therefore, even while we sought peace through negotiations, we needed an alternative course of action. We wanted to ensure that:

—Our withdrawal would not depend on the enemy's reasonableness at the conference table. We wanted to reduce our involvement to demonstrate that it was not open-ended.

—The act of our withdrawal would not overthrow the non-Communist forces. We were determined to disengage responsibly.

We thus developed the Vietnamization program in close cooperation with the Government of the Republic of Vietnam (GVN). This policy was designed to strengthen the armed forces and the people of South Vietnam so that they could defend themselves. As their forces increased in numbers, equipment, combat skills, and leadership, they progressively assumed responsibility for their own defense. The process also involved the extension of governmental authority in the countryside through the pacification program, the growth of economic capacities, the development of political institutions—all the elements that would allow South Vietnam to stand on its own.

While negotiations foundered on Communist intransigence, Vietnamization was an honorable and convincing alternative. We had the following considerations in mind:

—Vietnamization allowed us unilaterally to achieve our objective of winding down our involvement.

—We had to ensure that our friends over the longer term could take over their self-defense completely, since we could not stay there indefinitely.

—Our policy reflected our overall approach to friends and allies around the world—we would continue to play a strong supporting role, but we would increasingly look to our partners to assume greater responsibilities for their security and development.

—We needed to demonstrate to Hanoi and its allies that we had an option so long as they blocked progress at the conference table—one that enabled

our allies to stand on their own and could gain the support of the American people for a continuing role until our allies were ready.

The tangible progress of Vietnamization was reflected in the statistics. In four years, we progressively reduced our presence from more than half a million men to 27,000, a 95 percent cut, by December 1, 1972. Other allied forces from Korea, Thailand, Australia, New Zealand, and the Philippines were withdrawn or phased down during the period. American casualties in South Vietnam fell from almost 300 a week when we took office to 26 a week in 1971, and to four a week during the final six months of our involvement. Over 60 percent of the casualties under this Administration occurred in 1969 before our policies could take hold. We reduced the cost of the war by billions of dollars each year.

During this period, the South Vietnamese progressively took over the battle. Our ground combat role was steadily reduced and officially ended on June 30, 1972. Our friends also assumed all naval missions and an increasing share of direct air support. The South Vietnamese armed forces and people shouldered the burdens with courage and skill. And all the other crucial indicators of the struggle stayed promising also—the security situation in the countryside, the performance of the economy, and the cohesiveness of the political fabric.

THE NEED FOR DECISIVE ACTION

During this process, firm but measured military actions were also required:

- To protect our men in Vietnam as their numbers declined.
- To assure the continued success of

Vietnamization and thus reduce our presence, our casualties, and our costs.

- To demonstrate that the enemy could not wage war on South Vietnam with impunity while using the rest of Indochina as a base area and stalling us at the conference table.

The North Vietnamese stepped up their pressure during the first months of each year, after building up their potential during the dry season. In 1969 shortly after we took office, they increased their attacks in South Vietnam. In 1970, they launched major attacks in Cambodia, attempting to link up their base areas into one continuous band. In 1971 they staged a major buildup in southern Laos.

These operations threatened American and allied forces. Beyond that, they challenged the whole Vietnamization program. The Communists were intent on expanding their base areas bordering South Vietnam, strengthening their logistics network, and linking up conventional and guerrilla forces for future assaults.

Our basic strategy was to blunt the threat to our men, meet the challenge to our program, and buy the time needed to make our ally self-sufficient. Our actions were defensive and limited in both duration and scope. In 1970 there were joint U.S.-South Vietnamese operations against the North Vietnamese base areas in Cambodia. In 1971 the South Vietnamese, with our support, attacked the enemy base areas in Laos.

These actions achieved the objectives we set. In the months following each action, our troop levels and casualties showed a marked decline while South Vietnam's security situation and self-confidence improved.

Each of these phases in turn demon-

strated the continuing success of Vietnamization. The 1969 Communist attacks made little headway because the enemy had suffered heavy losses in their Tet Offensive the year before and our own forces were still at a peak level. In the 1970 Cambodia operation, the South Vietnamese conducted large scale military operations of their own alongside U.S. forces. In 1971 in Laos our allies carried on all of the ground combat while our role was limited to air and logistic support. At each stage the South Vietnamese did more and we did less; and after each stage we were able to accelerate the shifting of responsibilities. In 1972, when the most severe test of all came, the South Vietnamese were ready.

By early 1972, South Vietnam had made impressive progress across the board. Militarily, its forces had taken over virtually all of the ground fighting and much of the close air support mission. Over one million civilians had joined the People's Self-Defense Forces. The government had the confidence to supply this local militia with weapons. The pacification program was succeeding. Eighty percent of the population lived in areas under government control. Nearly all of South Vietnam's 2,200 villages had elected their own local leaders. Comprehensive economic reforms had cut the rate of inflation and stabilized South Vietnam's economy. Industrial output, exports, and tax revenues had reached their highest point in many years. A vigorous land reform program had transferred nearly one million acres of farm land to former tenants, and the government had established a widespread system of low interest agricultural loans. The rice harvest promised a bumper crop, thanks in part to high yield grains introduced with

our assistance. School attendance and classroom construction had reached new high levels. Nearly one million refugees—most of them displaced by the Communists' Tet Offensive in 1968—had resettled or were being cared for.

In the spring of 1972, faced with South Vietnam's growing military, economic, and political strength, North Vietnam launched its most massive challenge. On March 30, its troops poured through the Demilitarized Zone separating North and South Vietnam which the 1954 Geneva Agreements had established. In so doing, Hanoi abandoned its previous tactics and fundamentally changed the nature of the fighting, for it employed almost its entire army in an all-out frontal assault.

This challenge came just as we were trying to revive private negotiations in Paris to get a response to a comprehensive U.S.-GVN peace proposal that had been tabled on January 27, 1972. While Hanoi was preparing its major military assault—and even after it was underway—we tried every route of restraint. After months of effort, we finally arranged a secret meeting in Paris on May 2 with the North Vietnamese. This proved abortive as they rejected all possibilities for de-escalation or for settlement. They were obviously determined to settle matters through military action.

South Vietnamese valor and America's forceful support blunted the Communist offensive. On May 8, faced with aggression in Vietnam and intransigence in Paris, I announced that we were mining all major North Vietnamese ports and were resuming air and naval attacks in North Vietnam to interdict the flow of troops and supplies into the South. At the same time, I held out the alternative of a peaceful settlement along lines that

eventually began to emerge five months later to the day.

I took these actions only after all other options had been exhausted and the imperatives were clear. We could not passively acquiesce in all-out aggression, fueled by the arms of outside powers and conducted in total disregard of international agreements and understandings. Most immediately, the enemy attacks threatened our remaining forces in South Vietnam as well as regional stability. Beyond that, it challenged America's credibility and thus the chances for stability around the world. Finally, it was the eve of my journey to Moscow: how could the President of the United States go to a summit meeting while our ally was being overrun with the help of arms supplied by the country he was visiting?

The South Vietnamese stood up well under the massive attack, which was designed to inflict political, psychological, and economic damage as well as to gain territory. Enemy guns pounded civilian centers, such as Quang Tri City and An Loc, into rubble, but the Communists kept little territory, and they failed to crack the spirit of the South Vietnamese. Buoyed by our actions, our allies rolled back most Communist territorial gains and liberated Quang Tri City, the only provincial capital the Communists had been able to take. More than one million South Vietnamese "voted with their feet" by moving into areas controlled by their government rather than staying with the enemy. Local leaders performed well under pressure. Even opposition groups closed ranks with the government against the common enemy. The inevitable economic dislocations were slight. The land reform program continued and, by March

1973, two and a half million acres had been distributed by the government, virtually eliminating land tenancy in South Vietnam.

Thus, the North Vietnamese offensive had failed. The steady development of Vietnamization and the allied military reactions of 1970 and 1971 had made possible the defense of South Vietnam in 1972. The climactic military phase gradually underlined to all parties the futility of continued conflict and the need for genuine negotiations.

In sum, the military measures we took in Indochina were a difficult but essential aspect of our peace-making efforts. In each case we made clear our limited objectives. Throughout we emphasized the alternative route of a negotiated end to the conflict. Reinforcing the tracks of Vietnamization and negotiations, these decisive actions made an indispensable contribution to the peace that was finally achieved.

NEGOTIATING THE PEACE

The Agreement which was signed in Paris on January 27, 1973, culminated four years of intensive negotiating effort. Throughout this process, our fundamental attitude was as I described it on November 2, 1972:

"We are going to sign the agreement when the agreement is right, not one day before. And when the agreement is right, we are going to sign without one day's delay."

In Vietnamization the guiding principle was to give the South Vietnamese the chance to defend themselves; in negotiations it was to give the South Vietnamese the chance to choose for themselves.

In reviewing the long negotiating record, certain basic elements should be kept in mind.

Our preference was always to solve military questions alone. The best way to ensure that the South Vietnamese could determine their own political future was to leave political questions to them. We believed that we should not negotiate a political settlement for South Vietnam. Furthermore, we knew that military issues would be easier to resolve than political issues that would be extremely difficult given Vietnam's long and bitter history. We were neither qualified, nor justified, in detailing specific political formulas such as governmental bodies or electoral processes for the Vietnamese people. Nor did we wish to be directly involved in—or responsible for—the functioning of the political machinery.

We preferred to concentrate on those aspects of a settlement that directly involved us—the military activity, withdrawals, and prisoners. We felt the political future should be negotiated by the South Vietnamese themselves, hopefully in a calmer atmosphere. We did not seek to impose a political victory, any more than a military victory, but we were not prepared to impose a political defeat.

Until the final stage the North Vietnamese and their allies insisted on a settlement that would effectively guarantee that the future of South Vietnam would be Communist. Public speculation and commentary to the contrary, they never agreed to separate military from political issues until the end of 1972. And when, in light of this position, we presented comprehensive proposals, including political elements, they never wavered from their basic goals.

However they packaged their proposals,

the fundamental provisions were a fixed date for our total and unconditional withdrawal; the removal of the leadership of the Government of South Vietnam; and the installation of Communist rule disguised as a so-called coalition government.

This basic philosophic clash, not the failure to find precise formulas, delayed a settlement for four years. So long as the Communists insisted on their basic demands, we were faced at the conference table with one overriding issue. I addressed this question in last year's Report:

"Will we collude with our enemies to overturn our friends? Will we impose a future on the Vietnamese people that the other side has been unable to gain militarily or politically? This we shall never do."

The only solution offered by our domestic critics was to turn our ally over to the Communists, either through accepting their terms in Paris or removing all our support from South Vietnam. And neither course provided any guarantee that we would obtain the release of our prisoners.

Instead—as we pursued fruitless negotiations in Paris—we wound down our presence in South Vietnam responsibly. Vietnamization reassured our allies and spurred their initiative. South Vietnam's steady advance toward self-reliance was certainly a factor in the enemy's ultimate decision to negotiate seriously.

In the end we emerged with a settlement that met our basic principles and gave the South Vietnamese people a chance to determine their own future.

The First Three Years. In last year's Report I detailed our public initiatives and secret diplomacy for peace during the first three years of this Administration. Briefly, the record was as follows:

- At the outset we took *unilateral steps to induce negotiations*, such as the progressive withdrawal of our troops and reduction in air sorties in Vietnam. Each of our measures was met by fresh and more stringent demands by the enemy.
- We also moved publicly to *define the framework for a negotiated settlement*, emphasizing the withdrawal of foreign troops and general principles to allow the South Vietnamese to determine their own political future. On May 14, 1969, we proposed a settlement that would remove all outside forces from South Vietnam and establish internationally supervised elections. On July 11, 1969, the Republic of Vietnam offered free elections to be run by a mixed electoral commission, in which all parties could participate. On April 20, 1970, I spelled out the principles of a political solution that would reflect the choice of the South Vietnamese people and the existing relationship of political forces within the country. I pledged that the United States would abide by the outcome of any political process chosen by the South Vietnamese.
- On October 7, 1970, we presented an *overall proposal for a settlement* that looked to the resolution of military questions and free political choice for the South Vietnamese. We proposed an internationally supervised ceasefire; an Indochina Peace Conference; the withdrawal of all American forces from South Vietnam; a political solution based on the principles of April 20; and the immediate unconditional release of all prisoners of war.
- Throughout this period we intensively pursued *secret diplomacy* in the hopes that a private forum might produce genuine negotiations. Dr. Kissinger went to Paris regularly to meet with the North Vietnamese Special Advisor Le Duc Tho and Minister Xuan Thuy.
- In these secret sessions we spelled out positions that were more detailed and forthcoming than our public stance, as we made maximum efforts to make a breakthrough toward peace. On May 31, 1971, we offered a special *settlement of military issues alone*—the withdrawal of all U.S. forces in exchange only for an Indochina ceasefire and release of all prisoners. All other questions would be left to the South Vietnamese.
- The North Vietnamese continued to insist that political questions also be included, specifically that a coalition government dominated by their side be installed. During the following months the Communists followed a particularly cynical negotiating procedure designed to mislead public opinion. On June 26, they tabled a secret nine-point proposal; five days later, on July 1, the South Vietnamese Communists made a public seven-point proposal. Our own subsequent secret positions responded to both plans. Meanwhile the North Vietnamese castigated us publicly for not responding to the seven-point proposal even though privately they said we should respond to their nine-point proposal, and we had done so.
- In view of Hanoi's insistence that political issues be addressed, we presented during the summer a *series of increasingly generous and com-*

prehensive peace plans which were designed to frame a political process as well as settle the military questions. By August we offered our total withdrawal in nine months; a political process which included elections and our pledge to neutrality and acceptance of the outcome; limitations on military aid to South Vietnam providing there were limits on aid to North Vietnam as well; non-alignment for South Vietnam and all of Indochina; and reunification to be worked out between North and South Vietnam.

- On October 11, in response to North Vietnamese comments, we conveyed still another comprehensive plan to Hanoi and proposed another secret meeting in November to consider it. They agreed to meet on November 20, but abruptly cancelled the session just three days before, on November 17.
- On January 25, 1972, after waiting in vain for more than three months for the North Vietnamese to answer our proposal to meet, we were compelled to explain the situation to the American people and try to elicit Hanoi's reaction to our offers. We revealed the scope of our private diplomacy, and President Thieu and I offered *a new comprehensive plan for peace*. Once again we sought to make the political process as free and open to all parties as possible while resolving the military conflict.
- Our proposal provided that within six months of a settlement all U.S. and allied forces would withdraw from South Vietnam; all prisoners throughout Indochina would be released; there would be a ceasefire

throughout the region; and a new Presidential election would take place in South Vietnam. In addition, President Thieu offered to resign one month before the elections. We spelled out these provisions and others in considerable detail. We also made clear, as we had proposed in May 1971, that we were prepared to settle only the military issues and to leave political matters for later resolution by the South Vietnamese.

January–October 1972. The North Vietnamese response to our comprehensive offer was to continue their massive military buildup in South Vietnam and to launch their Easter invasion. They never replied to our negotiating proposal; they refused to meet us privately; and they repeated their same negotiating demands publicly.

The North Vietnamese finally agreed to meet again in Paris privately on May 2. We made every effort to find a way to end or scale down military conflict. We proposed a variety of approaches: mutual de-escalation; a *de facto* ceasefire; a partial withdrawal of the invading forces; an overall military settlement; or more comprehensive solutions. All of our proposals were rejected.

Accordingly, we had little choice but to respond with the decisive measures of May 8, 1972. At the same time we proposed a fair settlement, one that would prove eventually to be the framework for peace: the cessation of all our military activities and the withdrawal of all our forces within the same period, and a ceasefire. We told Hanoi that we would resume private negotiations at any time.

The North Vietnamese eventually decided to resume talks in Paris on July 19, 1972. As these discussions went on

throughout the summer, the enemy continued to insist on a comprehensive political and military solution along familiar lines. While there were marginal changes in their approach, enough to justify continuing the negotiations, there was no real progress toward a solution. In the July, August, and September sessions, their positions, however modified around the edges, contained the unacceptable core—imposition of a coalition government that the Communists would control.

Until October 1972, therefore, the basic stumbling block remained North Vietnam's demand that political victory be handed to them as a pre-condition for settling all military questions. In that case, of course, the latter would become totally irrelevant since the very issue that the struggle was all about would have been settled.

THE OCTOBER BREAKTHROUGH

On October 8, 1972, the North Vietnamese presented a new plan in Paris accepting the basic principles of our position. It was the essential breakthrough toward a negotiated settlement. For the first time, Hanoi agreed, in effect, to separate military questions from the principal political issues. They spelled out specific solutions to the former while the latter were to follow later and were left basically up to the South Vietnamese. Moreover, they dropped their insistent demand for President Thieu's resignation and formation of a coalition government.

To be sure, there were major problems in their plan, and tough negotiations lay ahead. But, in their own words, the North Vietnamese had essentially accepted the approach that I had outlined in my May 8th speech. We could see that, given a

constructive attitude on their part, there was, at long last, the genuine prospect of a negotiated peace.

Once this breakthrough was achieved, we moved decisively and quickly toward a final settlement. The North Vietnamese negotiated seriously as well. In areas where there had never been significant movement, there was now rapid progress. Through intensive negotiations from October 8–12 and on October 17, and diplomatic communications, we hammered out a basic draft agreement.

Perhaps to catch the South Vietnamese off balance, perhaps to pin us down to a settlement before our own elections, the North Vietnamese insisted on a very short timetable, with October 31, 1972, the date for final signature. After refusing to negotiate seriously for three years, the enemy now demanded that we complete the negotiations within three weeks of their proposal. We promised to make a maximum effort to meet the deadline, subject to discussions with Saigon and a final negotiating round to complete the draft.

To prove our serious intentions and to reflect the progress that was being made, I ordered suspension of all bombing above the 20th parallel in North Vietnam on October 23, 1972. During this period, as a result of several developments since the October 17 meetings in Paris, we told the North Vietnamese privately that, while we stood by the basic draft agreement, we could not meet the October 31 target date.

There were three main reasons we could not do so:

—During the last half of October, we received mounting evidence that the Communists were planning to take advantage of the ceasefire with military offensives. This threw a different

light on their eagerness to complete the agreement rapidly. Our South Vietnamese friends would have minimum time to prepare for the new situation. It also made more imperative the need to tighten up certain aspects of the agreement, including the supervisory mechanisms. Failure to settle on international machinery would mean that any violations would occur in an unsupervised context.

—At the very time we were conducting delicate consultations with our ally, Hanoi's leadership made public comments suggesting the possibility of a coalition government, which both sides had firmly agreed was not envisaged in the settlement. These and other ambiguities had to be put to rest.

—We ran into opposition in Saigon. Our South Vietnamese ally wanted many changes in the agreement, and they wanted more time for consultations. We were not prepared to accept all their proposals, but their deep concerns and the other factors made it essential to take a little more time. We believed a country that had suffered so much was entitled to have its views fully considered. We made clear, however, that we would maintain the integrity of the draft settlement.

On October 26, Hanoi publicly revealed the outlines of the agreement we were negotiating and repeated its insistence that we sign by the end of the month. We had agreed to keep the content of the negotiations private so as not to jeopardize their outcome. The North Vietnamese disclosures, however, gave us the choice of either breaking off negotia-

tions or affirming our commitment to the framework of the settlement while describing the types of changes still needed. We chose the latter course and publicly outlined our position in response to North Vietnam's propaganda offensive.

Our primary audiences were Hanoi and Saigon. We believed that peace was very near, and we wanted to underline the message to both capitals. To our adversary, we committed ourselves publicly to the essence of the draft agreement. To our friends, we emphasized that we would take their concerns very seriously into account, but we left no doubt that we considered the basic settlement fair to all parties. We sympathized with Saigon's perspective. The war, after all, was on their soil; they would have to live with any agreement after we departed. But we were determined to conclude a settlement as soon as we were satisfied it was sound.

We emphasized our conviction that the remaining problems could be solved in one more negotiating round of three or four days, as had been foreseen earlier in October, if Hanoi continued to share our serious attitude. We did not wish to release the full text of the draft agreement or to get into specifics. To do so would only give observers a scoreboard on which to register points won by each side in subsequent bargaining. It would hurt the chances for a final settlement by making the outstanding problems matters of prestige for the parties.

Therefore, we indicated the general nature of the issues that still needed resolution in order to solidify the settlement:

—We wished to elaborate the details of the control and supervisory machinery which was established in principle.

- We wanted to speed up ceasefires in neighboring Laos and Cambodia, for the conflict affected all of Indochina.
- We needed clarification of certain ambiguities. For example, the North Vietnamese and we clearly agreed that no coalition government was contemplated in the settlement, but the Vietnamese text of the agreement could be read to suggest a new governmental organ.
- We needed to work out the signing procedure for the four parties.
- We wished to clarify a few other technical problems in the text.

These matters were important in order to solidify the agreement, but they were minor compared to the hurdles that had already been surmounted. We would not be stampeded into an agreement by an arbitrary deadline. We would negotiate until it was right. And once we believed it was right, we would not be deflected from signing it. Only the terms of the settlement would determine the date of our signature—not enemy pressures, nor excessive requests from our friends, nor an electoral deadline.

THE FINAL STAGES

In retrospect, peace certainly was near in late October—the ending of a twelve-year conflict was reached twelve weeks later. But the record of those twelve weeks makes it equally clear that peace could have come even sooner if it were not for a cynical North Vietnamese approach at the end of 1972.

On November 20, negotiations resumed and lasted five days. We took up the remaining problems in the agreement and presented draft protocols designed to supplement it. These were technical docu-

ments. They introduced no new issues but spelled out in neutral detail the implementation of such aspects as ceasefire supervision and prisoner release. At first the North Vietnamese remained serious. We made significant progress in the agreement itself, although we received no responses on the protocols. A stalemate developed over the few residual issues, however, and both sides agreed to recess until December 4 to reconsider their positions.

Throughout this period we continued our intensive discussions with the Republic of Vietnam. We consulted through our Ambassador in Saigon, with South Vietnamese representatives in Paris, and through high level emissaries to each other's capital. We listened closely to South Vietnam's concerns and presented many of them forcefully in Paris. We did not adopt all of them as our own, however. We determined what we thought would make a fair agreement, and we stayed within the framework of the October draft.

On December 4, when we resumed the talks, the North Vietnamese attitude had changed fundamentally. The final issues could have been resolved in a few days given a serious attitude on both sides. The North Vietnamese began this round, however, by withdrawing all the changes they accepted in November. We spent the next few days working arduously back to where we had been two weeks previously. Then we reached a total impasse. Throughout the last several days of the negotiations in December it became very clear that Hanoi had no intention of settling at that time. We therefore recessed on December 13 after several fruitless and exasperating sessions.

Many of the problems we had pointed

to on October 26 had been settled: the prospects for an early ceasefire in Laos at least were firmer, and various technical improvements had been made in the agreement. But other problems remained and, because of the North Vietnamese approach, they were growing, rather than shrinking.

On December 16, we explained the reasons for the stalemate. Although many ambiguities in the provisions had been clarified, a few remained. We still had to work out a signing procedure for the agreement that would accommodate the sensibilities of the various participants. We were still far apart on the concepts of supervisory machinery for the ceasefire, and the North Vietnamese had allowed no serious discussions of any of the protocols.

The impasse was created both by North Vietnamese rigidity on these specific issues and by their whole negotiating approach. They kept a settlement continuously out of reach by injecting new issues whenever current ones neared solution. At technical level meetings, scheduled only to conform the English and Vietnamese texts, they raised fresh substantive problems. Questions already resolved in the agreement were revived by the North Vietnamese in the protocols. Instead of the constructive approach of October, there were now determined, often frivolous, tactics designed to frustrate the negotiations.

In mid-December, therefore, we had little choice. Hanoi obviously was stalling for time, hoping that pressures would force us to make an unsatisfactory agreement. Our South Vietnamese friends, in turn, still had some strong reservations about the settlement. The more difficult

Hanoi became, the more rigid Saigon grew. There was a danger that the settlement which was so close might be pulled apart by conflicting pressures. We decided to bring home to both Vietnamese parties that there was a price for continuing the conflict.

On December 18, we moved strongly in both directions. We resumed bombing north of the 20th parallel in North Vietnam, which we had suspended while serious negotiations were underway. We had to make clear that Hanoi could not continue to wage war in the South while its territory was immune, and that we would not tolerate an indefinite delay in the negotiations.

At the same time, we talked sternly with our friends in South Vietnam. In our view they were holding out for terms that were impossible to achieve without several more years of warfare—if then. We therefore reemphasized our determination to conclude the agreement if the North Vietnamese should once again prove reasonable in Paris.

During this time we maintained direct private communications with Hanoi. Once we had been assured that serious talks could again be undertaken, we suspended our bombing of North Vietnam above the 20th parallel on December 31, 1972.

On January 2, 1973, the technical talks on the protocols to the agreement resumed in Paris and serious drafting began. From January 8 to 13, Dr. Kissinger and Le Duc Tho met. The serious approach of October reappeared. There was rapid progress on the remaining issues in the agreement on the protocols. The residual ambiguities in the text were resolved. We agreed on a procedure for signing the

agreement that satisfied all parties. Four protocols were elaborated into final, agreed form, detailing such key military provisions as ceasefire supervision and release of prisoners. In short, we had achieved essentially all that we had set out to do on October 26.

Simultaneously, we continued consultations with the South Vietnamese Government, and these moved to a successful conclusion. On many questions we had improved the agreement to our ally's satisfaction; on others, the South Vietnamese changed their positions for the sake of concluding the settlement.

On *January 23, 1973*, Dr. Kissinger returned to Paris for a final meeting. On that date the United States and North Vietnam, with the concurrence of their allies, initialled the agreement.

That evening in announcing the settlement, I said:

"We must recognize that ending the war is only the first step toward building the peace. All parties must now see to it that this is a peace that lasts, and also a peace that heals, and a peace that not only ends the war in Southeast Asia, but contributes to the prospects of peace in the whole world."

In Paris, on *January 27, 1973*—the first anniversary of the comprehensive U.S.-GVN peace plan—Secretary of State Rogers signed the agreement for the United States.

THE AGREEMENT

This Agreement met the essential conditions that we had laid down on *January 27*, and on *May 8, 1972*; a ceasefire, return of all prisoners, the withdrawal of American forces, and the political future of the South Vietnamese to be determined

by the people themselves. The major elements were:

- An internationally-supervised ceasefire throughout Vietnam, effective at 7:00 p.m., Eastern Standard Time, Saturday, *January 27, 1973*.
- The release within 60 days of all captured Americans held throughout Indochina, and the fullest possible accounting for those missing in action.
- The parallel withdrawal of all United States and allied forces and military personnel from South Vietnam.
- A ban on infiltration of personnel into South Vietnam.
- A ban on the introduction of war material into South Vietnam except one-for-one replacement of military equipment worn out, damaged, destroyed, or used up after the ceasefire.
- The reduction and demobilization of both sides' forces in South Vietnam.
- The withdrawal of all foreign troops from Laos and Cambodia.
- A ban on the use of Laotian or Cambodian base areas to encroach on the sovereignty and security of South Vietnam.
- The determination of the political future of South Vietnam by the South Vietnamese themselves.
- Formation of a non-governmental National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord operating by unanimity, to organize elections as agreed by the parties and to promote conciliation between the parties and implementation of the Agreement.
- Respect for the Demilitarized Zone dividing South and North Vietnam.
- The eventual reunification of North

and South Vietnam through peaceful means, step by step, through direct negotiations.

- Respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity, and neutrality of Laos and Cambodia.
- In accordance with traditional United States policy, U.S. participation in postwar reconstruction efforts throughout Indochina.
- An International Commission of Control and Supervision (ICCS) composed of Canada, Hungary, Indonesia, and Poland to control and supervise the elections and various military provisions of the Agreement.
- Joint Military Commissions of the parties to implement appropriate provisions of the Agreement.
- An International Conference within thirty days to guarantee the Agreement and the ending of the war.

There were also four protocols which spelled out the implementation of the Agreement in the following areas: the ceasefire and the Joint Military Commission; the ICCS; the release of prisoners; and mine clearance in North Vietnam.

These then are the principal provisions of the Agreement and the negotiating history that produced it. The following points emerge.

The Agreement corresponded to our overall approach. We consistently held the view that a settlement should involve specific resolution of military questions alone. This was, we believed, the most feasible and rapid route to peace. The final settlement embodied this principle. The military issues—such as the ceasefire, prisoner release, withdrawals, and supervision—were spelled out in detail in the

Agreement and accompanying protocols. On the political side, the provisions were general, leaving those matters to be negotiated between the two South Vietnamese parties.

The Agreement included the basic features of our earlier peace plans. An internationally supervised ceasefire, return of all prisoners, the withdrawal of Americans and allied forces, and an international conference were basic provisions of all our plans since October 1970. Internationally supervised elections were always the centerpiece of the U.S.-GVN political approach. And the National Council corresponded in many respects to the mixed electoral commission of our January 1972 plan.

The settlement represents a compromise by both sides. While our essential principles were met, we and the Communists had to make compromises. Many of these were more significant for our ally than for us. For example, we did not insist on the withdrawal of North Vietnamese forces from South Vietnam. On the other hand, this had not been part of our negotiating position since our October 7, 1970, plan. There were other mutual compromises. But the fact these were made reflected the *de facto* situation and represented an outcome fair to all parties. Neither side could expect to impose at the conference table what it had not gained on the battlefield. The military outcome was not clear-cut and therefore the political future was yet to be determined. For us the important principle is that the Agreement does not hand over this political future to the Communists. Our friends have every opportunity to demonstrate their inherent strength.

It was not possible to reach this Agree-

ment any sooner than we did. Some observers have asked why we did not negotiate this settlement four years ago. The answer is simply that it was impossible to do so at any time before October 1972. As the record makes clear, the North Vietnamese from the very outset always insisted on linking political and military issues. They always demanded removal of the government in South Vietnam and the installation of a Communist-dominated structure. They never varied from that basic approach until the final months of this Administration's first term. Once we had achieved this breakthrough, we moved as rapidly as possible to complete the settlement.

Peace in Vietnam will depend not only on the provisions of the Agreement but on the spirit in which it is implemented. It was vital to reach a settlement that would provide a framework for South Vietnamese self-determination and for our honorable disengagement. We have never been under the illusion, however, that any single document would instantly move the people of the region from a generation of war and hatred to peace and reconciliation.

We have laid the best obtainable foundation for the beginning of this process. We hope that the contending factions will now prefer to pursue their objectives through peaceful means and political competition rather than through the brutal and costly methods of the past. This choice is up to them. We shall be vigilant concerning violations of the Agreement. We are always ready to encourage accommodation among the South Vietnamese. But the peace and progress of South Vietnam and its political future depend on the people themselves.

ONGOING EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN THE PEACE

In the period immediately following the signing of the Agreement, we moved on several fronts to promote its implementation. We talked to our adversaries, to our friends, and to other countries principally involved in guaranteeing the peace.

Prisoners of War and Missing in Action. The Four Party Joint Military Commission started immediately to make the arrangements for release of our prisoners of war. The two sides exchanged lists of prisoners of war on January 27, the date of the signing. The list of prisoners captured in Laos was furnished by North Vietnam on February 1. A U.S. team from the State and Defense Departments flew to Hanoi on February 12 to pick up the first group of returnees; another group was freed in South Vietnam the same day, and further releases were due at 15 day intervals. When there appeared to be stalling, we immediately held up U.S. force withdrawals to emphasize the importance we attached to prompt and full compliance with the Agreement and Protocols. Releases then continued on schedule. A final dispute over the release of the U.S. prisoners of war captured in Laos was resolved when the Communist side agreed to release them in Hanoi on March 28. In the meanwhile, the Republic of Vietnam, with our support released the more than 26,000 prisoners of war in its custody.

With the return of our prisoners, our efforts turned to the missing in action. More than 1300 U.S. military personnel and civilians remain in this category. The Vietnam Agreement contained unprecedentedly specific language on this issue—with similar provisions in the Laos cease-

fire agreement—and we made clear to the Communist side our determination to secure the fullest possible accounting for each of our men. As stipulated in the protocol, a Four Party Joint Military Team is being maintained to gather information about the missing in action. We also established a Joint Casualty Resolution Center (JCRC) in Thailand—near the Laos and Vietnam borders—to search for the missing. These efforts will continue until we have exhausted all possible means to find information on each of our men.

North Vietnam. Dr. Kissinger visited Hanoi from February 10 to 13, for direct conversations with Prime Minister Pham Van Dong and other North Vietnamese leaders. As stated in the Joint Communique after the visit, the two sides carefully reviewed implementation of the Agreement, problems in Laos and Cambodia, postwar economic reconstruction, and the International Conference on Vietnam that was held shortly afterwards. They also considered the bilateral relationship between our two countries and concrete steps to normalize our relations.

A significant result of this trip was an agreement to establish a Joint Economic Commission to develop economic relations between the United States and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This Commission began its work in Paris on March 15, 1973. Its agenda includes not only economic assistance but the whole range of economic matters. And it could become not only a technical group but a forum for a more constructive dialogue between our two nations.

The essential message we have for North Vietnam's leaders, and which was conveyed during this trip, is as follows.

We do not assume Hanoi will give up its long-range goals. We do expect it to

pursue those goals without using force. Hanoi has two basic choices. The first is to exploit the Vietnam Agreement and press its objectives in Indochina. In this case it would continue to infiltrate men and materiel into South Vietnam, keep its forces in Laos and Cambodia, and through pressures or outright attack renew its aggression against our friends. Such a course would endanger the hard won gains for peace in Indochina. It would risk revived confrontation with us. It would, of course, destroy the chances for a new and constructive bilateral relationship with the United States, including economic assistance.

The second course is for North Vietnam to pursue its objectives peacefully, allowing the historical trends of the region to assert themselves. This would mean observance of the Vietnam settlement and the removal of foreign forces on both sides from Laos and Cambodia. It would transform years of military conflict in Indochina into political struggle. It would enable the United States and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to normalize relations. If Hanoi follows this path, the United States will abide by whatever the historical process produces in Indochina.

If North Vietnam chooses the peaceful option, the United States remains committed to better relations. We are convinced, as stated in the Joint Communique at the conclusion of Dr. Kissinger's visit to Hanoi, that this process would "help to ensure stable peace in Vietnam and contribute to the cause of peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia."

Indochina Reconstruction. Thus the basic challenge in Indochina is to move from two decades of violent struggle to peaceful evolution. It will not be easy to make this transition after a generation of

conflict, to discard familiar techniques and join in constructive enterprises, and to rely on political competition and the forces of history for the achievement of goals.

The economic assistance we propose in concert with others, for the reconstruction and development of the entire region would help make this transition a reality. To be effective it must include the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The rebuilding of war-torn economies of former enemies is a traditional policy of this country and served the goal of reconciliation [in] the period after World War II. This concept was first proposed for Indochina by the previous Administration in 1965. We have reaffirmed it on many occasions during this Administration, including last year's Report. It would be a sound investment in peace, providing avenues and incentives for an insulated and suspicious country to engage in peaceful and cooperative pursuits. It responds to humanitarian needs as well as to political and psychological necessities.

We will pursue this program with determination. The funds required will not be drawn from any domestic programs. As we proceed, however, we will be guided by two fundamental principles:

- We will observe Constitutional requirements both in letter and spirit and consult closely with the Congress at every step of the way.
- We will not provide aid to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam if it violates the Agreement. Hanoi cannot expect to receive our economic assistance while pursuing its goals through military pressure.

We believe that the American people and the Congress will agree to provide the relatively modest amounts to help keep

the peace that ended such a long and costly war.

South Vietnam. The Republic of Vietnam and the United States fought and suffered together many years. We supported that government and its people in their valiant efforts against aggression. And we consulted closely with them throughout the long, torturous road of negotiations. We now look forward to working together in peace as we did on the battlefield and at the conference table.

The Republic of Vietnam will find us a steady friend. We will continue to deal with its government as the legitimate representative of the South Vietnamese people, while supporting efforts by the South Vietnamese parties to achieve reconciliation and shape their political future. We will provide replacement military assistance within the terms of the Agreement. We expect our friends to observe the Agreement just as we will not tolerate violations by the North Vietnamese or its allies.

We will also continue to contribute generously to South Vietnam's economic rehabilitation and development. That country is making a major effort to make its economy self-sufficient, but the peace agreement does not lessen its need for substantial outside assistance. South Vietnamese requirements will, in fact, increase in the short term. The government's heavy military budget will decline only slowly, for it must maintain a vigilant defense and support the total military responsibility created by the withdrawal of the American and allied forces. Simultaneously, South Vietnam will bear the double burden of creating new jobs for demobilized personnel and of meeting massive expenditures for relief of refugees and

war victims. Finally, the country faces other heavy financial drains as it reconstructs the many destroyed towns, repairs the country's transportation and irrigation systems, and brings back into production large arable regions abandoned during twenty years of fighting.

None of the country's major economic tasks can be accomplished without substantial economic assistance. With such aid, none of these problems is insuperable. South Vietnam has the natural and human resources to be economically independent and viable. What is needed is time for these resources, diverted or idled by the war, to be put back to productive use.

The Republic of South Vietnam now seeks the economic counterpart to Vietnamization. As we helped them take over their own defense in conflict, we will help them now become economically self-sustaining in peace.

These were the principles I expressed to President Thieu when we met at San Clemente a few weeks ago. His visit to the United States symbolized both our common struggle in past years and our common endeavors in the years to come. As we said in our joint communique:

"... both Presidents agreed that through the harsh experience of a tragic war and the sacrifices of their two peoples a close and constructive relationship between the American and the South Vietnamese people has been developed and strengthened. They affirmed their full confidence that this association would be preserved as the foundation of an honorable and lasting peace in Southeast Asia."

The International Conference. From February 26, 1973, to March 2, 1973, the International Conference on Vietnam met in Paris. Twelve nations—the four

parties to the Agreement, the four ICCS countries, and the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council—plus the Secretary General of the United Nations, attended. The Final Act signed on March 3, 1973, endorsed the Vietnam Agreement; called for its strict observance by the four parties; pledged respect for the Accord by members of the Conference; urged all other countries to do so as well; set up procedures for reporting violations of the Agreement and reconvening of the Conference; and called for countries to respect the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity, and neutrality of Cambodia and Laos, as stipulated in the Agreement.

A single meeting lasting several days cannot guarantee the peace. But the gathering and the statements of the nations involved underlined the reality that all countries, not just those directly concerned, have a stake in peace in Indochina. We expect the nations that signed the Act of the Conference to live up to their obligations. We will take their performance into account in the conduct of our bilateral relations.

FUTURE TASKS

Achieving an end to the war was exceptionally difficult, but keeping the peace will be no less challenging. It involves not just Vietnam but all of Indochina, and not just the Indochinese countries but outside nations as well. The following are the major tasks:

- Strengthening the peace in Vietnam.
- Implementing the agreement on Laos.
- Achieving a ceasefire and beginning negotiations on Cambodia.
- Ensuring restraint toward the region by outside powers.

The peace in Vietnam itself remains fragile. A period of misunderstandings and ambiguities was to be expected in the first months of peace after so many years of war. The process of reconciliation and mutual accommodation is bound to take time. Nevertheless the overall record so far has been less positive than we had hoped.

The United States has scrupulously carried out its obligations, and we have urged all others to do likewise. On those military elements of the agreement directly affecting us the record has been generally good. Our listed prisoners have returned from Indochina. There remains, however, the difficult task of accounting for all those missing in action throughout the region, and we will not rest until this task is completed. All American and allied military forces and advisors have been withdrawn from South Vietnam. We have strictly observed the ceasefire and have given full cooperation and support to the supervisory organization. And we began to clear the mines from all North Vietnamese ports and waterways, a complicated and time-consuming job.

Observance of the ceasefire is now, of course, in the hands of the Vietnamese. Compliance has been spotty, and substantial fighting continues. While violations and casualties have diminished from the first weeks, much greater efforts are needed to stop the conflict completely and fully stabilize the situation.

The most ominous aspect of the situation to date has been the continued infiltration of North Vietnamese troops in violation of the Agreement. In blatant disregard of Articles 7, 15, and 20, Hanoi has continued to send troops and military supplies into South Vietnam. It has also

continued its military activities in Laos and Cambodia in violation of Article 20. In so doing, it has built up the military potential of the Communist forces in South Vietnam. Whether this is a prelude to another offensive is not clear. What is clear is that it must cease. We have told Hanoi, privately and publicly, that we will not tolerate violations of the Agreement.

On the political front, the two South Vietnamese parties are now negotiating in Paris on such subjects as the functioning of the National Council of National Reconciliation, the elections, the issues of civilian prisoners held by both sides, and the reduction and demobilization of both sides' armed forces. We hope that the South Vietnamese parties make progress on these issues and settle their differences.

Laos and Cambodia will be treated in more detail later in this Report. It is important to point out here that the Vietnam settlement obligates all foreign countries to withdraw their forces from these two countries, cease sending military personnel and equipment into the two countries, and stop using their territories to encroach on other countries. These obligations are clear and unconditional. Here, too, Hanoi has not yet carried out the terms of the Agreement. We expect North Vietnam to withdraw its forces from Laos and Cambodia in the near future, and to comply with the other provisions regarding those countries. As I have stated repeatedly, there cannot be stable peace in Vietnam until its neighbors are also at peace. The conflict has been indivisible. The peace must be too.

Countries outside the region have a strong interest in the maintenance of peace in Indochina. If the flames of conflict flare up again, there will be renewed

suffering for the peoples of the area, the danger of another war, and a threat to the improvement of relations among the major world powers.

Accordingly, we look to outside powers to lend a moderating influence to the affairs of Indochina. This means, first of all, that there can be no reasonable justification for sending Hanoi large arms shipments now that there is a negotiated settlement. North Vietnam certainly is not threatened by its neighbors. A military buildup would raise questions not only about its intentions, but also about the motivations of the suppliers. Restraint in the North on this matter will be matched by restraint in the South.

Beyond that, we believe that friends of the Vietnamese belligerents can helpfully underline to them the advantages of maintaining the peace instead of rekindling the war. This will be our approach. For there cannot be a global structure of peace while conflict persists in Indochina.

This is a complex and difficult agenda. Unlike that of the last dozen years, our role will not be dominant. But it will remain substantial and important. And it will require both generosity and firmness, both patience and vigilance.

America has those qualities and will exercise them in the interest of peace in the region.

LAOS AND CAMBODIA

There cannot be lasting peace in Vietnam until its neighbors are at peace.

As of this writing, the situation in both Laos and Cambodia remains fluid. In Laos, the parties reached a ceasefire settlement in February 1973, but the framework is fragile, and the Communists have delayed negotiations which were stipulated

in the Agreement to reach a definitive settlement. In Cambodia, the Communists have stepped up their military attacks since the Vietnam and Laos ceasefires, rejecting both the Government's unilateral military restraint and its call for negotiations. In both countries, North Vietnam continues to violate the past international agreements to which it was a party. And in both countries it is now violating the Vietnam Agreement it signed in January 1973.

North Vietnam, as well as the other parties to the Vietnam Agreement, has unambiguous obligations with respect to Laos and Cambodia. Article 20 of that Agreement stipulates that:

- The parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam shall strictly respect the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Cambodia and the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, and shall respect the neutrality of Cambodia and Laos.
- They will undertake to refrain from using the territory of Cambodia and the territory of Laos to encroach on the sovereignty and security of one another and of other countries.
- Foreign countries shall put an end to all military activities in Cambodia and Laos, totally withdraw from and refrain from reintroducing into these two countries troops, military advisers and military personnel, armaments, munitions, and war materiel.
- The internal affairs of Cambodia and Laos shall be settled by the people of each of these countries without foreign interference.
- The problems existing between the Indochinese countries shall be settled by the Indochinese parties on the basis of respect for each other's in-

dependence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs.

These provisions are clear. They are not tied to any other conditions. To date they have been ignored by Hanoi. Although fighting has subsided in Laos, attacks there by the North Vietnamese and their allies continue. In Cambodia, Communist forces have increased their attacks in a major effort to isolate Phnom Penh and other population centers. Hanoi has continued to infiltrate men and supplies into and through Laos and Cambodia. It gives no sign of ending this flow or withdrawing its forces from either country.

The U.S. position is clear. We will not tolerate violations of the Vietnam Agreement. We have every interest in seeing peace observed in Laos and peace attained in Cambodia. The legitimate governments of the two countries are working toward this end. In both countries we will honor whatever agreements are worked out by the peoples themselves. We firmly intend to implement all the provisions of the Vietnam Agreement, and we insist that all other parties do so as well.

Hanoi has always exploited Laos and Cambodia in its conduct of the Vietnam War. It has etched a similar, distressing pattern in both of South Vietnam's neighbors in recent years:

- Neither Laos nor Cambodia has ever threatened North Vietnam, nor could they threaten it.
- The neutrality, independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of both countries were established by international agreements signed by Hanoi and its allies.
- The North Vietnamese have continually violated all these principles

for years by sending tens of thousands of their troops into both countries and organizing insurgent forces.

- Hanoi's primary target has been South Vietnam. It has used Laos and Cambodia for infiltration corridors for its troops and supplies, for base areas for launching attacks on South Vietnam, and for sanctuaries.
- In the process, North Vietnam has also threatened the neutral governments in Vientiane and Phnom Penh.
- The helpless people of both nations, wanting nothing but to be left alone, have been subjected for years to outside aggression and exploitation.

Given the indivisibility of the Indochina conflict, our policy toward Laos and Cambodia has always been closely related to our policy in Vietnam. A fundamental concern has been with the Communist use of Laos and Cambodia in pursuit of their main objectives in South Vietnam. We also have been concerned with Hanoi's breaking of international agreements on these countries, and we have an interest in the independence and neutrality of the states in Southeast Asia.

Diplomatically, all our negotiating proposals on Vietnam have included Laos and Cambodia as well. The basic elements of our plans, such as ceasefire, release of American prisoners, the ban on infiltration and base areas, and the holding of an international conference concerned all of Indochina. Militarily, we have provided air and logistic support to the internationally recognized governments in Vientiane and Phnom Penh. This policy has been essential to protect the independence of South Vietnam and to enforce the Indochina aspect of the Vietnam peace settlement.

In Laos and Cambodia we have never undertaken the primary role but have confined our efforts to supporting those of the indigenous governments. This is true both at the conference table and on the battlefield:

- We have supported the attempts of the Laotian and Cambodian Governments to negotiate peace either on their own or as part of an overall Indochina settlement. In these efforts they have taken the lead and shaped the nature of the settlements they were seeking.
- While negotiations have been blocked by Hanoi's intransigence, the Lao and Cambodians have carried the ground combat responsibility while we provided military and economic assistance and, at their request, air and logistic support. We also supported South Vietnamese defensive strikes into North Vietnamese base areas in these two countries.
- Our role has been, and will continue to be, strictly limited: no U.S. ground combat personnel, a minimum American presence overall, and military support strictly tailored to the pressures of the North Vietnamese, the situation in South Vietnam, and the requests of the threatened governments.
- Our help has nevertheless been crucial for the independence of these countries and the pursuit of our objectives in Vietnam.

LAOS

The United States Government has always favored a stable peace in Laos and the genuine independence and neutrality of that nation. Our objective has been a Laos free of conflict, free of out-

side forces, and free to determine its own future.

We therefore welcome the Agreement on Laos negotiated and concluded by the Laotian parties themselves on February 21, 1973. We hope that this Agreement, coupled with the related provisions of the Vietnam settlement, will secure a lasting peace in Laos and finally permit that country to devote itself to the tasks of reconstruction and development.

A Fragile Peace. In the negotiations on Vietnam we took the consistent position that there should be an early ceasefire in Laos as well as Vietnam. The shaping of a settlement there was, of course, up to the parties themselves. Our friends needed no encouragement from us to negotiate the end of the conflict, so we pressed in Paris for Hanoi to ensure Pathet Lao readiness to conclude a settlement.

Negotiations between the Laotian parties began on September 18, 1972, and ran parallel to our talks with the North Vietnamese. One of the issues still not resolved to our satisfaction in late October in Paris was the prospect for early peace in Laos. As we moved toward a final settlement for Vietnam, the Laotian parties made progress in their talks. By the time we signed the Vietnam Agreement on January 27, 1973, we were confident that a ceasefire in Laos would be achieved within a matter of weeks, and we knew that our prisoners captured in Laos would be released within sixty days. Final obstacles to a Laos settlement remained, however, when Dr. Kissinger visited Vientiane, Bangkok, Hanoi, and Peking in mid-February and accordingly the Laos situation was a major topic on the agenda for those visits.

During this period, the final issues were settled by the Laotian parties and the

Agreement was signed on February 21, 1973. It has the following main provisions:

- Affirmation of respect for the Geneva Accords of 1954 and 1962.
- An immediate in-place ceasefire supervised by a Joint Military Commission with the assistance of the current International Control Commission (ICC), composed of India, Canada, and Poland.
- The formation of a new bipartite coalition government (the Provisional Government of National Union) and a consultative political council within 30 days of the ceasefire. The two Laotian parties were to negotiate and agree on the modalities and the exact membership in these bodies during the interim.
- The withdrawal of all foreign forces within 60 days after the installation of the new political bodies.
- The release of all POWs within the same 60-day period, except for Americans captured in Laos who were released within the 60 days provided for prisoner release under the Vietnam Agreement.
- The eventual holding of legislative elections to be organized by laws adopted by the new Consultative Council and Provisional Government.
- Pending these elections and the formation of a permanent government of national union, the separate administration by the two sides of the areas under their respective control.

Following signature of the Agreement, the Royal Laotian Government made a maximum effort to reach final agreement on the protocols implementing its

political and military provisions. The government presented concrete proposals to the Pathet Lao in order to obtain agreements on these matters necessary to form the Provisional Government within the specified 30-day period and thus speed the withdrawal of North Vietnamese and other foreign forces. However, the Laotian Communists adopted obvious delaying tactics in the implementing talks, including keeping their senior negotiator away from the conference table for weeks on end. As a result, the 30-day period for the establishment of a new government and a Consultative Council passed without agreement.

The same pattern persisted on other related questions such as the talks concerning a Joint Military Commission and a revitalized ICC. Meanwhile, in blatant violation of its international obligations, North Vietnam has continued its military activities in Laos and expanded its logistics and base network there, threatening South Vietnam.

U. S. Support. We have consistently maintained the supporting role that the previous Administrations inaugurated. On the diplomatic plane, as already indicated, we have continually backed Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma's efforts to negotiate a peace.

In the face of enemy aggression, and in light of the threats to South Vietnam, we have also responded to the Laotian government's request for military and economic assistance. By Congressional action, our total assistance expenditures in Laos were limited to \$375 million in fiscal year 1973. Our economic aid efforts were devoted primarily to programs for the care of refugees and the stabilization of the heavily burdened Laotian economy. Mil-

itary assistance involved primarily the delivery of supplies and equipment to the Laotian forces. These forces carried the ground combat role and, even in the air war, the Laotian Air Force provided much of the air support.

With the conclusion of a ceasefire in Laos, we look forward toward reductions in U.S. operations and expenditures there. Since the ceasefire, limited U.S. military activities in Laos have been conducted at the request of the government. They were necessitated by and taken in direct response to North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao violations of the Laos ceasefire agreement. Considerable financial assistance will continue to be needed.

- When requested, and within the provisions of the Agreement, we will provide military supplies so that Laotian forces can maintain a high level of readiness in the future.
- We will continue an adequate economic aid program to help the Lao move ahead to better their conditions and their lives.
- We will include Laos in the overall reconstruction effort in Indochina which we consider to be an important investment in peace.

Hanoi will largely determine whether the peaceful people of Laos will at long last gain a respite from conflict and enjoy a period of tranquility and progress. If North Vietnam and its allies observe the ceasefire in Laos, move toward completion of a definitive settlement, and honor the obligations of both the Vietnam and Laos settlements, they will find a forthcoming response from the Royal Laotian Government and its friends. If they choose instead to maintain an aggressive course, the whole fabric of regional peace will be jeopardized.

CAMBODIA

Our objectives and our policies in Cambodia run parallel to those in Laos.

We aim for an independent neutral and stable country. We do not insist on any particular political orientation, but we believe any course should be the free choice of the people themselves, not one imposed by North Vietnamese arms. Nor should Cambodia be used as a sanctuary or staging area for Vietnamese Communist assaults on South Vietnam.

In light of these objectives, we have supported the Cambodian government. That government favors independence, neutrality, and stability. It is willing to deal with its indigenous opponents at the conference table. It is fighting North Vietnamese aggression not only against Cambodia but also against South Vietnam.

The Cambodians, like the Lao, are clearly innocent victims who wish only to live in peace. Like the Lao they are carrying the brunt of the battle for their self-defense, while we supply military and economic assistance and, when specifically requested, air support.

The Past Year. Since last year's Report, there has been little progress in Cambodia. The military picture has remained spotty and at times precarious. The Khmer armed forces have managed to contain most enemy thrusts and maintain control of the major population centers. However, Communist forces have often temporarily interdicted key routes and lines of communication in an attempt to isolate the urban areas. This has on occasion generated short-term needs for airlift or special land and water convoys to bring supplies to the capital and other cities.

The mixed security situation in Cam-

bodia should be kept in perspective. Three years ago many observers thought that it would only be a matter of months, if not weeks, before the Communists would topple the Lon Nol government. Since then the Cambodian people have shown courage and resilience against repeated pressures. The Cambodian army has grown from a largely ceremonial force of 35,000 in 1970 to some 200,000, most of whom are volunteers. It has undertaken an internal reorganization, further training, and important reforms to develop its full potential for future self-defense. Progress in self-defense efforts, however, has been uneven and needs to be accelerated.

The crucial ingredient in Cambodia remains political stability. Since 1970 most of the population and opposition leaders have rallied in opposition to Communist aggression. Politically, there were both positive and negative developments during 1972. In the past year, the Khmer Republic adopted a Constitution, elected a president and a bicameral legislature, and put into operation various organs of government provided by the new Constitution. The government also initiated programs to improve community self-defense and to encourage the return of Khmer who have taken up arms against it. On the other hand, the leading non-Communist groups and personalities have not always worked effectively together and, at times, they have been openly at odds. This only serves to undercut morale, jeopardize the security situation, and prevent the establishment of an effective base from which to negotiate with the enemy if the enemy ever chooses to do so. Greater efforts for a unified front against the Communists are clearly needed. Recently, the Lon Nol government moved to broaden

its political base by including more of the non-Communist opposition.

The Continuing Conflict. In the Vietnam negotiations we pressed very hard for an early peace in Cambodia to accompany the ceasefires in Vietnam and Laos. We succeeded in getting the clearcut provisions for both Laos and Cambodia of Article 20 included in the Vietnam Agreement. In response to our insistence that all American prisoners throughout Indochina be released within sixty days of that Agreement, we were assured that there were no Americans held captive in Cambodia. But while we signed the Agreement with the expectation that there would be an early cessation of hostilities in that country, we did not have the firm confidence in this prospect that we held for Laos.

During the final stage of the Paris negotiations, the other side repeatedly pointed out that the situation in Cambodia was more complex than in Laos because of the many factions involved and the lack of an established framework for negotiations. However, Communist actions in the Khmer Republic since the Vietnam and Laos Agreements raise serious questions about Hanoi's professed desire for early peace in that country.

The signing of the Vietnam Agreement brought a brief ray of hope to Cambodia. On January 28, 1973, the day the Vietnam ceasefire went into effect, President Lon Nol ordered his forces to cease all offensive activities and urged the enemy to follow suit. He repeated his willingness to enter into direct negotiations to turn a *de facto* ceasefire into a more definitive settlement.

We welcomed these measures, suspended our own combat air operations in

support of the Khmer forces, and hoped that the North Vietnamese and the Khmer insurgents would respond favorably. Unfortunately, then—and since—the Communist side rebuffed this gesture and all other efforts by the government to inaugurate contacts with a view to ending the fighting.

Instead, Hanoi to date has chosen to pursue its aggression in Cambodia. Indeed, since the Vietnam and Laos settlements, Communist military operations in Cambodia have reached new levels. Widespread attacks have continued, chiefly against the important lines of communications and the population centers. In light of this situation and at the request of the Khmer Government, the United States resumed the air operations in Cambodia which we had suspended in an effort to promote a ceasefire. The objective of our assistance to Cambodia is the full implementation of the Vietnam Accords and an end to the fighting in Cambodia which threatens the peace in Vietnam.

The Cambodian Government has repeatedly declared its desire for a ceasefire and prompt political negotiations. We are prepared to halt our military activity in Cambodia as soon as there is a ceasefire. On the other hand, if Hanoi still pursues aggression in Cambodia, we will continue to provide the Khmer Republic with U.S. air support and appropriate military assistance. We will not introduce U.S. ground forces into Cambodia.

The Cambodian situation is a serious threat to the hard-won peace in Vietnam. The only feasible solution is an end to the conflict and direct negotiations among the Cambodians themselves. We fully support the efforts of the present government to launch this process.

We call on North Vietnam to observe

its solemn pledges in the Vietnam Agreement and to give the people of both Laos and Cambodia the chance to live their own lives.

PART III: STRENGTHENING PARTNERSHIPS

- Europe and the Atlantic Alliance
- Japan
- Asia and the Pacific
- Latin America

EUROPE AND THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE

The United States has regularly renewed its commitment to the flourishing of trans-Atlantic unity with our oldest and closest allies. I carried this message to Europe immediately after taking office in 1969. It is a central element of this Report to the Congress, for no aspect of U.S. foreign policy commands greater attention and care than our relations with Western Europe.

I have referred to 1973 as the year of Europe, not because we regarded Europe as less important in the past or because we expect to overcome the problems of the Atlantic Community in any single year. This will be a year of Europe because changes in the international environment, and particularly in Europe, pose new problems and new opportunities.

The alliance between the United States and Western Europe has been a fundamental factor in the postwar era. It provided the essential security framework for American engagement in Europe and for Western defense. It created the political confidence that allowed the countries of Europe to recover from the devastation of the war. It helped to reconcile former enemies, a prerequisite for European

unity. And it was the principal means of forging the common policies that were the source of Western strength in an era of tension and confrontation.

When the alliance was created, power relations, economic factors, and political conditions were far different than today: traditional power centers in both Europe and Asia were greatly weakened, and the United States and the Soviet Union had emerged with vastly enhanced strength and influence as leaders of hostile coalitions in Europe. Western Europe looked to America for protection and for leadership. The alliance came to rely on American prescriptions and became accustomed to ratifying American solutions to the major military, political, and economic problems.

When this Administration took office, a period of transition had begun; new trends affecting America's relations with Europe were already evident:

- Western Europe's economic and political revival coincided with deepening divisions in the Communist world. The bipolar confrontation of the postwar period no longer dominated international relations. Alliance relationships in Europe coexisted with increasingly fluid international relationships. Both sides of the Atlantic had to recognize that a new balance of power in the world would challenge our unity.
- In Europe, as the military vacuum was filled by the strength of the Atlantic coalition, the danger of war receded. But the altered strategic environment created totally new problems of deterrence and defense.
- The European unity forged by the original six members of the Common Market made Europe a formidable

economic power. Expansion of the European Community to include the United Kingdom, Denmark, and Ireland added a new political dimension to economic integration.

In these conditions, America's relations with the new Europe were bound to change. In the three fundamental aspects—economic, military, and political—trans-Atlantic relations had come to be based on different principles that led to different modes of action:

- In economics, members of the European Community, individually and collectively, stressed regional autonomy, while the United States remained dedicated to the integrity of an open international system.
- Militarily, unity was the predominant factor: the NATO allies operated on the principle of integrated forces and common strategic planning. But forces designed when the United States enjoyed an unqualified strategic advantage had not been fully adjusted to the reality of a more nearly equal strategic balance with the Soviet Union.
- Politically, the Western Allies shared abstract goals of *détente*, but we had not developed new principles to reconcile national objectives with demands for a unified Western policy.

Now, America and Europe are challenged to forge a more mature and viable partnership in which we cooperate:

- in developing a new and more equitable international economic system that enables the Europeans to reinforce their unity, yet provides equitable terms for the United States to compete in world markets;
- in providing a strong defense with the forces necessary to carry out a

realistic strategy in light of the nuclear balance of the 1970's while meeting our mutual defense commitments with an equitable sharing of the burdens;

- in building a common framework for diplomacy to deal with fundamental security issues—such as mutual and balanced force reductions—in the new international environment, reconciling the requirements of unity with those of national interest.

In the past four years we have progressed toward these goals. The advances have been more pronounced in diplomacy and defense because habits of consultation were long-standing in these areas and common interests were easier to define. Fundamental problems persist in economic relations with the European Community. Though Europeans have begun to pursue a collective economic policy, their lack of a comparable degree of political unity handicaps the resolution of economic issues with the United States.

ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP AND EUROPEAN UNITY

Throughout the postwar period, the United States has supported the concept of a unified Western Europe. We recognized that such a Europe might be more difficult to deal with, but we foresaw manifold advantages. Unity would replace the devastating nationalist rivalries of the past. It would strengthen Europe's economic recovery and expand Europe's potential contributions to the free world. We believed that ultimately a highly cohesive Western Europe would relieve the United States of many burdens. We expected that unity would not be limited

to economic integration, but would include a significant political dimension. We assumed, perhaps too uncritically, that our basic interests would be assured by our long history of cooperation, by our common cultures and our political similarities.

The Economic Dimension. The advance toward the goal we supported for so long has, in fact, created a new dimension in European-American relations. Mutual prosperity developed on the principle of relatively free trade. As the European Community progressed, however, it designed policies to protect its own special interests. Moreover, its growing economic weight stimulated other states to protect their access to that thriving market of more than 250 million persons. The prospect of relatively closed trading systems within Europe, notably in agriculture, and in preferential arrangements with third countries, was proceeding as the United States was suffering an increasingly unfavorable balance of payments.

In the area of monetary policy, the European Community has to a large degree been preoccupied with the search for a reasonable path toward internal monetary unity. At the same time, the growing strengths of some of its national economies—and relative weakness of others—have both impeded that progress and limited the will and ability of Europe to deal effectively and expeditiously with fundamental reform of the international monetary system.

The Europeans have thus been pursuing economic regionalism; but they want to preserve American protection in defense and an undiminished American political commitment. This raises a fundamental question: can the principle of

Atlantic unity in defense and security be reconciled with the European Community's increasingly regional economic policies?

We have also faced challenges in redefining our relationships with the other North American member of the Atlantic Alliance—Canada. Our northern neighbor has been reassessing its position in the world just as we have been establishing a new view of our own. Frank reappraisals of our respective interests have brought some new problems to the fore, particularly in economic relations between the two countries. When I visited Ottawa in April 1972, I reaffirmed with Prime Minister Trudeau our common belief that mature partners must have autonomous, independent policies and explored with him how we might work together while respecting Canada's right to ensure its own identity and to chart its own economic course.

A Comprehensive Approach. We thus face a new situation. There are elements of economic conflict, and there has been a lack of direction. Concrete economic issues, not abstract principles, must be addressed. But if economic issues are confronted in isolation, or from purely technical perspectives, each party will try to protect its own narrow commercial interests. The outcome will be a deadlock, with the prospect of constant conflict.

The overriding task is to develop a broader political perspective from which we can address these economic questions, one that encourages reconciliation of differences for the sake of larger goals. Each partner will have to subordinate a degree of individual or regional autonomy to the pursuit of common objectives. Only by appealing to interests that transcend

regional economic considerations can inevitable deadlocks be broken.

We have begun to move toward a comprehensive European-American dialogue. An essential first step was the European decision on the nature and scope of the relations with the United States. Last October, the leaders of the European Community met to chart their long-term course. The keynote was sounded by President Pompidou:

"Our links with this great country, the world's foremost economic power, with which eight of our countries are united within the Atlantic Alliance, are so close that it would be absurd to conceive of a Europe constructed in opposition to it. But the very closeness of these links requires that Europe affirm its individual personality with regard to the United States. Western Europe, liberated from armies thanks to the essential contribution of American soldiers, reconstructed with American aid, having looked for its security in alliance with America, having hitherto accepted American currency as the main element of its monetary reserves, must not and cannot sever its links with the United States. But neither must it refrain from affirming its existence as a new reality."

This was an invitation to begin the complex process of redefining our basic partnership, a goal we had set in 1969. Accordingly, on October 27, I strongly endorsed the European Community declaration:

"It is, and has always been my own deeply held view that progress toward a unified Europe enhances world peace, security, and prosperity.

"It is also of the highest importance that the United States and Europe work closely together. For this reason I particularly

welcome the Community's declared intent to maintain a constructive, forthcoming dialogue with us . . . I wish to reaffirm our commitment to work with the members of the European Community for reform of the international economic system in a way which will bring about a new freedom of world trade, new equity in international economic conduct and effective solutions to the problems of the developing world.

"These are the objectives with which the United States will approach forthcoming negotiations on monetary and trade reform. We will be prepared to take bold action with our European partners for a more equitable and open world economic order."

The stage is now set for comprehensive negotiations with our European partners. In effect, these negotiations began in my meetings with Prime Minister Heath, NATO Secretary General Luns, Premier Andreotti, and Chancellor Brandt. They will continue when I meet with President Pompidou and when I visit Europe later this year.

The issues we face are not abstract. European unity is not at issue. Nor are the requirements for common internal and external policies which reinforce that unity. Our aim is to examine concrete problems that impinge on the specific interests of the United States and to agree on a comprehensive way to resolve these issues.

Major negotiations will begin next fall on international trade. Our basic objectives are to restore the integrity of a more open trading system that was the underlying principle of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and to halt the drift toward economic protection-

ism on both sides of the Atlantic. We believe there should be a gradual reduction in tariffs and other barriers to trade in both industrial and agricultural products. We believe also that the adverse effects of preferential trading arrangements between Europe and less developed countries should be eliminated. Such arrangements should not work against the ability of the United States or others to compete in European markets or those of the countries with which it has special trade arrangements.

These, and many broader problems discussed in the chapter on international economic policy in this Report, require major reforms. The negotiations will be protracted and difficult. If, however, we can confront our economic differences in the same spirit of partnership developed in defense, we can reinforce Atlantic unity.

ALLIANCE DEFENSE

In April 1969 the North Atlantic Alliance completed its twentieth year. For two decades the nations of the Atlantic community had been united in a formidable coalition. No military alliance in modern times has so successfully maintained the peace. Unity had come naturally in military affairs because the threats to Europe were unambiguous, the requirements to meet them were generally agreed upon, and the basic strategy of nuclear retaliation was credible and effective.

By the mid-1960's, however, it was increasingly clear that military conditions had changed and that earlier strategic assumptions were no longer realistic. At the meeting of NATO foreign ministers in April 1969, I stressed the need to reexamine the Alliance's military position in

light of the strategic and political environment of the 1970's. Certain factors were of overriding concern:

- The West no longer enjoyed the nuclear predominance it once possessed. The Soviet Union was greatly expanding its strategic forces; the United States had ended its building programs in favor of qualitative improvements. Strategic arms talks, if they succeeded, would almost certainly codify a balance that was roughly equal.
 - Anticipating this new strategic balance, the allies had quite correctly developed a new doctrine of flexible response to meet threats with means other than immediate and massive nuclear retaliation.
 - In conditions of near strategic parity, the ability to defend Western Europe with conventional forces assumed far greater significance than in the 1950's, when the West could afford temporary weaknesses because of the American nuclear guarantee.
- In these circumstances, actual alliance performance was inconsistent with the implications of the strategic balance:
- Despite adoption of a new doctrine, the composition, levels, and armaments of NATO forces remained virtually unchanged. Indeed, with U.S. redeployments in 1968, as well as previous reductions, the level of NATO forces had declined.
 - Soviet forces in Eastern Europe, on the other hand, were being reequipped and modernized. After the invasion of Czechoslovakia, the forward deployment of Soviet forces increased by several divisions. Meanwhile, the United States had withdrawn one and one-third divisions.

- Spending for defense in the NATO area, measured in real purchasing power, declined steadily from 1964 through 1969.
- The distribution of defense costs had shifted. Manpower absorbed an increasingly larger share of expenditures while equipment purchases declined.
- There was no agreement among the allies on a common level of supplies in critical munitions. Yet, obviously, if certain countries could sustain combat for only a few days, it was irrelevant that others had stocks for much longer periods.
- There was agreement on the importance of conventional defense, but a reluctance, especially in Europe, to give priority to non-nuclear capabilities. Europe feared that doing so might imply a weakening of the credibility of the nuclear deterrent.

In addition, there was concern in the United States about our heavy commitments to the Alliance in manpower and expenditure. Critics persistently asked why the United States could not reduce its forces in Europe. Moreover, there was a growing opinion that our European deployments only further aggravated an already adverse balance of payments.

This environment of 1969–70 led me to insist on a full-scale review, not only of the American commitment but also of the Alliance's policies. It was futile to simply debate whether the United States should cut its forces by this or that number. The real issues were whether those forces were the instruments of an agreed and rational strategy, whether their presence made an essential difference, and whether the burdens of commitment were shared equitably.

Throughout 1969 and 1970 the United States and its allies engaged in a searching reexamination of defense policy. The principal results, announced in December 1970, were significant:

- All agreed it was essential to reverse the trend of declining capabilities and adopt a concerted, long-term program to improve existing conventional forces.
- The European allies agreed to a specific five-year program to improve and modernize their own forces by spending more for equipment.
- The Alliance concluded that a commitment of substantial U.S. forces was indispensable to Western Europe's defense.
- We, in turn, reaffirmed our commitment to maintain and improve our own forces in Europe, given a similar effort by the allies.

Force Improvements. Our European allies increased defense expenditures in both 1971 and 1972. Even allowing for inflation, the net increase was three to four percent. In each year since 1970, they have committed an additional \$1 billion through the European Defense Improvement Program. Their defense budget increases in 1972 were more than \$1 billion, and last December the European Defense Ministers announced that in 1973 their additional contributions would total \$1.5 billion. Since 1970, the European allies have increased equipment expenditures by \$1.4 billion. During 1971 and 1972 they bought 1,100 main battle tanks, 700 antitank weapons, and 400 modern combat aircraft, as well as other equipment. This has been an impressive response in a period of rising costs and of growing demands of domestic programs.

Sharing the Defense Burden. Improve-

ments in European forces are the most important aspect of sharing the defense burden. As almost all European defense expenditures are directly related to NATO, increased European effort means in practice that the U.S. share is less. This is an appropriate solution, since the United States maintains forces to meet global commitments and therefore devotes a much higher share of its economic product to defense than do the Europeans.

There is another aspect of the defense burden, however, that has not been satisfactorily resolved. Our position is unique in that our deployments in Europe add significantly to our general balance of payments deficit. In 1972 the United States spent about \$2.1 billion in other NATO countries to support our NATO deployments. Allowing for NATO military spending in the United States, mainly for equipment and training, our net military deficit was about \$1.5 billion. This net deficit has risen since 1970 and for a variety of reasons, including the devaluation of the dollar, will continue to rise.

In previous years, the Federal Republic of Germany offset a large part of this deficit, primarily by purchases of military equipment in the United States. In the current agreement for 1972-73, the German government also contributed to the costs of rehabilitating the barracks for U.S. forces in Germany.

Nevertheless, the Alliance as a whole should examine this problem. As a general principle, we should move toward a lasting solution under which balance of payments consequences from stationing U.S. forces in Europe will not be substantially different from those of maintaining the same forces in the United States. It is reasonable to expect the Alliance to examine this problem this year.

Eliminating the periodic requirement to renegotiate a temporary arrangement with only one ally would strengthen the solidarity of the Alliance as a whole.

The Role of United States Forces. The efforts undertaken by our allies since 1970 are the basis for my pledge to maintain our NATO commitments. At the NATO Council meeting last December, I reaffirmed my position:

"In light of the present strategic balance and of similar efforts by our allies, we will not only maintain but improve our forces in Europe and will not reduce them unless there is reciprocal action by our adversaries."

This pledge rests on a fundamental view, as valid today as it has been since World War II, that the security of Western Europe is inseparable from our own.

The conditions of this decade require the United States to maintain substantial forces in Europe. In conditions of near strategic parity, a strong capability to defend with non-nuclear forces becomes increasingly important; the United States contributes about one-quarter of NATO's forces in Europe's vital central region, though our allies' proportionate share of forces in the entire European NATO area is far higher.

The balance of conventional forces in the center of Europe would be seriously upset by the unilateral withdrawal of a substantial number of U.S. forces. Unless our reductions were completely replaced by European forces, deterrence would be weakened. In the event of hostilities, a weaker conventional defense could confront the Alliance with the choice of either capitulating or using nuclear weapons immediately.

Defense cooperation within Europe may

be a long-term alternative to the American troop contribution. But the prerequisite for such an alternative is a far greater degree of European political unity. Yet even if such unity develops, it is unlikely that the Europeans alone could maintain a strategic balance against the enormous nuclear power of the Soviet Union.

In short, disengaging our forces would risk serious instability in Europe, the consequences of greatly enhanced Soviet influence, and the dangerous implications of a greater reliance on nuclear weapons. If, on the other hand, we and our allies maintain our strength, we can contribute to political stability, reduce the likelihood of war, and conduct a credible diplomacy to negotiate a mutual reduction of forces.

We cannot enter serious negotiations if, at the outset, we or our allies allow our positions to weaken. I intend to maintain an effective American military contribution to the alliance and to pursue negotiations for a mutual force reduction that will create a viable balance in which the incentives for attack are effectively eliminated.

Unfinished Tasks. In the past four years the Alliance has diagnosed some fundamental weaknesses and agreed on remedies. In 1971 and 1972 we embarked on a concerted effort to improve our forces. The immediate and, in many ways, the most urgent problem has been faced. We are now in a position to examine more systematically some of the longer-term issues:

—In the later 1970's, all allies will face the enormous expense of maintaining more sophisticated equipment, paying larger costs for personnel, and maintaining a high degree of combat

readiness while national conscription may be eliminated or the terms of service reduced.

- In these circumstances, it is essential to define more precisely what we mean by an adequate NATO defense. Specifically, what do we mean by forward defense? Should we plan for maximum effort during some initial period of combat? Should we plan for a sustained effort over a longer period? If so, for what purpose? Can we maintain the logistical support for a sustained defense?
- If we can maintain the high level of conventional defense that is our goal, we still must examine our nuclear doctrines. When, in what way, and for what objective should we use tactical nuclear weapons? How do independent national nuclear forces affect Alliance decisions? Do we require different institutions to examine such overriding issues within the Alliance?
- What is the relationship between existing and planned defense programs and the diplomatic effort to reduce forces?

The answers to these questions are vital to Alliance policy in the 1970's. They require urgent but careful consideration. The United States believes that a strong conventional defense is essential to credible deterrence and that the Alliance must also possess a credible nuclear deterrent. But in the strategic conditions of this decade these issues must be reexamined, and the contribution of each ally determined for the long term.

In particular, the prospect of mutual and balanced force reductions in Central Europe raises some immediate questions for the Alliance. Mutual force reductions

are first of all a military problem; specific reductions must be measured against their effect on our defense capabilities. We therefore need a common security concept within which we can contemplate some reductions. If we justify force reductions as part of a political accommodation, or as a means to promote *détente*, the Alliance will be involved in endless debate over what level of reductions will produce what degree of political relaxation. In such a debate, it would be almost impossible to find an answer that would satisfy everyone and that would not undermine security.

Our objective should be to create a military balance that is more viable because it deals with the concerns of both sides and is seen by all to be in the common interest. We want a greater degree of stability, in which neither side gains an advantage because of lower force levels.

The Alliance should thus proceed on three parallel courses: first, to continue the effort to bring our forces to the level and quality required by the doctrine of flexible response; second, to review the strategic options involved in conducting a nuclear defense if necessary; and third, to prepare within the Alliance a military-political framework that integrates defense planning with the diplomacy of negotiating mutual and balanced force reductions.

Alliance Diplomacy. Through most of the 1960's, the problem of reconciling allied unity with national diplomacy was not critical. East-West relations were virtually frozen. Confrontation required less in the way of creative initiative, but put a premium on allied unity.

This broad cohesion and strength of the Alliance contributed to the changing international conditions that in turn offered

a new opportunity for Alliance diplomacy in 1969. But important political problems also emerged.

- International diplomacy is still conducted by nation states. The European members of NATO have regional security interests, which they must accord priority, and each ally has a national stake in European security. Increasingly in recent years, however, individual European states have pursued their bilateral relations with the Soviet Union as well as with other members of the Warsaw Pact.
- The United States has vital interests outside of Europe, and must deal bilaterally with the Soviet Union on strategic matters and on many global issues. Each member of NATO, however, has an interest in, and is affected by, the development of U.S.-Soviet relations; our allies wish to influence our relations with the Soviet Union to strengthen their own security. At times our allies have urged the United States to be more flexible in approaches to the Soviet Union; in other periods, they have criticized us for moving too fast or too far in relations with Moscow.

In 1969, the NATO allies were persuaded that new initiatives were required but, in the wake of the invasion of Czechoslovakia, were uncertain whether to renew contacts with the East. Some allies regarded a European Security Conference as a possible starting point; others urged negotiations on force reductions. The United States was preparing for strategic arms limitation talks. Unless we would agree on a common strategy, no substantial progress could be expected that did not strain our unity. Accordingly, in April 1969, I urged the Alliance to revive

the process of close consultations and committed the United States to continuing Alliance review of SALT. Consultations would address certain general tasks.

First, we needed to identify the specific sources of tensions that might be resolved.

Second, we had to agree on how to manage the priorities and interrelationship among major issues: those of primary concern to one country, for example West Germany's Eastern policy; those of regional concern, such as mutual force reductions and a European security conference; and those of international concern, such as SALT.

Third, we had to recognize that issues would be dealt with by different countries in different forums. Such diversity required an essential harmonization of purposes as well as a degree of national autonomy.

Initial Progress. The United States urged that the Alliance take the initiative in proposing negotiations on Berlin as an essential first step. Berlin was a natural starting point for several reasons. It was a source of recurrent confrontations. If the Soviet Union chose, it could continue exploiting the vulnerability of West Berlin's access routes across East Germany to exert pressure against West Germany and the three Western Powers. On the other hand, there was no objective reason why the Soviet Union could not permit practical improvements in travel to Berlin if, as it claimed, it had a serious interest in a relaxation of European tensions. If we could not resolve this one specific issue, there was little prospect of resolving broader security questions.

Thus, the negotiations over Berlin were an initial opportunity to explore whether East-West relations could move away from the rigidities of the Cold War. Moreover,

the Federal Republic of Germany had embarked on an Eastern policy to normalize its relations with the Soviet Union. Ultimately, the Federal Republic's ratification of its August 1970 treaty with the Soviet Union became dependent on the success of the Berlin negotiations being conducted by the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and the Soviet Union.

In September 1971, the first part of a Berlin agreement was reached. Unimpeded access between West Germany and West Berlin was guaranteed by the Soviet Union, without affecting the rights and responsibilities of the three Western powers in Berlin. The agreement provided for subsequent negotiations between the Federal Republic, the West Berlin government, and East Germany over the modalities of access to Berlin and travel from West Berlin to East Berlin and East Germany. During my meeting with the Soviet leaders in May 1972, it was agreed that the final Protocol, bringing all parts of the Berlin agreements into effect, would be signed on June 3, 1972. The West German government, following parliamentary approval of the treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland, proceeded to bring them into force, opening the way for it to negotiate a general treaty regulating relations with East Germany.

These past four years have been a period of active European and international diplomacy. In addition to the Berlin agreement and the German treaties, France agreed on a set of principles for political consultations with the Soviet Union. Canada agreed on a somewhat similar arrangement during Premier Kosygin's visit. West Germany and Italy negotiated long-term economic agree-

ments with the Soviet Union. There have been several summit meetings between Soviet and West European leaders. And the United States agreed with the Soviet Union on strategic arms limitations, measures of bilateral cooperation, and some basic principles governing our relations.

In sum, the allies have intensified their national diplomacy within a framework of unity. But the very success of the past four years has created some new problems. Each of the European countries will want to continue the development of its own bilateral economic and political relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The United States also wishes to pursue the favorable trends that have developed in our relations with the Soviet Union. Each of our allies naturally wants a major voice in negotiations affecting Europe as a whole, and in those aspects of Soviet-American relations that affect international stability.

Two specific issues will test the ability of the Western coalition to reconcile its unity with its diversity: the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. In March 1969, the Warsaw Pact revived its proposal to convene a European Security Conference. Such a conference would be largely symbolic; its purpose would be to confirm the territorial and political status quo in Europe. There was some feeling in the West that this proposal should be accepted; it was thought that it might be a way to dissipate the tensions over the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 and to test Soviet policy. Some viewed it as a way of creating a better

atmosphere for subsequent talks, while others saw it as a link to more specific issues, such as force reductions.

We were skeptical about symbolic acts that failed to deal with the substance of East-West tensions. The urgent issues of European security were the tensions over Berlin and Germany and the military confrontation in Central Europe. We could not hand over our responsibilities in Berlin to a European conference. If we could not make progress on a central issue such as Berlin, the results of a broad conference would be illusory. To stimulate an atmosphere of détente through symbolic gestures could only lead to disillusionment and insecurity.

The United States, therefore, took the position that a European conference would only be acceptable if there was progress on specific issues, including the Berlin negotiations. A conference might be appropriate if individual countries succeeded in regulating their relations and resolving some of their territorial and political issues.

This was accomplished by West Germany's treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland, the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, and the SALT agreements. At my summit meeting with the Soviet leaders in May 1972, I agreed that we now could begin preparing for a European Conference with the aim of broadening European cooperation.

Preparatory talks began last November to find out whether there was sufficient common ground to justify a conference of Foreign Ministers. A provisional agenda is being developed, which the Foreign Ministers could consider. Progress thus far suggests that the conference can be convened this year and that it may be

possible to move forward on several important questions.

—The participants will address certain principles of security and cooperation. If all European countries subscribe to common principles of conduct, and carry them out in practice, there could be a further relaxation of tensions. Certain military security matters designed to improve confidence will also be considered.

—The conference would be an appropriate forum to discuss practical cooperation in economics, cultural exchange, science, and technology, on which there has already been progress in bilateral relations.

—The conference can consider how to facilitate contacts among the peoples of Europe and how to encourage countries to exchange ideas and information.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe thus can set a new tone for European relations and establish new modes of conduct and means of cooperation. These would be practical steps toward normal relations.

Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions. The exchanges leading up to the conference also acted as a bridge to negotiations on a more specific and central security issue—mutual and balanced force reductions in Central Europe. The prospects for arms control in Europe are obviously linked to political improvements between East and West. Throughout the 1950's and 1960's there were proposals for arms control in Europe. But it was unrealistic to expect to negotiate a reduction of forces—for example, in Germany, where there were almost continuous crises over Berlin. Moreover, the reduction of

military forces in Central Europe was related to the strategic balance between the United States and Soviet Union and to the political situation within the Warsaw Pact.

For these reasons, the NATO proposals of June 1968 to begin negotiations on force reductions were received coolly by the Warsaw Pact. Not until the Berlin and SALT agreements were concluded in 1972 was it possible to work out a sequence for beginning negotiations in separate forums on a Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and on mutual and balanced force reductions.

The initial talks on mutual and balanced force reductions, now underway in Vienna, will lay the groundwork for more formal negotiations next fall. The military and arms control aspects of force reductions are treated in other sections of this Report. Certain points that affect Atlantic political unity should be summarized.

Perhaps more than any other single issue, the problem of force reductions crystallizes the basic issue of reconciling Alliance unity and national diversity. We will need an unprecedented degree of unity on fundamental military and political security questions. The outcome of the negotiations will affect the entire Alliance, regardless of who sits at the table or which forces are reduced. Indeed, the very process of negotiating will test our common purposes.

Each member brings to this issue strongly held national viewpoints. We must avoid efforts to protect national interests by procedural devices or tactical solutions. That approach would merely defer or avoid the hard questions. Ultimately it will be disruptive and open the Alliance to exploitation by the other side.

Our goal must be agreement on basic security principles. We must meet individual national concerns within a common concept of security, and forthrightly address the question of how to maintain our security at reduced force levels. The issues are highly sensitive, and Alliance discussions will be painstaking and difficult.

The United States is engaged in the most serious consultations with our allies to prepare for negotiations later this year. Force reductions in Central Europe are, of course, an element of the complex of U.S.-Soviet relations. The U.S. and Soviet forces are comparable in that they are not indigenous to Central Europe and might be candidates for reduction.

The United States will not subordinate the security of the Alliance to Soviet-American relations. We are aware of European concerns in this regard. Repeated American reassurances, however, have not alleviated these concerns. Mutual confidence within the Alliance will develop only through an agreement on the basic security framework for the negotiations.

RELATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPE

The improvement in our relations with the Soviet Union during 1972 has created a better atmosphere for our relations with the countries of Eastern Europe. But we do not regard our relations with any East European countries as a function of our relations with Moscow. We reject the idea of special rights or advantages for outside powers in the region. We welcomed and responded to opportunities to develop our relations with the East European countries long before the Moscow Summit. And we shall continue to seek ways to expand our economic, scientific, technologi-

cal, and cultural contacts with them. Mutual benefit and reciprocity are governing principles.

As the postwar rigidity between Eastern and Western Europe eases, peoples in both areas expect to see the benefits of relaxation in their daily lives. These aspirations are fully justified. An era of cooperation in Europe should produce a variety of new relationships not just between governments but between organizations, institutions, business firms, and people in all walks of life. If peace in Europe is to be durable, its foundation must be broad.

My visits to Romania in 1969, Yugoslavia in 1970, and Poland in 1972 were designed to help open the door to these broader relationships.

During my visit to Warsaw last June, I agreed with the Polish leaders to increased U.S.-Polish trade and exchanges in science, technology, culture, tourism, and transportation. A joint American-Polish trade commission has been established. After our governments had reciprocally agreed to export financing arrangements, I determined that Export-Import Bank credits should be made available for transactions with Poland. Other agreements to facilitate trade, increase exchanges in science and technology, and improve consular facilities also have been signed.

Secretary of State Rogers' visit in July to Yugoslavia reaffirmed our long-standing and cordial relationship with that important nonaligned country. Its independence, political stability, and economic well-being are key factors for continuing peace in Europe.

Romania's desire for close and mutually beneficial relations has led during the past three years to practical cooperation and to helpful consultations, including my visit

to Bucharest and President Ceaușescu's trip to Washington. Last year we approved the extending of guarantees to private investment in Romania, and I continue to hope that the Congress will provide authority to extend Most Favored Nation tariff treatment to that country. In December we signed the most comprehensive cultural and scientific exchange agreement in the history of our relations with Romania.

Last summer Secretary Rogers signed consular conventions with both Romania and Hungary. His visit to Budapest and the subsequent settlement of the long-standing United States claims against Hungary have improved prospects for more normal relations.

We remain ready to establish constructive relationships on a reciprocal basis with all countries in Eastern Europe. Differences in social, economic, and political systems exist, and must be acknowledged frankly. But they will not bar our cooperation with any country that seeks it.

THE OUTLOOK

In 1972, the face of world politics changed dramatically. But one constant factor in this changing pattern has been the close relationship among the Atlantic allies. It has been true, however, that as the relaxation of East-West tensions became more pronounced, some of our allies questioned whether the United States would remain committed to Europe or would instead pursue a new balance of power in which the older alignments would be diluted and distinctions between allies and adversaries would disappear. Apprehensions may be inevitable in a period of great international change after a long period of confrontation. As relations

between adversaries are ameliorated, those not directly involved tend to worry that their own interests are somehow subordinate to new relationships.

But the United States will never compromise the security of Europe or the interests of our allies. The best reassurance of our unity, however, lies not in verbal pledges but in the knowledge of agreed purposes and common policies. For almost a decade the Alliance has debated questions of defense and détente—some urging one course, others a different priority. Now the debates should end. We must close ranks and chart our course together for the decade ahead. There is an obvious agenda for Alliance action.

—The United States supports European unity, as we always have. But now we need to define together the basis of cooperative economic relations between the United States and the European Community in this decade. To do this, we need a new affirmation of our common goals, to give political direction to our economic negotiations and promote cooperative solutions.

—The United States will maintain its forces in Europe. We will not withdraw unilaterally. But together we need to agree on our common defense requirements and on the contributions each ally and the Alliance collectively must make to preserve our security in new conditions.

—We need a concerted strategy for dealing with security and diplomatic issues of common concern, in whatever forum these are pursued.

—In the 1970's we face new common issues, such as ensuring the supply of energy resources for industrialized

nations. This must be a new area of our cooperation.

1973 is the year of Europe because of the historic opportunities we face together. The United States, Canada, and Western Europe have a decisive contribution to make to a healthy world economy and to a new peaceful international order. These are new creative tasks for our partnership.

JAPAN

Today we see a new Japan. Her emergence is one of the most striking new features of the international landscape of the 1970's and one of the most dramatic transformations since the period following the Second World War. To speak of Japan's phenomenal economic performance has long been commonplace. Less noted, more recent—and of fundamental importance—is the impact of this power on the international political order. This is a challenge for Japanese policy, for American policy, and for the alliance that binds us together.

—In the economic dimension, Japan is a superpower. By 1968 she was the world's third greatest industrial nation, and she may become the second greatest within a decade's time. Her rate of real growth annually in the 1960's was 11.3 percent, the fastest of any industrial nation. She impacts upon the world as a trading power of enormous strength: over the period 1968–1971 her exports grew faster than 20 percent per year. In 1971, she ran an extraordinary trade surplus of \$4.1 billion with the United States, \$1 billion with the European Community, and \$9 billion with the world as a whole. A chronic

imbalance of such a scale could not fail to have implications for the stability and equity of the international economic system.

- In her foreign economic policy, while not in her diplomacy and security policy, Japan began as early as the mid-1950's to move out independently. Her economic assistance to the developing world is second only to that of the United States, and more than a third of it is in the form of credits tied to Japanese exports. Japan has long had trade relations with the major Communist powers. Unofficial Japanese trading relationships existed with the People's Republic of China as early as 1952, and Japan had an unofficial trade office in Peking by 1964; by 1971, when American trade with the People's Republic was still negligible, Sino-Japanese trade was \$900 million. Japan signed a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation with the Soviet Union in 1957, which has been the basis for a series of subsequent trade agreements; in recent years they have begun cooperation in the development of Siberian resources—an economic relationship of great potential. While the United States held back from East-West trade, Japan staked out for herself a role in bridging the gap between East and West with her economic ties.
- It was inevitable that these economic relations would develop into political ties, particularly in the new atmosphere of détente. Japan has moved actively in this direction in the past two years. Prime Minister Tanaka's historic visit to Peking in September 1972 led to the establishment of full

diplomatic relations, again putting formal Sino-Japanese ties at a more advanced stage than Sino-American relations, while she still maintains her extensive economic ties with Taiwan.

Japan and the Soviet Union reopened discussions in 1972 of a possible final peace treaty and territorial settlement, in the interest of normalization of their political relations. Prime Minister Tanaka will shortly match his visit to Peking with a visit to Moscow. Japan has now moved out in many directions into the arena of complex geopolitical relationships among the major powers.

- Japan has accelerated and broadened her political involvement in Asia in particular. She extended recognition to Mongolia and Bangladesh in advance of the United States, as did a number of other nations. She has taken a special interest in the security and diplomacy of the Korean peninsula, and in postwar reconstruction in Indochina, opening in the process a dialogue with North Vietnam. She takes a greater part today in regional institutions. Asia is the focus of her economic assistance to the developing world. It is an active diplomacy of Asian involvement, after a generation.
- Japan has now come into increasing interchange with the world beyond Asia and the Pacific, both as a participant and as a competitor. The communiqués of my summit meetings with Prime Ministers Sato and Tanaka reflected our review of global problems, including arms control and East-West diplomacy. Japan's economic expansion has brought her increasingly into the markets of Europe

and Latin America. Her political contacts with Europe are steadily expanding; in September, for example, Prime Minister Heath became the first British Prime Minister to visit Japan, and Prime Minister Tanaka plans a return visit this fall. Japan's dependence on Middle East oil has given her a special interest in the energy problem. Her participation in United Nations diplomacy has grown more active, and she has shown interest in claiming a permanent seat on the Security Council as a major power.

—In the security field, Japan has for years relied on her Treaty with the United States and on the American nuclear deterrent, which freed resources and energies that would otherwise have been required for defense. But she has steadily improved her own conventional defenses, emphasizing modernization rather than size, upgrading her forces in firepower, mobility, and anti-submarine warfare and air defense capability. Her Fourth Defense Plan, for 1972–1976, doubles the expenditure of her Third Plan. This still represents less than one percent annually of her Gross National Product, while this Gross National Product has been growing at over ten percent a year. With the reversion of Okinawa, Japanese forces have now moved southward to take over its defense. These are important steps toward self-reliance and improved capacity for conventional defense of all Japanese territory.

This was an inevitable evolution.

There was no way that Japan and Japan's role in the world could go un-

affected by the profound transformation of the international order over the last 25 years. All our alliances have been affected. The recovery and rejuvenation of allies has eroded the rigid bipolar system and given all our allies greater room for independent action. The easing of the Cold War military confrontation has brought other aspects of power—economic, in particular—to the forefront of the international political stage. U.S. military protection no longer suffices as the principal rationale for close partnership and cooperation. In every allied country, leadership has begun to pass to a new generation eager to assert a new national identity at home and abroad.

Japan's emergence is a political fact of enormous importance. Japan is now a major factor in the international system, and her conduct is a major determinant of its stability.

As I have indicated in each of my previous Foreign Policy Reports, I have been concerned since the beginning of this Administration that our alliance relations with Japan had to keep in step with these new conditions. We are faced with new responsibilities toward each other and toward the world. We are challenged to respond to this evolution creatively and together, to keep our alliance on a firm basis in a new era.

For the U.S.-Japanese alliance remains central to the foreign policies of both countries. We are two major powers of the free world, interdependent to an extraordinary degree for our prosperity and our security. The United States therefore places the highest possible value upon this partnership, as it has for more than two decades.

In this year of new commitment to strengthening our ties with Western Eu-

rope, I am determined no less to strengthen our alliance with Japan.

OUR ALLIANCE AND ITS EVOLUTION

In 1969, when I came into office, the challenge of new conditions presented itself concretely in the issue of Okinawa. For 25 years since the war, the United States had retained the administrative rights to Okinawa to protect military installations there which were, and still are, vitally important to the defense of East and Southeast Asia. By the mid-1960's, however, the Japanese had come to feel strongly that our continued administration of Okinawa was inconsistent with Japan's national dignity and sovereignty. We risked a crisis in our relations if we did not respond.

Therefore, I made the basic choice: our long-term relationship with Japan was clearly our fundamental interest. Accordingly, at my summit meeting with Prime Minister Sato in November 1969, we announced our agreement on the reversion of Okinawa to Japanese administration by 1972. The United States could continue to use such facilities there as the two countries agreed were required for mutual security, but subject to the same terms as facilities elsewhere in Japan. At the same time, in the communique of that summit meeting, Japan and the United States declared more explicitly than ever before our joint commitment to active cooperation in diplomacy and security in the Far East, and in economic relations bilaterally and worldwide.

Thus in 1969 the United States acknowledged the new Japan. Our two governments addressed an outstanding problem, treated it as a common problem, and solved it. We reaffirmed our essen-

tial unity of purpose. In 1970, when the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security became technically subject to review, neither government raised any doubt about its continuing validity and importance.

But the adjustment we made in 1969 proved to be only the beginning of a complex process of transition in our relations.

For twenty years we had achieved common policies in the areas of East-West diplomacy, economics, and mutual security with relative ease. It is clear today that this was in part the product of unique conditions in the postwar period that are no longer with us. An adjustment in all our alliance relationships was inevitable. Today, the harmony of our policies is far from automatic. We and all our allies have a heavy responsibility to proceed from an understanding of both the positive and the negative possibilities of our independent action.

It was also inevitable that this transition into a new political environment would pose a particular challenge for Japan.

The character of our alliance had been shaped in the period of Japanese dependence. Defeat in war had shattered her economy, political system, and national confidence. Occupation, the Cold War, and Japan's own renunciation of offensive military capability put her in the position of almost total reliance on our military protection. Japan accepted American leadership and only gradually came to take part in international diplomacy.

This was not an uncomfortable arrangement then for either the United States or Japan. The United States in the postwar period assumed the role and bore the responsibilities which our preponder-

ant power gave us. We acted as the protector and champion of a network of alliances locked in rigid confrontation with the Communist world—as the leader, senior partner, and chief actor. Japan found this arrangement consistent with her own objectives—not only in the conditions of her postwar weakness but even for a time as she recovered her political and economic vitality. By geography and history, unlike most of our European allies, Japan was a late-comer to global multilateral diplomacy. Even in the twentieth century, her focus has been in the Pacific. The conditions she faced after World War II inevitably caused her to gear her policy and policy making structure to the needs of economic recovery and expansion.

By the time I came into office, an alliance relationship of this character—which was suited to postwar conditions and had served us both well—needed adjustment.

Japan's resurgence from a recipient of American aid into a major economic power and competitor was bound to affect the external political framework which had helped make it possible. In her dealings with the United States, in particular, Japan no longer needed or could afford an almost exclusive concentration on her economic advancement or a habit of acting as a junior partner. She still enjoyed the special advantage that her reliance on the United States for her security freed resources for her economic expansion. The political relationships which continued to safeguard her would require greater reciprocity in her economic relations.

Moreover, Japan was no longer just a regional Pacific power dependent on the United States in the broader diplomatic

field. Europe, Asia, North and South America, and Africa were now part of one vast arena of multilateral diplomacy in which Japan was a major factor. Japan was already acting autonomously in an expanding sphere. Her power now brought her new responsibilities. The weight of her economic involvement in the world—her stake in the free world's economic system, her extensive aid programs, and her growing economic ties with Communist powers—would require that she make her decisions on broader policy grounds than economic calculations. We and Japan, as allies, would have to face up to the problem of keeping our independent policies directed at common objectives.

These are the fundamental developments I have sought to address over the last four years. I have sought to adapt our partnership to these transformed conditions of greater equality and multipolar diplomacy. My three meetings with Japanese Prime Ministers, my decision on Okinawa, our discussions of new cooperation in the Far East and in bilateral and multilateral economic areas, and our policies toward China—were all part of this.

The intimacy of the postwar U.S.-Japanese alliance, however, inevitably gave Japan a special sensitivity to the evolution of United States foreign policy. We thus found the paradox that Japan seemed to feel that her reliance on us should limit change or initiatives in American policy, even while she was actively seeking new directions in many dimensions of her own policy. But our abandoning our paternalistic style of alliance leadership meant not that we were casting Japan or any ally adrift, but that we took our allies more seriously, as full partners. Our recognizing the new multipolarity of the world meant not a loss of interest in our alliances, but

the contrary—an acknowledgement of the new importance of our allies. American initiatives, such as in China policy or economic policy, were not directed against Japan, but were taken in a common interest or in a much broader context—and in some cases in response to Japanese policies.

The underlying basis of our unity endured. The very centrality of the alliance in Japanese policy was at the heart of the problem. But Japan had to face the implications of her new independence and strength just as the United States was seeking to do. And until this psychological adjustment was fully made by both sides, anomalies in our relations were bound to persist.

This is the background to the events of the past two years and the current public issues facing the U.S.-Japanese alliance.

THE ISSUES ON OUR COMMON AGENDA

The Economic Dimension. The most urgent issue in U.S.-Japanese relations today is economic—the enormous imbalance in our bilateral trade. We must reduce this imbalance to manageable size in the earliest possible timeframe.

As Prime Minister Tanaka has recognized, this is not merely an American problem; it is also a Japanese problem. This is not only because persistent disputes over these economic issues threaten to disrupt the political relations that hold our alliance together; the imbalance is a threat to a stable international system in which Japan herself has a major stake. In 1972, Japan's trade was in surplus with all the major industrial nations of the world. As long as the United States remains the largest single factor in international trade and the dollar is still the principal factor in the monetary structure, the disequilib-

rium of the American position, in particular, is a chronic problem of the world system. The United States therefore seeks cooperative solutions, bilaterally and multilaterally, to build a new stable and open system of world monetary and trade relations.

The responsibility that falls on Japan as the free world nation with the strongest trading position is necessarily heavy.

The challenge to leadership on all sides is to give firm political direction to our economic relations because of the broader objectives that are at stake. Organizationally, on all sides, there is a tendency for actions to be taken or policies to be established from the viewpoint of a purely economic national interest or under pressure from particular domestic economic interests. This has only resulted in destabilizing both our economic and our political relations, and we can no longer afford it.

The U.S.-Japanese bilateral economic relationship is at the heart of the issue. It is extraordinary in its scale, importance, and interdependence. The Gross National Product of the United States and Japan together is 40 percent of the total Gross National Product of the world. Trade between us totalled \$12.5 billion in 1972. Japan is our most important trading partner in the world aside from Canada. Our economic policies, internal and global, necessarily affect each other bilaterally to a profound degree.

On August 15, 1971, the United States took a number of unilateral economic steps which inevitably had a particular impact on Japan. They were emergency measures, forced upon us by a monetary crisis; their focus was on putting our own house in order and in setting the stage for international reform. The measures which applied to our external relations were

nondiscriminatory, affecting all our trading partners. The resolution of the crisis could only be achieved multilaterally, by cooperation among all the major economic nations, as was accomplished at the Smithsonian in December 1971. Coming a month after the China announcement, however, these measures intensified the fears of many on both sides of the Pacific that our relations with Japan were in danger. Unlike the case of China policy, where the divergence of interest between the United States and Japan was largely illusory, the strain in our economic relations was clearly real. It was a deep-seated and growing difficulty to which the United States had long been calling attention. The economic events of August 1971 had the salutary effect of finally bringing attention to this problem and bringing political urgency to its solution.

Japan's trade surplus with the United States reflects to a certain extent the competitiveness and productivity of the Japanese economy, as well as the slowness of American exporters to exploit potential markets in Japan. But to a significant degree it has been promoted by anachronistic exchange rates and an elaborate Japanese system of government assistance, complex pricing policies, and restrictions on imports and foreign investment in Japan—vestiges of an earlier period when Japan was still struggling to become competitive with the West. Japan's interest in protecting weaker sectors in her home market is now no different from that of every other nation. The requirement today is a fair system of mutual access to expand trade in a balanced way in both directions. Continued cooperation in dealing with this problem positively is crucial to the ability to fend off growing protectionist pressures and to ensure that the

United States is able to address the issues of international trade positively as well. This is a political imperative for both sides.

We believe we have made some progress in the past year.

In January 1972 we concluded an agreement moderating the growth of Japanese synthetic textiles sales in the U.S. market, mitigating what had become a major irritant. Voluntary quota arrangements have been reached governing steel. Last July, in preparation for my summit meeting with Prime Minister Tanaka, high-level bilateral negotiations at Hakone, Japan, produced important measures of liberalization of access to the Japanese market and commitments to increase Japanese purchases of agricultural products, civil aircraft, uranium enrichment services, and military items from the United States. At our meeting in Hawaii, Prime Minister Tanaka committed his government to promote imports from the United States and to reduce the imbalance to a more manageable size. The Japanese Government has publicly pledged to reduce Japan's global surplus in foreign trade and other current transactions to one percent of Japan's Gross National Product in two or three years. A further step was taken at the end of April 1973 to liberalize restrictions on foreign investment in Japan.

Two major currency revaluations have raised the value of the yen by over 35 percent with respect to the dollar, and there are indications that these are beginning to have an effect on our trade. For the future there is interest on both sides of the Pacific in creating regular mechanisms of monitoring and adjustment, to anticipate trade imbalances in particular sectors and head them off before they generate pro-

tectionist pressures and political crises. This is a constructive approach, and we should pursue it.

The United States can only place the highest importance on the carrying out of these policies.

The problem, of course, is an international one. The multilateral realignments of currencies in December 1971 and February 1973 were important steps toward a solution, and Japan's participation in these was constructive and crucial. But the basic problem is structural, and the solution is a thoroughgoing multilateral reform of the system. Japan's active contribution to this process is indispensable, because no system is achievable or workable unless the most powerful economic nations are engaged in it and help actively to make it work.

It is no accident that the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty commits our two nations to "seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and . . . encourage economic collaboration between them." Without conscious effort of political will, our economic disputes could tear the fabric of our alliance.

Japan's New Diplomacy. As Japan today moves out in many directions over the terrain of multipolar diplomacy, it will be another test of statesmanship on both sides to ensure that our policies are not divergent. Japan's foreign policy will continue to be shaped by her unique perspectives, purposes, and style. Japan has interests of her own, of which she herself will be the ultimate judge. Our foreign policies will not be identical or inevitably in step. What will preserve our alliance in the new era is not rigidity of policy but a continuing consciousness of the basic interest in stability which we have in common. We must work to maintain a consensus in our policies.

Our respective approaches toward China in 1972 reflected the opportunities and complexities we face, as allies, in the common endeavor of reducing tensions with adversaries.

Japan had for many years been developing economic and cultural contacts with the People's Republic of China when the United States had virtually none. Geography, culture, history, and trade potential have always made China a powerful natural attraction for Japan. Some Japanese criticized the United States for the mutual isolation between the United States and the People's Republic of China, and offered Japan as a natural bridge between the two countries. Today, Japan has full diplomatic relations with the People's Republic, while the United States has not, and Japan's trade with China continues to exceed our own by a wide margin.

I have never believed, however, that American and Japanese interests in our China policies were in conflict.

On July 15, 1971, when I announced my forthcoming visit to Peking, Japan—because of her special closeness to the United States—feared that our independent action foreshadowed a divergence or conflict with Japan's interest, or a loss of American interest in the U.S.-Japanese alliance. It is obvious now that our China policy involved no inconsistency with our Japan policy. As I explained in last year's Report, I made a conscious decision to preserve the secrecy of Dr. Kissinger's exploratory trip to Peking until its outcome was clear. It was then announced immediately, and the announcement was followed up by a process of intensive substantive consultation with Japan, culminating in my meeting with Prime Minister Sato in San Clemente in January 1972, in advance

of my Peking trip. Prime Minister Sato and I found that we were in substantial agreement on the major issues of peace in the Far East; the lessening of tensions in Asia was the goal both allies sought. There was no diminution of our overriding commitment to our alliance.

In Peking a month later, when the People's Republic of China expressed its reservations about the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty and its fears of so-called Japanese "militarism," the United States declared categorically in the Shanghai Communique itself that "the United States places the highest value on its friendly relations with Japan" and "will continue to develop the existing close bonds."

At my summit meeting in Hawaii with Japan's new Prime Minister, Kakuei Tanaka, we addressed our common diplomacy as well as our economic problems. We discussed global issues, Asian issues, and bilateral issues, and strongly reaffirmed the commitment of both countries to our political alliance. It was quickly evident that our China policies, while not identical, were still in basic harmony. Prime Minister Tanaka's own historic journey to Peking was proof of this. Overcoming a legacy of bitterness and mistrust far deeper than that between the United States and the People's Republic of China, these two great Asian nations pledged themselves to the same goals as the Shanghai Communique, and went beyond it to the establishment of full diplomatic relations.

Thus, there is no inconsistency in principle between our alliance and the new hopeful prospects of relaxation of tension multilaterally. No third country need fear our alliance. Neither Japan nor the United States need fear that our unity

precludes a broader community of normalized relations, or independent approaches.

In the years ahead, the kind of close consultation between the United States and Japan which accompanied our respective Peking Summits in 1972 will be critically important to all our diplomatic endeavors. More than our alliance is at stake. Japan has always been conscious of the external global framework within which she was pursuing her own objectives. What is new in the 1970's is her sharing in increased responsibility for it. This responsibility is now implied inescapably in her economic power and her engagement in many directions in global diplomacy.

The complexity of today's geopolitical environment, even in the Asian context alone, is a challenge to a nation of Japan's energy and national spirit undertaking a more active political role. Japan now has the obligations of a major power—restraint, reciprocity, reliability, and sensitivity to her overriding interest in a stable pattern of global relationships.

Today's multilateralism does not diminish the importance of the U.S.-Japanese alliance. On the contrary, our alliance, which has ensured stability in Asia for 20 years, still does, and serves an essential mutual interest in the new conditions. Secured by her alliance with the United States, Japan can engage herself economically and diplomatically in many directions independently, without fearing for her security or being feared by others. It provides a stable framework for the evolution of Japanese policy. This is a general interest.

The U.S.-Japanese alliance in the new era is thus presented with the same challenge as the Atlantic Alliance. We cannot

conduct our individual policies on the basis of self-interest alone, taking our alliance for granted. We have an obligation not to allow our short-term policies to jeopardize our long-term unity, or to allow competitive objectives to threaten the common goals of our political association.

CHALLENGES FOR THE FUTURE

Mature countries do not expect to avoid disputes or conflicts of interest. A mature alliance relationship, however, means facing up to them on the basis of mutuality. It means seriously addressing the underlying causes, not the superficial public events. We are now moving in this direction. We must carry it forward.

This means certain obligations on both sides.

In the economic area, the most urgent and divisive area, we both have an obligation to address and solve the common problem of our trade imbalance. We have a responsibility to the international system to normalize the bilateral economic relationship that bulks so large in the international economy. We have an obligation to keep the specific commitments made to each other. We have an opportunity to explore positive approaches to averting clashes in the future. We have a responsibility to provide positive leadership in the urgent efforts at multilateral reform.

In both the political and the economic dimensions, we have an obligation as allies to pursue our individual objectives in ways that serve also our common purposes. Whether the issue be the world-wide energy problem, or economic or political relations with Communist countries, or the provision of resources to developing countries, there are competitive interests necessarily involved, but also an

overriding collective interest in a stable global environment. It will require a conscious effort of political will not to make the key decisions according to short-term economic or political advantage. This is more than a problem of bureaucratic management; it is a test of statesmanship.

The United States will be sensitive to Japan's unique perspective on the world and Japan's special relationship with the United States. To this end, we have redoubled our efforts at consultation. This consultation is institutionalized at several levels and in several channels—through our able Ambassadors; through high-level political consultations such as Dr. Kissinger's three visits to Tokyo in 1972 and 1973; through meetings at the Foreign Minister level such as Mr. Ohira's discussions with Secretary Rogers in Washington in October; through regular Cabinet-level meetings of the Japan-U.S. Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs; and through the three meetings I have had with Japanese Prime Ministers since taking office and the fourth I expect to have this year.

This interchange has a symbolic value in reaffirming a political commitment and also a tangible value in giving it substance.

The same dedication to mutual confidence and close consultation on the part of Japan will be essential as she marks out her independent paths. The complexity of the new diplomacy puts a premium on our steadiness and reliability in all our relationships, particularly with each other.

Japan's foreign policy is for Japan to decide. Both her security and her economic interests, however, link her destiny firmly to that of the free world. I am confident that the political leaders on both sides of the Pacific are deeply conscious of

the common interest that our alliance has served, and deeply committed to preserving it.

ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Since V-E Day in 1945, nearly every American killed in war has died in Asia. That fact alone compels our attention and our concern. But there are other vital facts as well which dictate that the vast, changing, throbbing world of Asia will figure importantly in our thoughts and policy calculations as far ahead as any of us can see. Asia is where half of mankind lives and works and dies. What happens to that half of the human race will have a profound impact on the other half. Asia is also that part of the world where developed and developing nations alike have achieved the greatest levels of economic growth in the past decade. That growing economic power is having a profound influence on the lives of the people involved, their neighbors, and the rest of the world.

The United States has been part of the Asian world since we became involved in the China trade in the early 19th Century, and especially after the Spanish-American War made the Philippines an American responsibility. But after the Pacific phase of World War II, our involvement in Asia deepened enormously. Through bilateral and multilateral arrangements, we became the guarantor of the security of many Asian nations—from Japan and Korea around the rim of Asia to Thailand and on southward to Australia and New Zealand. We also became the principal source of economic and military assistance for many countries in the region. It is against the background of this deep and broad involvement that Asia today has special meaning for most Americans.

But beyond this elaborate record, there

are other overriding reasons for our present day concerns about Asia and its future. We continue to have treaty obligations to many Asian allies—promises to help as much as we can to preserve their independence and their right to live their own lives in peace.

That network of alliances takes on special meaning in light of Asia's special significance on the world scene today. Asia, and particularly Northeast Asia, is the locus of interaction among four of the five great power centers in our world. China is the heartland of this vast region. Siberia and the Far Eastern territories of the Soviet Union spread across the north of Asia from China to the Arctic, from Europe to the Bering Strait. The islands of Japan form a 2,000-mile crescent just off the mainland, running from the frigid waters of the North Pacific to semi-tropical Okinawa. The fourth major power of the Pacific area is, of course, the United States. The ways in which these powers act and interact will, to a significant degree, shape the future and determine the stability of Asia. At the same time, issues and developments within Asia will play an important part in shaping overall relationships among the major powers.

Failure to achieve the kind of reconciliation toward which we have moved so far in the past year could prove a mortal blow to the structure of peace. That stark reality is what makes the political evolution of Asia critically important to us and to the world.

ASIA: AREA OF CHANGE

Last year I went to Peking, the first American President to visit the People's Republic of China. That visit began the process of overcoming long years of antag-

onism, suspicion, and open rivalry. Only a few weeks ago, American prisoners of war and the last American troops returned from Vietnam, marking an end to our direct involvement in our longest and most misunderstood war. These developments remind us that change is the immutable law of international life.

Nowhere has the fact of change been more dramatically evident than in Asia over the past generation. Only 25 years ago, Japan was an occupied country and its people were only beginning to dig themselves out of the rubble of war and to rebuild a shattered society. Korea, too, was occupied but also divided at the 38th parallel where a new war was about to explode. China, the most populous nation on earth, was torn by a bloody civil war that would soon turn it into a Communist state. In the Philippines, the United States had carried out its pledge to grant full independence to a proud people. But elsewhere in Asia, colonialism had not yet run its course. The French were trying to restore their control over Indochina. The Dutch were contending with the forces of Indonesian revolution. Malaya was not yet fully independent, and British control over Burma had only just ended.

The scars and trauma of war were everywhere evident. Economies had been badly shattered. Hunger and hopelessness were widespread. A mood of revolution was palpable in the atmosphere of most Asian capitals.

Asia today is a very different region. Former colonial territories have long since achieved independence. Japan has revived to become the third industrial power in the world. Other countries have also enjoyed economic "miracles" of their own, smaller quantitatively than Japan's to be sure, but hardly less impressive in terms

of rates of growth. The Republic of Korea is a good example. After the Korean War, many forecasters were predicting that South Korea could survive for decades to come only as a beneficiary of the international dole. But South Korea has proved the prophets wrong, achieving annual rates of economic growth of as much as ten percent, and becoming an important exporter of manufactured goods.

Despite international political fluctuations, the skill and energy of the people of Taiwan have produced remarkable increases in per capita income (more than 13 percent last year) and made Taiwan a leading trading nation. While simultaneously moving toward the goal of normal relations with Peking, the United States has maintained a policy of friendship for the 15 million people of Taiwan. We retain diplomatic ties, commitments under the Mutual Defense Treaty of 1954, and close economic contacts with them.

Thailand, despite the pressures of externally supported insurgency, has continued to make steady economic progress. It has also made an important contribution to regional economic development as well as to the security of the area. Malaysia and Singapore, with imagination and hard work, have raised living standards and maintained stable political systems. The Philippines have had a worldwide impact through their innovative role in introducing high-yield rice strains as part of the Green Revolution. Indonesia, Southeast Asia's most populous country, is forging ahead under able national leadership. Overall, the non-Communist nations of Asia have achieved a remarkable rate of economic growth averaging close to seven percent a year.

Change in Asia has not been confined to achieving independence and making

economic progress. South and North Korea, for example, have begun a dialogue to explore the possibility of settling major differences and have agreed that the ultimate unification of their country must be reached by peaceful means. Only a decade ago, Malaysia and Indonesia were virtually at war; today they are cooperative partners in regional organizations.

Japan has also been engaged in difficult adjustments. A generation ago, there was deep suspicion and bitterness between Japan and Korea. Today, though past scars of a painful history have not entirely healed, the two countries have moved toward a closer and mutually beneficial relationship. Japan and the People's Republic of China had for some time been engaged in commercial and cultural exchanges. Last year they agreed to resume full diplomatic relations. Despite the lack of a formal peace treaty, Japan and the Soviet Union are discussing projects for cooperative development of Siberian natural resources and increasing trade. If successful, these steps could help promote better political and economic relations between them.

The most obvious area of unresolved antagonism in Asia is in Indochina—between North Vietnam and its local followers on the one hand, and the legal governments of South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia on the other. Ceasefire agreements were reached in January in Vietnam and in February in Laos. These were important and hopeful steps toward ending the conflict in Indochina. At this writing, some fighting continues. It is our deepest hope that this continuing violence will soon end and that lasting peace will be achieved.

THE U.S. RESPONSE TO ASIA

When this Administration took office, we determined that a reordering of our relationships with Asia and with other parts of the world was needed. It seemed to many Americans, as it did to me, that our role was too dominant, our presence too pervasive in the changed circumstances of the 1970's. It was time for others—especially those who had achieved new strength and prosperity—to do more for themselves and for others. The sacrifices of Vietnam and the internal strains it had created played an important part in shaping this outlook. Another determinant was the continuing deficit in our balance of payments and the pressures this put on the dollar and our economic health. These and other factors were even pushing some Americans into a mood of growing isolationism.

We recognized this as the gravest kind of threat. Heedless American abdication of its responsibilities to the world would destroy the global balance and the fabric of peace we had worked so hard and long to develop. Those who relied on us to help assure their security would be gravely concerned. Adversaries who had shown a willingness to reconcile long-standing differences would promptly revise their calculations and alter their actions. It was a prescription for chaos.

And so we charted our course between over-extension and withdrawal. We would continue to play a major and active role in world affairs, but we would ask our allies to draw increasingly on their new strength and on their own determination to be more self-reliant. The immediate context for this definition of policy was the

defense of Asia. In July 1969, I outlined at Guam the main elements of this new United States approach.

First, the United States will keep all of its treaty commitments. We will adjust the manner of our support for our allies to new conditions, and we will base our actions on a realistic assessment of our interests. But as a matter of principle, and as a matter of preserving the stability of Asia, we made it clear that the United States would never repudiate its pledged word nor betray an ally.

Second, we shall provide a shield if a nuclear power threatens the freedom of a nation allied with us or of a nation whose survival we consider vital to our security. Maintaining a balance of deterrence among the major powers is the most critical responsibility we bear. We have a special obligation to protect non-nuclear countries against nuclear blackmail and to minimize their incentive to develop nuclear weapons of their own. Only the United States can provide this shield in Asia.

Third, in cases involving other types of aggression we shall furnish military and economic assistance when requested in accordance with our treaty commitments. But we shall look to the nation directly threatened to assume the primary responsibility for providing the manpower for its defense. No nation, large or small, can have any reasonable security unless it is able to mobilize its people and resources for its own defense. Without that kind of national effort, external help cannot fill the vacuum of local indifference against any significant and prolonged threat. Moreover, without a determined local effort, it would be impossible to achieve the kind of broad political support needed

in the United States to back another country in any sustained way.

The most important and most obvious application of this new approach to security cooperation was the Vietnamization program which enabled the South Vietnamese to assume the full burden of their own defense. But the Nixon Doctrine has been applied in other countries as well. Japan is gradually expanding its capability for conventional defense of its own territory within its constitutional prohibition against developing offensive forces. There has been expanded joint use of military base areas in Japan, and we are in the process of consolidating many of our base areas, particularly in and around metropolitan Tokyo.

In 1971, we reached an agreement with the Republic of Korea to assist in modernizing its armed forces. At the same time, we reduced U.S. forces stationed in Korea by one-third, bringing home more than 20,000 men. Reduced Congressional appropriations for military assistance in the past two years have forced a slowdown in this program.

The Philippines have become increasingly self-reliant. We have reduced the number of facilities we maintain there and reduced our forces by almost 13,000 men.

In all, in addition to the 550,000 men who have returned from Vietnam, nearly 100,000 American military personnel and dependents have come home from other parts of Asia during this Administration.

The economic dimension of the Nixon Doctrine recognizes that growing self-reliance and confidence must rest on a secure base of economic stability and growth. We are providing technical and financial resources to help friendly nations cope with problems of security and eco-

economic development without putting undue strain on their fragile economic base. Other industrial countries are increasing their share of such help. Multilateral participation has increased through cooperation among international developmental institutions, the Asian Development Bank, and the developed countries. The authority to extend generalized tariff preferences which I have requested in my new Trade Reform Bill, would help the developing countries of the region by increasing the potential for their exports and thus expanding their capacity to increase imports and speed their development.

This evolving process has brought us close to our goals—a more balanced American role in security arrangements in Asia, an increase in the capacity and willingness of our alliance partners to carry heavier burdens of responsibility for their own protection, and a more equitable sharing of the material and personal costs of security.

Translation of this doctrine into deeds has made it unmistakably clear to all that we are, and will remain, a Pacific power, maintaining balanced forces in the region. It has also made clear that, while adjusting our role in defensive alliances, we are supporting a compensating increase in the ability of Asians to defend themselves.

These decisions and actions had important consequences. I have no doubt that they influenced Hanoi's decision at long last to negotiate seriously and reach an agreement to end the fighting and return our prisoners. I am convinced that never would have happened if we had decided to end our involvement unilaterally, or if we had not helped South Vietnam to strengthen and improve its own military forces.

Our firmness in Southeast Asia and the

maintenance of durable partnerships with our other Asian allies made it possible for us to reach out to other adversaries. And recognizing our determination to remain a power in the Pacific encouraged them to respond positively. The most dramatic example was, of course, my visit to Peking in February 1972 and my meetings there with the leaders of the People's Republic of China.

LOOKING AHEAD

The rapidly changing face of Asia presents those who live there, and others who are deeply involved, with vast opportunities and challenges. The transition from war to peace, the movement from rigid confrontation to gradual accommodation, are heartening signs of what may lie ahead. But nothing is assured in this world, and the promise of progress will be fulfilled only by determination and positive actions on the part of all concerned.

If peace is to be made secure, if men and nations are to be able to continue to advance in reasonable safety, the largest responsibility must be borne by the major powers. It is of critical importance that they continue to move down the path of reconciliation, working together to overcome old bitterness, to settle differences amicably, and to broaden and deepen their efforts to develop new forms of cooperation. Similarly, they must act with the greatest restraint in dealing with each other and with smaller nations. The alternative is renewed confrontation which carries with it the threat of disaster—for those directly involved and for the world.

The smaller nations of Asia will also have to carry heavy responsibilities. The key ingredient of sustained economic progress will continue to be what they do for themselves. The key ingredient of their

safety will continue to be the manpower and resources they are willing and able to invest. And their peace will depend heavily on their ability and readiness to overcome historic rivalries, old territorial disputes, and religious and political differences with their neighbors.

A new spirit of cooperation has developed among many of the countries of Asia in recent years. Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, and the Philippines are joined in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to grapple with common concerns of many kinds. The Asian Development Bank and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) have proved successful instruments for promoting economic progress, and have become outstanding examples of what developed and developing nations can accomplish by working together.

Economic progress and heightened cooperation among Asian nations cannot obscure the many problems facing those nations, or the several dangers shared by them and their friends, including the United States. We have noted many of the promising developments in present day Asia. But it is not foreordained that all or any of them will finally succeed. There are huge obstacles to be overcome—distrust, deep differences of ideology and social systems, political and economic rivalries. Improvements in atmosphere could easily prove ephemeral, especially if many outstanding issues prove too difficult to settle in a reasonable period of time.

Moreover, some long-standing rivalries may prove intractable and dangers will doubtless continue. North Vietnam's ambition to dominate all of Indochina has not diminished, though it may resort to

different tactics or alter the time frame for attaining that goal. There is continuing fighting in South Vietnam and a residue of hatred that will persist for a long time. South and North Korea have been talking to each other, but no one who knows the recent history of that troubled peninsula believes that reconciliation will be easy or will come early. There are other disputes and differences between other Asian nations, and none of them will be resolved quickly.

There is promise, however, in the evolving pattern of efforts by most of those concerned with Asia to limit the dangers of military conflicts flowing from political differences. We can hope that all concerned will come to recognize the high stake they have in the process of normalizing relations. Stable balances, local and multilateral, may ultimately turn into a stable system of peace.

The United States has a deep interest in that outcome and responsibilities to help achieve it. One of those responsibilities is to make sure that our strength and will are not undermined to the point where our presence in Asia has lost most of its relevance. For if our friends conclude that they can no longer depend on the United States for at least the critical margin of assistance in protecting themselves, they may feel compelled to compromise with those who threaten them, including the forces of subversion and revolution in their midst. Equally important, if adversaries conclude that we no longer intend to maintain a significant presence, or that our willingness to take stern measures when pushed too far has disappeared, then the importance of reaching balanced agreements with us will have largely evaporated.

The end result could be an abrupt and deeply dangerous upsetting of the balance that has been created—and a disintegration of the bridges to reconciliation whose construction has been so effectively begun.

We shall continue to work closely with the governments and peoples of Asia in their efforts to improve the quality of their lives and raise their standards of living. Obviously, what we do in this area can only supplement the central efforts that they make themselves. But that supplement can be of great importance—both to their progress and to the quality of the political relations we enjoy with those concerned.

The United States will continue to be a major power in Asia and to make its essential contribution to the creation of a stable framework of peace. To that end, we give our pledge:

- to be steadfast and dependable in support of our friends;
- to continue to bear our fair share of the responsibility for the security of our allies;
- to develop, with realism and imagination, new and mutually beneficial relations with former adversaries in Asia;
- to help, within our limitations, the continued impressive economic progress of one of the world's most vital regions; and
- above all, to take every step within our power to prevent the recurrence of conflict in an area that has known so much suffering and sacrifice for so many centuries.

We can do no more. We would not be true to ourselves or to our deepest interests if we did less.

LATIN AMERICA

Over the past four years, our interest has been focused on, and our energies dedicated to, a number of supremely important tasks in the world arena: ending a war in an honorable way; putting our relations with long-standing antagonists on a more rational and workable basis; correcting major imbalances in our trade and monetary relationships; and, above all, creating the foundations for a durable structure of peace.

The time and concentration that have gone into these complicated but absolutely crucial efforts have produced allegations that we were neglecting other problems, other areas, and especially other friendly nations. In Latin America this feeling has been particularly widespread, and it is quite understandable. Most Latin Americans, their governments and institutions have become accustomed to dealing with us on the most intimate basis. The flow of people, information, ideas, capital, and goods between the United States and Latin America has increased greatly, particularly since World War II. In some ways, this created a sense of psychological and economic dependence on the United States.

Meanwhile, U.S. attention to Latin America has seemed to wax and wane. At times we appeared to take Latin America for granted. At other times, our zeal and our sense of "mission" led us to take a tutelary role with our neighbors. When we raised the banner of reform, as in the Alliance for Progress, we sometimes tried to tell our neighbors what they really needed and wanted. While all this was done with good intentions and humanitarian concern, and while our efforts had

many positive results, they raised expectations to a level that simply was not realizable. Moreover, our approach tended to increase dependence on the United States—for ideas, for direction, and for money.

At the outset of this Administration, we surveyed the world problems that confronted us, and we made several deliberate decisions regarding our posture toward Latin America. First, we resolved to avoid what we saw as the two basic flaws of past performance: taking our Latin neighbors for granted, assuming that they were irrevocably linked to us by commerce and friendship; and launching a crusade in which we would promise to lead the peoples of the hemisphere to prosperity and happiness under our guidance and our formulas.

Our second decision was that, if we were to have a strong and prospering community of nations in this part of the world, we would have to help develop a new, more healthy relationship among the United States and its neighbors in Latin America and the Caribbean. The kind of mature partnership we envisaged was one in which Latin America would assume increasing responsibility for ideas, for initiatives, and for actions. While the United States would continue to be an active partner, there would be a lessening of the dominant role the United States had previously played.

Thus, we deliberately reduced our visibility on the hemispheric stage, hoping that our neighbors would play more active roles. And they have—not always in perfect harmony, it is true, and sometimes looking more to short-range national advantage than to the possibly greater long-range rewards of cooperation. Still, an open dialogue has begun in the family

of the Americas and a more balanced and healthy relationship may be taking shape.

We knew that this course would be criticized by some old friends. There would be those who had become accustomed to old forms and old ways of conducting our common business and who might, therefore, feel we were abandoning them. Others would continue to say “If the Americans aren’t in the lead, it won’t work” or “If Washington doesn’t finance this project, nothing will happen.” Others would complain that the United States was concerned mainly with Europe and Asia and was losing interest in Latin America.

These voices have indeed been heard. On the other hand, many leaders and governments have used these years to take a more searching look at their own problems and to develop their own solutions. Some have moved imaginatively to increase their industrial production and foreign trade. A few have taken courageous actions, sometimes putting themselves in political peril, to correct their worst internal economic and social problems. Some have taken effective steps to eliminate terrorism. Of course, not all countries have been willing or able to do these things, and some have failed to provide real benefits for their peoples.

THE POLITICAL CLIMATE

All the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean share the need for economic and social progress. Most have to deal with high rates of unemployment among the unskilled and even the educated youth and severe inequities in the distribution of the wealth produced.

These problems place heavy burdens on the political apparatus of these coun-

tries. In addition, many have other strictly political problems. Some nations have only the most fragile tradition of democratic ways. Often, local conditions provide opportunities for political extremists and revolutionaries. Political violence and terrorism continue in some capitals. In others, military forces provide the most stable and disciplined group.

Most governments in the hemisphere recognize these problems and are trying to find solutions—with varying degrees of success. There is an eager striving for both economic progress and social justice. Yet that striving is taking place against heavy odds, and setbacks and discouragement are common.

The upsurge of national efforts to meet pressing internal problems is in part a direct result of rising nationalism. An increasing sense of national identity characterizes every one of the American states. But it is only part of the explanation for their strong desire to overcome internal weakness.

Another component is the fact that pressures for economic development have become so urgent that governments cannot long survive if they ignore the plight of their people. Modern communications have brought the outside world into the most remote areas and made apparent to millions the vast gulf that separates their way of life from that of even an average family in industrially advanced countries. Those millions are no longer content to accept hunger and poverty and injustice as their preordained lot. They are increasingly less patient with governments that fail to produce results quickly. Any government that ignores this broadening demand for progress does so at its own jeopardy.

As a result, new governments have ar-

rived on the scene in many countries with leaders promising to do more for their people. Some have achieved power through the electoral process; others have seized power. Many members of these governments are from the military services. Styles of operation vary from capital to capital. In some cases, there is a tendency to seek support by appealing to xenophobic attitudes and adopting anti-American themes. In the long run, however, performance will count the most in shaping the judgments of the people.

THE U.S. RESPONSE

It would be an error to ignore the role the United States has played in helping to encourage Latin America's move toward greater self-reliance. For from the Rio Grande to Tierra del Fuego, governments and peoples have come to recognize that the days of relying principally on North America to solve their problems have ended. We and others can help, of course. Indeed, some problems can only be solved with the understanding cooperation of others. But the solutions will require each country's own initiative and imagination and energy. I am convinced that the low-keyed course we have followed over the past four years—the avoidance of slogans and gimmickry, the emphasis on Latin initiatives—has helped in an important way to provide the basis for a stronger, healthier, and more realistic relationship among the members of our hemispheric community.

Accommodation to the diversity of the world community is the keystone of our current policy. That does not diminish our clearly stated preference for free and democratic processes and for governments based thereon. Nor does it weaken our

firmly-held conviction that an open economic system and the operation of the market economy are the engines that best generate economic advance. But it does mean that we must be prepared to deal realistically with governments as they are, provided, of course, that they do not endanger security or the general peace of the area.

In Latin America, as in other parts of the world, most of the day-to-day relations of the United States are handled through the bilateral channels of traditional diplomacy. Most of us cannot know how extensive this effort is, how varied, and how time consuming. Cables flow in and out around the clock. A Congressional delegation is visiting here; an American student has been thrown in jail there; a fishing boat has been seized; an investment contract has been signed; an earthquake has leveled half a city. Many of these events never come to the attention of the American public. But our bilateral relations—and the continuing, intensive contacts, consultations and communications they require—provide the foundation and the framework of our foreign relations.

Because of the important role they play in so many countries of Latin America, a special word should be devoted to our relations with the military forces of the hemisphere. Those forces represent a key element in almost all Latin American societies, and in many they have assumed national leadership. Because we have recognized their various roles and because of our mutual security interests, we have developed over the years close ties of cooperation and friendship with many of the military leaders of Latin America. We work cooperatively with them in a variety of ways—combined exercises, conferences,

joint mapping ventures. Many of these leaders have attended our advanced training and technical schools. Because of the nature of military organizations, these ties have largely been handled through professional channels.

At one time, the United States was by far the principal source of military equipment for Latin American governments. After World War II, and again after the Korean War, surplus military supplies enabled us to fill most of the hemisphere's needs. But that picture has changed remarkably. We estimate that the governments of Latin America have ordered in the last four years more than \$1.2 billion worth of military equipment from third countries, principally from Britain, France, West Germany, Canada, Italy, and the Netherlands. That is about six times more than they bought from the United States.

There are several possible reasons for this dramatic shift. In some cases, European sellers have provided highly attractive terms of sale. In other cases, the precise equipment wanted was not immediately available from the United States but was from Europe. Some countries may have wished to reduce their dependence on the United States and to develop other sources of military supplies. But one important reason for Europe's ascendancy in this field has been the limitations we have imposed on ourselves—for example, by fixing annual ceilings on sales of military equipment worldwide and in this hemisphere, and by restricting credit for such sales.

What is involved is the requisition by Latin American countries of relatively modest amounts of equipment for replacement of materiel and for modernization. Our hopes that by unilaterally restricting

sales we could discourage our Latin neighbors from diverting money to military equipment and away from development needs have proved unrealistic. And the cost to us has been considerable: in friction with Latin American governments because of our paternalism, and in valuable military relationships which, in turn, provide an important channel for communication across a wide spectrum and influence our total relationships. The domestic costs are also high: in lost employment for our workers, lost profits for business, and loss of balance of payments advantages for our nation.

THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM

Beyond our purely bilateral relations, there are important institutions and forums in which several or all of the states of the Americas are associated. And for some of these institutions, a moment of truth has arrived.

In 1822, the United States established diplomatic relations with Colombia. We thus became the first nation outside Latin America to recognize the independence and sovereignty of a Latin American state. Over the ensuing 150 years, formal and informal bonds linking the nations of the Western Hemisphere have expanded and grown strong. Gradually, machinery was developed to provide for increasing cooperation and consultation in this family of nations. It makes up what is called the inter-American system. It has been said that if this machinery had not existed, we would have been forced to invent it. But it does exist—in the Rio Treaty; in the Inter-American Development Bank; in the Organization of American States and its associated bodies, including the Economic and Social Coun-

cil, the Council for Science, Education and Culture; and in the many other groups and organizations through which we work together.

The question now facing us is not whether these organizations have served useful purposes in the past, but whether they are organized to best serve the current interests of the Americas.

In a thoughtful discussion I had not long ago with Dr. Carlos Sanz de Santamaria, the distinguished Latin American diplomat and economist, he argued that, "The time is ripe to begin developing new forms of hemispheric cooperation." He suggested: "We should identify the many areas in which the best interests of Latin America and the United States converge. Our joint interests in improving the quality of life everywhere in this hemisphere are overriding. They far surpass the issues that have brought about confrontation in recent years or have led many to focus on the divergent interests of Latin America and the United States."

I agree. There has been an unfortunate tendency among some governments, in some organizations, to make forums for cooperation into arenas of confrontation. This phenomenon was evident at the recent meeting of the UN Security Council in Panama. There has also been a tendency to develop Latin American positions—often on a lowest-common-denominator basis—which fail to take realistic account of viewpoints strongly held by the United States. These efforts tend to provoke reactions contrary to those sought. We must recognize the dangers inherent in such an approach.

We should not deal with important questions in an emotional mood or react out of pique or frustration. The kind of mature partnership we all seek calls for

calm reflection and a reasonable exchange of views. In my message to the recent OAS General Assembly, I noted: "That kind of partnership implies that there are common goals to which we aspire. It implies a trust and confidence in one another. It implies that we can attain our goals more effectively by pursuing them more cooperatively. Above all, it implies that we consider interdependence an essential ingredient in the life of our hemisphere."

For our part, we shall actively support and participate in the review of ways in which we can most effectively achieve political cooperation and economic and social development in this hemisphere. This process has begun—at the meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council in Bogotá in February 1973 and, most importantly, at the General Assembly of the OAS in April. It is our hope that this process of careful review will produce stronger and more effective ways to identify and advance our common interests in the final quarter of the 20th Century.

Any discussion of the inter-American system raises the question of Cuba. We are asked: if it is desirable to seek reconciliation with countries like the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union, why do we not seek the same with Cuba? In fact, the situations are quite different. I have dealt with our relations with Peking and Moscow elsewhere in this Report. As for Cuba, our policy strongly supports decisions taken after careful study by the overwhelming majority of members of the Organization of American States. Those decisions were based on the conclusion that Cuba's active encouragement and support for the subversion of legitimate governments in the hemisphere represented a threat to peace and security in this part of the world.

Havana's rhetoric in support of violent revolution has diminished somewhat, and it is selecting its targets for subversion with greater care. But extremists and revolutionaries from many Latin American countries are still being trained in Cuba today in the techniques of guerrilla war, in sabotage, and subversion. Those trained agents and saboteurs are then returned to their home countries, or to neighboring countries, to carry out violence against established governments. Money and arms flow from Cuba to underground groups in some countries. This activity continues to threaten the stability of our hemisphere.

A second reason for concern is that Cuba became the first member of the American family to welcome into the hemisphere the armed power of a non-American state. That action created, among other things, the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. And there is no evidence that Havana's military ties with Moscow have markedly changed.

One final consideration: one obvious way to undercut the prestige and effectiveness of any international body is for individual members to act alone contrary to joint decisions. We have assured fellow members of the OAS that the United States will not act unilaterally in this matter. We will consider a change in policy toward Cuba when Cuba changes its policy toward the other countries of the hemisphere. But in considering any change, we shall act in concert with our fellow members of the OAS.

THE ECONOMIC CLIMATE

We have considered some of the political forces at work in the hemisphere. It is equally important to look at economic developments. These underscore both the

progress that has been made as well as the profound problems that beg for early solution.

Economic growth in Latin America as a whole continued at a healthy pace last year, possibly exceeding the 6.3 percent rate achieved in 1971. On the other side of the ledger, the area's high rate of population increase—nearly three percent overall—added millions of new mouths to feed and cut per capita income growth to less than four percent. Nevertheless, this was still well above the 2.5 percent set as a goal for the hemisphere in the early 1960's.

The most impressive economic growth was achieved in the largest country of the area, Brazil, where the GNP is estimated to be more than 10 percent above the 1971 level. Mexico's economy advanced substantially, with exports reaching \$1.8 billion last year, up almost 23 percent over 1971. Argentina's trade also grew after a disastrous trade deficit in 1971. Colombia cut its trade deficit in half and exports were at record high levels. Venezuela enjoyed its usual healthy trade surplus.

In most of the countries of the hemisphere, however, inflation continued to eat away at the fruits of economic growth. Some governments were willing to take the stern financial and economic measures needed to bring it under control. Those that did not—or that were guided by political rather than economic motives—watched prices and wages spiral upward and living standards decline. Once-prosperous Chile saw its inflation rate reach an estimated 180 percent, accompanied by shortages of food and consumer goods.

Foreign trade, an essential ingredient of economic development, enjoyed a healthy expansion in Latin America as a whole. In 1972, Latin American exports

to the United States rose to \$6.2 billion, 18 percent more than in 1971. Trade with Europe and Asia also expanded. Over the past two years, Latin America's foreign exchange reserves have increased by more than \$2 billion, to \$8.9 billion by the end of 1972.

The United States remains determined to improve our own trading relations with Latin America because we recognize that growing trade is good for all concerned. As Latin American economies develop, they become an increasingly important market for U.S. goods—for everything from wheat to tractors to computers. And a steadily expanding U.S. economy can absorb a growing volume of Latin America's products, not only of raw materials but increasingly of component parts, semi-processed goods, and finished manufactured products. To encourage this trade, we have introduced legislation to provide preferential access to the U.S. market for products of developing countries. Surely this most prosperous of all nations should do no less in extending the hand of cooperation to our neighbors in this hemisphere and to others in the developing world.

Meanwhile, approaching worldwide trade negotiations place our bilateral and regional trading problems in the Western Hemisphere in a larger context. Our initiatives in pressing for these new negotiations received welcome support from most of our Latin American trading partners. Members of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, at their meetings in Geneva in late 1972, paid considerable attention to the concerns of developing countries. To deal with these and other matters, the members organized a Preparatory Committee to develop procedures for the coming negotiations. Mem-

bership in that committee is open, not only to GATT Contracting Parties, but to all developing countries who want to take part.

Major steps are also being taken in the monetary and financial areas that will alter greatly the international economic system. The annual meetings of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund last September were landmark events in the world of international finance. The Committee of Twenty has been established under the IMF, with three of its members from Latin America, to develop new and more workable mechanisms for the world's monetary relationships.

While production, trade, and foreign exchange reserves have increased substantially, serious economic and social problems continue to beset many of the nearly 300 million inhabitants of Central and South America and the Caribbean. The gross national product of the region averaged close to \$600 per person over the last two years. But about one-half of the people have a per capita income of less than \$250, and for one-fifth of the people the figure is less than \$150. In most countries there is only one doctor for every 2,000 or 3,000 people and life expectancy is 50 years or less in half a dozen countries. High rates of illiteracy in much of Latin America represent a huge social deficit, virtually eliminating all hope for progress among millions of people.

THE U.S. RESPONSE

The United States cannot solve these great social and economic problems, nor can the world community. The initiative must come from the peoples and governments concerned. But we are helping, and

we will continue to do so. In fiscal year 1972, United States bilateral assistance to Latin America and the Caribbean amounted to \$338 million. We provided an additional \$103 million under the Food for Peace program. Our Export-Import Bank extended long-term loans of more than \$500 million to help fund important development programs.

This direct assistance is designed to meet specific needs that can best be handled on a bilateral basis. Nevertheless, we have long realized that bilateral aid is often a cause of friction between governments and the target of local criticism, however biased and unfair. Extreme leftist critics regularly attack their governments for accepting U.S. aid and thereby becoming "puppets." Obviously, no country is obliged to accept aid. But in an atmosphere of increasing nationalism, we recognize that such allegations, however unfounded, have political and emotional impact.

To meet this problem, we have deliberately worked to balance our economic assistance efforts between bilateral programs and cooperative efforts through multinational organizations. In the mid-1960's, roughly two-thirds of our aid to Latin America was bilateral. Today, the proportion has been reversed and two-thirds of our aid flows through multinational organizations such as the Inter-American Development Bank, the World Bank, and the United Nations Development Program.

These multinational programs have several advantages. It is politically easier for a country to accept assistance from an international bank or other organization than from one country. And international organizations can impose strict conditions

for loans on economic grounds without opening the door to charges of political "meddling."

It is regrettable that U.S. contributions to the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) have lagged in the past year. The Administration will make a strong effort to persuade the Congress to correct this deficiency and provide the necessary appropriations to meet our pledge. The continued effective functioning of the IDB will hinge in large part on the full cooperation of the United States.

Our firm support for economic development in the Western Hemisphere is good politics and good economics. We live with other nations of the hemisphere in one neighborhood. And no neighborhood is a very healthy place if many of its people are living daily with poverty, disease, and frustration. People forced to live at the fringe of survival cannot produce the goods the human family needs, master the technology that makes progress achievable, or buy the products of other people's labor. They cannot become full partners in the 20th Century.

Economic development is a product of many forces. The most critical factor is the most obvious—what a people and their government are prepared and able to do for themselves. Trade is another essential element for healthy growth. Beyond that, direct bilateral assistance and multilateral funding can provide the capital and technological expertise for success. But there is a fourth element in successful development, often underestimated and more often misunderstood, and that is private investment.

Foreign investment can provide a highly efficient and effective channel for the flow of modern technology, which is so sorely needed by developing countries.

It can broaden production and employment. More than that, inflows of foreign capital help to stimulate the mobilization of local capital for development tasks. As one looks at the record of economic growth among developed and developing countries alike over the past two or three decades, it is not accidental that the most rapid growth has occurred in countries that provided a healthy climate for private investment.

There is, of course, a legitimate concern about specific forms of foreign investment and the terms under which foreign businesses operate. Every country, whether underdeveloped or advanced, imposes restrictions on types and levels of external involvement in its economy. These restrictions can and should be worked out in ways that protect the legitimate interests of both investors and recipients.

The evident economic advantages of sound foreign investment responsibly adapted to the needs of developing countries have not been effectively explained to most local publics. Increasingly, foreign investment has become the special target of extreme nationalists and leftist politicians. In some cases, governments have tried to use foreign companies as political lightning rods or as scapegoats for their own shortcomings.

These factors—nationalism, ideological hostility, and the search for scapegoats—have led some governments to seize foreign assets and to cancel the contracts under which foreign companies were operating. Under international law, any sovereign government has a right to expropriate property for public purposes. But that same international law requires adequate and prompt compensation for the investors or owners.

Moreover, one can fairly question, on

economic grounds alone, the wisdom of many such seizures. It is not uncommon for a foreign company, although it is providing considerable local employment and paying sizable taxes, to be seized, only to have the successor enterprise run by the government, provide less production and smaller income for the state. Financial resources often required to subsidize the operation of seized properties and to maintain inflated payrolls could be used much more beneficially for other, badly needed local investment.

Expropriations, even when there is fair compensation, can create deep concern among those whose resources developing countries wish to attract—commercial banks, international lending institutions, private investors. Such actions tend to dry up sources of investment for other purposes.

All these factors—the legitimate protection of American businesses abroad, the requirements of international law, the preservation of a reasonable and mutually beneficial atmosphere for foreign investment—led us in early 1972 to define our policy toward expropriations. We have made it clear that if an American firm were seized without reasonable efforts to make effective payment, we would provide no new bilateral economic assistance to the expropriating country. We would consider exceptions only if there were overriding humanitarian concerns or other major factors involving our larger interests. Nor would we support applications for loans by such countries in international development institutions.

The book value of U.S. investments in Latin America has risen to more than \$16 billion. But our Latin American friends point out that the rate of growth of U.S. investment has been less in their countries

than in Europe and Asia. The difference is accounted for in part, perhaps decisively, by the judgment investors make regarding the relative welcome their investments will receive.

Changes in attitudes toward investment will take time. But we believe these changes are underway in most parts of the hemisphere, in the private as well as the public sector. We are moving toward a better understanding that private investments, properly managed, operating under reasonable conditions, and sensitive to the needs and aspirations of the societies in which they function, can be mutually advantageous to investors and recipients.

CURRENT PROBLEMS

In October 1969, I said that our policy toward Latin America would be based on five principles:

- firm commitment to the inter-American system;
- respect for national identity and national dignity;
- continued U.S. assistance to economic development;
- belief that this assistance should take the form of U.S. support for Latin American initiatives and should be extended primarily on a multilateral basis;
- dedication to improving the quality of life in the New World.

Those principles remain as valid today as when I first stated them. In candor, however, we must admit that our performance has not always been fully what we and our friends may have wished. I believe we can do better in our second term. I am determined that we shall do better. We owe it to those who created and passed along the unique inter-Ameri-

can system. We should leave to those who will inherit our works a structure of peaceful cooperation more effective than the one we found.

A number of bilateral and multilateral problems call for urgent attention. If we can solve them, or at least move toward their solution, we can create a new and positive atmosphere in our hemisphere.

The single most important irritant in relations with our nearest Latin neighbor, Mexico, is *the high salinity of the waters of the Colorado River diverted to Mexico* under our 1944 Water Treaty. I discussed this matter with President Echeverría last June. My personal representative, former Attorney General Herbert Brownell, has been working intensively on this problem and has made his recommendations to me. We shall soon be presenting our Mexican neighbors with what I hope will be a permanent, definitive, and just solution. With mutual understanding and common efforts, I believe this problem can be removed from the agenda of outstanding issues.

Another serious problem, of deep concern to every responsible government, is *the illegal flow of narcotics* across national boundaries. Some of these drugs are produced in the Western Hemisphere. And some Latin American countries have been used by international drug traffickers as a channel for drugs from Europe, the Middle East, and Asia into this hemisphere and on to the United States.

Over the past year, we and many Latin American governments have made intensive efforts to restrict this dangerous flow. Our common effort has taken a variety of forms: special training for customs and immigration agents; improved equipment ranging from two-way radios to helicopters; exchanges of intelligence data;

tightened anti-drug laws; extradition treaties, and others. It is vitally important that we press forward with the campaign to destroy this dangerous traffic which menaces us all, especially our young.

Another international issue that confronts the Americas, as well as the rest of the world community, concerns *the law of the sea*. Every country, whether or not it touches on an international body of water, is affected. The problems include: the extent to which any nation can claim adjoining waters as its territorial sea; the proper limit on each nation's control over the resources in and under the sea; guarantees of the rights of free passage through international straits and other navigational freedoms; the preservation of the marine environment; and the status of traditional high seas freedoms. Resolution of these and many related questions are of profound importance to all nations. Political, economic, and security interests of the highest sensitivity will have to be considered.

An international conference on the law of the sea will soon be convened to consider and solve these complicated problems. We know it will not be easy. But we know, too, that an effective agreement that deals equitably with the vital concerns of all nations would be a landmark in international affairs.

In the Americas, maritime disputes have centered on the question of fishing rights in waters that we consider to be beyond the limits of national jurisdiction which a state may claim under international law, but that some of our neighbors claim as their territorial seas or exclusive resource zones. These differences have sometimes led to confrontations, including the seizure of U.S. fishing boats and the imposition of heavy fines. Neither party to

this kind of dispute enjoys any real benefit. Indeed, both suffer because of the resulting exacerbation of political, economic, and security relations.

The real point is not fishing rights or retaliation. Rather it is: what rules shall govern the use of the oceans? If countries make unilateral claims over ocean space without international agreement, conflict over uses of the area and its resources are inevitable. We believe that the Law of the Sea Conference provides the appropriate forum for resolving outstanding law of the sea problems. We intend to work with the Latin Americans and all other nations toward achieving a timely and successful conference.

Another important unresolved problem concerns the *Panama Canal* and the surrounding Zone. U.S. operation of the Canal and our presence in Panama are governed by the terms of a treaty drafted in 1903. The world has changed radically during the 70 years this treaty has been in effect. Latin America has changed. Panama has changed. And the terms of our relationship should reflect those changes in a reasonable way.

For the past nine years, efforts to work out a new treaty acceptable to both parties have failed. That failure has put considerable strain on our relations with Panama. It is time for both parties to take a fresh look at this problem and to develop a new relationship between us—one that will guarantee continued effective operation of the Canal while meeting Panama's legitimate aspirations.

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

I intend to underscore our deep interest in Latin America through expanded personal involvement. Last year, I em-

phasized my concern by sending two personal representatives, former Secretary of the Treasury Connally and Federal Reserve Chairman Burns, to a number of countries in Latin America. The detailed and perceptive reports I received from these special envoys helped to keep me abreast of current problems and developments. This year, I will be consulting with my fellow presidents in the hemisphere and with other knowledgeable Latin Americans on our future course. I have asked Secretary of State Rogers to visit Latin America to convey our intention to continue to work closely with our neighbors. And I plan to make at least one visit to Latin America this year.

At the same time, I hope Members of the Congress will travel to the area and see what is happening in this part of the world. Such visits could produce new insights into the complex problems we and our neighbors confront. They would provide an awareness of what able and dedicated Americans are doing in those countries. And it would create a base of knowledge from which understanding legislative action might come.

I urge the Congress to take a new and thorough look at existing legislation that affects our relations with Latin America. We need to study, for example, whether various legislative restrictions serve the purposes for which they were designed. Do they deter other governments from various actions, such as seizing fishing boats? Or do they merely make the solution of such problems more difficult? I believe some current restrictions are entirely too rigid and deprive us of the flexibility we need to work out mutually beneficial solutions.

Similarly, we should inquire whether current limitations on military equipment

sales serve our interests and whether they promote or weaken our cooperation with Latin America. I believe our unilateral efforts to restrict arms sales have helped contribute to the rise of nationalist feelings and to the growing resentment against remnants of U.S. paternalism. The irritation thus aroused helps explain at least some of our problems in other matters. I urge the Congress to take a hard look at this problem and to take steps to rectify past errors. For I think we have been hurting ourselves more than anyone else by insisting on such limitations, and harming our relations with Latin America in the process.

I noted earlier the problem of modernizing the machinery of cooperation and consultation in the inter-American system. This process has now begun. We look forward to working with Latin America to make the inter-American system more responsive to modern needs. This will require imagination and initiative from all concerned. It also calls for a hard-headed assessment of existing institutions. Are they effective? Are they doing what is most needed? Are they accurately defining the most urgent needs? In prescribing actions, do they take into full account the material, political, and psychological limitations under which all governments must function? I have instructed my advisors to give this matter close attention in the months ahead, and I feel confident that other heads of government will do the same. By focusing on the many areas in which the best interests of Latin America and the United States converge, we can begin a new and promising phase of hemispheric cooperation.

Over the next four years, the United States will be heavily engaged in giving substance to the new world order that

now is taking shape. High on the agenda will be problems of world trade and of strengthening the international monetary system. These matters will be of special concern to Latin America as it continues to expand its exports outside the hemisphere. Because we recognized this interest, we strongly supported the inclusion of three Latin American governments in the Committee of Twenty that is considering monetary reform. As we move into this period of intensive trade and monetary negotiations, it will be to our mutual advantage if the United States and neighboring governments work closely together on these issues. We have many shared interests in assuring an expansion of world trade and in preventing the rise of restrictive trading blocs which would inhibit the growth of U.S. and Latin American commerce. We therefore plan to undertake intensive consultation with Latin American governments and representatives—in the OAS and its organs, the Inter-American Development Bank, the International Monetary Fund, GATT, and other appropriate bodies. The process of hemispheric cooperation can be strengthened as we confront these difficult issues together.

Over the next four years, we will also continue our assistance efforts—through bilateral and multilateral channels—to help improve the quality of life of all the people of this hemisphere.

As we move toward the end of our first 200 years as a nation—and toward the end of a troubled century—we face many exciting challenges. They will require the best that is in us. But we now have a framework for peaceful cooperation on which to build. And as we build, the lives and health and happiness of the hundreds of millions of people living in Latin

America will be in the forefront of our concern.

PART IV: REGIONS OF TENSION AND OPPORTUNITY

- Middle East
- South Asia
- Africa

THE MIDDLE EAST

Peace in the Middle East is central to the global structure of peace. Strategically, the Middle East is a point where interests of the major powers converge. It is a reservoir of energy resources on which much of the world depends. Politically, it is a region of diversity, dynamism, and turmoil, rent by national, social, and ideological division—and of course by the Arab-Israeli conflict. Two world wars and the rising tide of nationalism have broken down the pre-1914 order, but new patterns of stability have not yet been established. Modern quarrels have compounded long-standing ones. Because of the area's strategic importance, outside powers have continued to involve themselves, often competitively. Several times since World War II, the Middle East has been an arena of major crisis.

The irony is that the Middle East also has such great potential for progress and peaceful development. Of all the regions of the developing world, the Middle East, because of its wealth, is uniquely not dependent on the heavy infusion of capital resources from outside. Its wealthier nations have been willing and able to provide the capital for their own development and have begun to assist their neighbors' development. Mechanisms of regional self-reliance and cooperation are already

functioning. The yearning for unity is strong within the Arab world; it has deep historical and cultural roots and its positive thrust has found new expression in these cooperative enterprises.

The region's drive for self-reliance matches the philosophy of United States foreign policy in a new era. Technical assistance and the provision of skills, now the most relevant forms of external aid in much of the Middle East, are forms of aid which the United States is uniquely capable of providing and can sustain over a long term. The United States has long been a champion of the region's independence from colonial or other external domination. In conditions of peace, there is a natural community of interest between the United States and all the nations of the Middle East—an interest in the region's progress, stability, and independence.

The requirements of peace in the Middle East are not hard to define in principle. It requires basic decisions by the countries of the Middle East to pursue political solutions and coexist with one another. Outside powers with interests in the area must accept their responsibility for restraint and for helping to mitigate tensions rather than exploiting them for their own advantage.

These are principles which the United States has sought to engage the other great powers in observing. Coexistence, negotiated solutions, avoiding the use or threat of force, great power restraint, non-interference, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, renunciation of hegemony or unilateral advantage—these are the principles of the Shanghai Communique of February 1972 and the Basic Principles of U.S.-Soviet Relations of May 1972. They are not new

principles; every member state of the United Nations has subscribed to their essential elements. The UN Security Council in passing Resolution 242 on November 22, 1967, envisioned a settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute that would be consistent with them—a settlement which would include “withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict; termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force.”

A commitment to such principles by the outside powers is itself a contribution to the framework for peace in the Middle East. A similar commitment by the principal countries directly involved, concretely expressed in processes of negotiation, is essential.

THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

The focus of attention in the Middle East has been the prolonged crisis of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the persistent efforts to resolve it.

In my first Foreign Policy Report three years ago, I pointed out the serious elements of intractability that marked this conflict. It was a dispute in which each side saw vital interests at stake that could not be compromised. To Israel, the issue was survival. The physical security provided by the territories it occupied in 1967 seemed a better safeguard than Arab commitments to live in peace in exchange for return of all those territories—commitments whose reliability could be fully tested only after Israel had withdrawn.

To the Arabs, negotiating new borders directly with Israel, as the latter wished, while Israel occupied Arab lands and while Palestinian aspirations went unfulfilled, seemed incompatible with justice and with the sovereignty of Arab nations. A powerful legacy of mutual fear and mistrust had to be overcome. Until that was done no compromise formula for settlement was acceptable to either side. To the major powers outside, important interests and relationships were at stake which drew them into positions of confrontation.

The problem remains. For this very reason, I have said that no other crisis area of the world has greater importance or higher priority for the United States in the second term of my Administration. At the beginning of this year I met personally with Jordan's King Hussein, Egyptian Presidential Adviser Hafiz Ismail, and Israeli Prime Minister Meir to renew explorations for a solution.

The United States has no illusions. Instant peace in the Middle East is a dream—yet the absence of progress toward a settlement means an ever-present risk of wider war, and a steady deterioration of the prospects for regional stability and for constructive relations between the countries of the area and the world outside. Arab-Israeli reconciliation may seem impossible—but in many areas of the world, accommodations not fully satisfactory to either side have eased the intensity of conflict and provided an additional measure of security to both sides. Peace cannot be imposed from outside—but I am convinced that a settlement in the Middle East is in the national interest of the United States and that for us to abandon the quest for a settlement would be inconsistent with our responsibility as a great power.

The issue for the United States, therefore, is not the desirability of an Arab-Israeli settlement, but how it can be achieved. The issue is not whether the United States will be involved in the effort to achieve it, but how the United States can be involved usefully and effectively.

The Last Four Years. Over the last four years, the United States has taken a series of initiatives and explored a variety of approaches to promoting a negotiating process. The effort has resulted in restoration of the ceasefire along the Suez Canal. It has also provided sharp definition of the issues and basic negotiating positions of the parties and a measure of realism on all sides. However, we have not succeeded in establishing a negotiating process between the parties or in achieving any substantive agreement concrete enough to break the impasse.

In 1969, starting from Resolution 242, four permanent members of the Security Council, and the United States and Soviet Union in particular, began to discuss a framework for an Arab-Israeli settlement in order to explore how the outside powers might usefully relate to the process of settlement. Their approaches differed, but the discussions illuminated the issues that divided them. By late 1969 and early 1970, significant further progress seemed unlikely for the time being.

In the summer of 1970, with the Four Power discussions stalemated and the military conflict along the Suez Canal escalating sharply with the active participation of Soviet air and air defense units, the United States launched a major initiative to reestablish the ceasefire and to start negotiations. The firing stopped on August 7, but the start of negotiations was delayed by the violation in Egypt of a re-

lated military standstill agreement. A month later the authority of the Government of Jordan was challenged by the Palestinian guerrillas and an invasion from Syria. The challenge was put down, and the return of stability enhanced the ability of the Jordanian government to address the question of peace.

Early in 1971, Ambassador Jarring, the special representative of the UN Secretary General, began discussions with Israel and Egypt to try to promote agreement between the parties in accordance with his mandate under Resolution 242. When this effort lost momentum by the end of February 1971, attention shifted to the possibility of a step-by-step approach to peace, beginning with a limited pullback of Israeli troops from the Suez Canal and the opening of the Canal. At the request of Egypt and Israel, Secretary Rogers explored this approach. Talks to this end, which occupied most of the summer and fall, tried to grapple with these basic issues: the relationship of such an interim agreement to an overall peace agreement; the distance of the limited Israeli withdrawal; the nature of the Egyptian presence in the evacuated territory; the timing of Israel's use of the Canal; and the duration of the ceasefire. In late 1971 and early 1972, the United States sought, again without success, to initiate indirect negotiations under its aegis between Egypt and Israel on an interim agreement.

In 1972, attention again focused on the relationship of the United States and the Soviet Union to the Middle East problem. At the Moscow Summit in May both sides reviewed their positions and reaffirmed their readiness to play a part in bringing about a settlement based on Resolution 242. The United States emphasized that a genuine negotiating process between the

nations in the area was essential. The danger of inadvertent great power confrontation over the Middle East was reduced by the Moscow Summit, and also by a decision by the Government of Egypt in July to request the withdrawal of most Soviet military personnel from Egypt.

American policy has sought in other ways to promote stability in the Middle East and to preserve the possibility of solution by negotiation rather than by force of arms. During the September 1970 crisis in Jordan, the United States acted firmly to deter a wider war and dampen a dangerous situation. Throughout the period, this Administration continued its established policy of maintaining a military balance in the Middle East. I have said many times that an arms balance is essential to stability in that area—but that it alone cannot bring peace. The search for a negotiated settlement must continue.

The ceasefire reestablished in 1970 at American initiative continues to this day, and remains essential to any hope for a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The cessation of organized fighting has not only saved hundreds and perhaps thousands of lives; it has also preserved a climate that would permit negotiation. But the ceasefire will necessarily remain uneasy unless the hope for peace can be sustained by active negotiations.

A serious threat to the ceasefire and to the prospects for any political solution is the bitterness engendered by the mounting spiral of terrorism and reprisal. Terrorist acts took on a new and horrible dimension last year with the shootings at Israel's Lod Airport in the spring, where a number of Americans lost their lives, and the murder of Israeli athletes at the

Munich Olympics in September. This was followed during the fall by a series of Israeli attacks on Lebanese and Syrian military installations as well as on Palestinian guerrilla bases in Lebanon and Syria. A Libyan civilian airliner was downed by Israeli aircraft while straying over the Sinai in February 1973. The following month, terrorists murdered two American diplomats and a Belgian diplomat held hostage in Khartoum. In April 1973, terrorists attacked Israeli targets in Cyprus, and Israel attacked headquarters and installations of fedayeen organizations in and around Beirut, killing three prominent Palestinian militants.

International terrorism is not exclusively an Arab-Israeli problem; it is an international problem, which the United States has made a major international effort to combat. But a generation of frustration among displaced Palestinians has made the Middle East a particular focal point for such violence.

The Situation Today. America's objective in the Middle East is still to help move the Arab-Israeli dispute from confrontation to negotiation and then toward conditions of peace as envisioned in UN Security Council Resolution 242.

But a solution cannot be imposed by the outside powers on unwilling governments. If we tried, the parties would feel no stake in observing its terms, and the outside powers would be engaged indefinitely in enforcing them. A solution can last only if the parties commit themselves to it directly. Serious negotiation will be possible, however, only if a decision is made on each side that the issues must be finally resolved by a negotiated settlement rather than by the weight or threat of force. This is more than a decision on the mechanics of negotiation; it is a decision

that peace is worth compromise. It should be possible to enter such negotiations without expecting to settle all differences at once, without preconditions, and without conceding principles of honor or justice.

Two negotiating tracks have been discussed. One is Ambassador Jarring's effort to help the parties reach agreement on an overall peace settlement. The second is the offer of the United States to help get talks started on an interim agreement as a first step to facilitate negotiations on an overall settlement.

A persistent impasse, which is substantive as well as procedural, has blocked both of these approaches. It is rooted primarily in the opposing positions of the two sides on the issue of the territories. Israel has insisted that its borders should be the subject of negotiations and that substantial changes in the pre-1967 lines are necessary. Egypt, while stating its readiness to enter into a peace agreement with Israel, has insisted that before it could enter negotiations, even on an interim agreement, Israel must commit itself to withdraw to the pre-1967 lines. Jordan has also made clear its commitment to a peaceful settlement with Israel, but insists on the return of the occupied West Bank without substantial border changes and on restoration of a sovereign position in the Arab part of Jerusalem.

Recognizing the difficulty of breaking the impasse in one negotiating step—of reconciling Arab concern for sovereignty with Israeli concern for security—the United States has favored trying to achieve agreement first on an interim step. Since both Egypt and Israel asked us in 1971 to help them negotiate such an interim agreement, we proposed indirect talks between representatives of

the two sides brought together at the same location. In February 1972, Israel agreed to enter talks on this basis; Egypt has expressed reservations about any negotiations in the absence of prior Israeli commitment to total withdrawal from Sinai in an overall settlement.

The dilemmas are evident. Egypt's willingness to take new steps, for example, is inhibited by the fear that further concessions could erode the principle of sovereignty without assuring that Israel is interested in reaching agreement or will make appropriate concessions in return. Israel's incentive to be forthcoming depends on a difficult basic judgment whether its giving up the physical buffer of territory would be compensated by less tangible assurances of its security—such as Arab peace commitments, demilitarization and other security arrangements, external guarantees, and a transformed and hopefully more secure political environment in the Middle East. Urging flexibility on both parties in the abstract seems futile. Neither appears willing, without assurance of a satisfactory *quid pro quo*, to offer specific modifications of basic positions sufficient to get a concrete negotiating process started.

A step-by-step approach still seems most practical, but we fully recognize that one step by itself cannot bring peace. First, there is a relationship between any initial step toward peace and steps which are to follow toward a broader settlement. We are open-minded on how that relationship might be established in a negotiating process, and on what role the United States might play. But the relationship cannot be ignored. Second, all important aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict must be addressed at some stage, including the legitimate interests of the Palestinians. Imple-

mentation can occur in stages, and it should not be precluded that some issues and disputes could be resolved on a priority basis. But a comprehensive settlement must cover all the parties and all the major issues.

The issues are formidable, interlinked, and laden with emotion. The solutions cannot be found in general principles alone, but must be embodied in concrete negotiated arrangements. The parties will not be tricked into compromise positions by artful procedures. But there is room for accommodation and an overwhelming necessity to seek it.

THE INTERESTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE MAJOR POWERS

Too often in recent history, Middle East turbulence has been compounded by the involvement of outside powers. This is an ever-present danger. Our efforts with other major powers to move from an era of confrontation to an era of negotiation have addressed this problem directly.

The nations of the Middle East have the right to determine their own relationships with the major powers. They will do so according to their own judgment of their own requirements. The United States has no desire to block or interfere with political ties freely developed between Middle East countries and other major nations in the world. We have our close ties with Israel, which we value, and we also have a strong interest in preserving and developing our ties with the Arab world. Other powers have the same right. But attempts at exclusion or predominance are an invitation to conflict, either local or global.

The first dimension of the problem is, of course, the direct involvement of the

great powers in the Arab-Israeli conflict. A significant Soviet presence and substantial Soviet military aid continue in the area. The Soviet Union signed a friendship treaty with Iraq in April 1972. New shipments of Soviet military equipment have now been concentrated in Syria, Iraq, and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. The significant factor is whether the Soviet presence is paralleled by a Soviet interest in promoting peaceful solutions. The major powers have a continuing obligation to refrain from steps which will raise again the danger of their direct engagement in military conflict.

The danger of immediate U.S.-Soviet confrontation, a source of grave concern in 1970 and 1971, is at the moment reduced. The Moscow Summit and the agreement on the Basic Principles of our relations contributed to this, not only for the present but also for the longer term. Neither side at the summit had any illusions that we could resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict, but there was agreement that we could keep it from becoming a source of conflict between us. The United States has no interest in excluding the Soviet Union from contributing to a Middle East settlement or from playing a significant role there. In fact, at the summit we agreed that we each had an obligation to help promote a settlement in accordance with Resolution 242.

The responsibilities and interests of the major powers in the Middle East go beyond the Arab-Israeli dispute. There are extensive political and economic ties between the countries of the region and the outside world. Here, too, there is a world interest in not allowing competitive interests to interfere with a stable evolution.

The United States considers it a principal objective to rebuild its political re-

lations with those Arab states with whom we enjoyed good relations for most of the postwar period but which broke relations with us in 1967. We were able to restore diplomatic relations with the Yemen Arab Republic at the time of Secretary of State Rogers' visit there in July 1972; reestablishment of ties with Sudan followed shortly thereafter. We assigned two American diplomats to the interests section in Baghdad, Iraq, in 1972. We have just concluded an agreement with Algeria on a major project for the import of Algerian liquified natural gas. The United States is prepared for normal bilateral relations with all the nations of the Middle East.

The European Community is also expanding and consolidating direct ties with many nations of the Middle East and North Africa. This is a natural development; it builds on historical relationships and the economic advantages of geography. It gives these nations a greater stake in relations with the West. It gives the Western European countries an important role in maintaining the structure of peace beyond Europe. We are concerned, however, that as these relations evolve they not embody discriminatory arrangements which adversely affect our trade and that of other countries.

Economic competition in the Middle East between the United States and other free world nations could be particularly damaging in the critical area of energy. The traditional relationship between suppliers and consumers of energy has radically, and probably irrevocably, changed. In the Persian Gulf, where about two-thirds of the world's known oil reserves are located, Arab oil-producing countries have joined to reorder their relations with the international oil industry and the consumer countries. Iran has taken over oper-

ation of the companies working there. Our own requirements for Persian Gulf oil have been small—about ten percent of our total oil imports—but they will rise as U.S. energy demand expands. Assurance of the continuing flow of Middle East energy resources is increasingly important for the United States, Western Europe, and Japan. This should be addressed as a common interest.

As for the relations between producer and consumer nations, here too we believe there is a shared interest. We both stand to gain from a stable and reliable economic relationship, ensuring revenues for them and energy resources for us. Oil revenues paid to Persian Gulf states have trebled in the last five years, financing their economic development and providing an expanding market for us. Their rapidly growing foreign exchange reserves give them increasing weight—and an increasing stake—in the international monetary system. We share these countries' desire to find arrangements which enhance the region's prosperity while assuring an effective means for meeting the world's demand for energy.

THE REGIONAL FRAMEWORK

Stability in the Middle East does not depend only on Arab-Israeli peace and stable relationships with and among the great powers. Personal rivalries, ideological conflict, territorial disputes, economic competition, religious and ethnic divisions are indigenous sources of turmoil which exacerbate—and are in turn exacerbated by—these other tensions. Stability therefore depends also on strengthening regional forces for cooperation and collaboration.

At the end of 1971, the nations of the

Persian Gulf passed through a critical transition, with the termination of the century-old protectorate relationship between Great Britain and the nine Arab Emirates of the lower Gulf. Considering the number of states involved and the diversity of political and economic conditions, the transition of this area to independence has been remarkably smooth. The Emirates have developed new political ties among themselves and assumed responsibility for their own security and destiny. Some territorial disputes and rivalries remain, but these have not been allowed to undermine their perceived common interest in unity and stability. Two of the largest Gulf states, Iran and Saudi Arabia, have undertaken greater responsibility for helping to enhance the area's stability and for ensuring that the destiny of the Gulf will be determined by the nations of the Gulf without interference from outside.

Mutual assistance among Middle East nations has an important economic dimension. The wealthier nations of the area have—in their own interest and in the general interest—taken on the responsibility of assisting economic and social development. On the occasion of my visit to Tehran last May, I joined with His Imperial Majesty the Shah of Iran in affirming that “the economic development and welfare of the bordering states of the Persian Gulf are of importance to the stability of the region.” The Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development has worked effectively in this area for some time. The Government of Saudi Arabia is providing significant support to its neighbors. Iran and other Middle East nations are adding to the flow of financial and technical help within the region.

These are positive developments. They

strengthen the forces of moderation. There is reason for hope that these trends of collaboration will survive, gather strength over time, and contribute in turn to a favorable political evolution.

AGENDA FOR THE FUTURE

Looking ahead several years, what does the United States hope to see in the Middle East? We hope to see, first of all, a region at peace—with a number of strong, healthy, and independent political units cooperating among themselves, free of external interference, and welcoming the constructive participation of outside powers. I have no doubt that this is also the objective of the peoples and governments of all the countries in the Middle East.

The United States will therefore address itself to these specific tasks:

- First is the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict through a process of negotiation. There must be realism on all sides about what is achievable. Neither side will attain its maximum demands, but an accommodation is possible that preserves the honor and security of both sides. The absence of peace is a threat to both sides, which will increase, not diminish, over time.
- Second, the world and the region have an interest in turning great-power relationships with the Middle East into a force for stability. This means that the principles of restraint, peaceful settlement, and avoidance of confrontation that are set forth in the Basic Principles of U.S.-Soviet Relations must become enduring realities. It will require outward-looking economic relations among the Middle East, North Africa, the

European Community, and the United States. It will require stable and dependable relations between suppliers and consumers of energy.

—Third, the United States will seek to strengthen its ties with all its traditional friends in the Middle East and restore bilateral relations where they have been severed. In conditions of security and peace, there are prospects for new forms of cooperation, in the interest of enhancing the independence of the area's nations.

—In the economic dimension particularly, the United States can make a unique contribution to progress and stability. Where capital assistance is not the greatest need, American technical and managerial skills can be a major spur to modernization. Where promising new development programs are being undertaken, the United States can contribute resources productively. If the peoples of the area are to realize their aspirations for a better future in conditions of peace, economic rehabilitation and development will be essential, and the United States will do its share.

The United States is committed to helping achieve these objectives.

SOUTH ASIA

The American interest in South Asia is clearcut: we want the region to be a contributor to global peace, not a threat to it. We want the region to be an example to the world of peaceful progress.

Last year in South Asia was a year of rebuilding. Societies torn by political upheaval, war, and natural disaster took up the tasks of reconstruction. The nations of the subcontinent began reshaping the

relations among themselves. They began rebuilding their relations with the world outside. This is an arduous process, but the United States has an important stake in its success.

I have always believed that the United States, uniquely among the major powers, shared a common interest with the nations of the subcontinent in their peace, independence, and stability. Today this is more true than ever. The United States has no economic or strategic interest in a privileged position, nor in forming ties directed against any country inside the region or outside the region, nor in altering the basic political framework on the subcontinent. We have an interest in seeing that no other great power attempts this either—and we believe the best insurance against this is a stable regional system founded on the secure independence of each nation in it. The destiny of each nation of South Asia should be for it to determine. The United States serves its own interest by respecting that right and helping them preserve it.

As I wrote last October to my Advisory Panel on South Asian Relief Assistance after it reported to me on its visit to Bangladesh, "The United States could not and cannot ignore the needs and the aspirations of the more than 700 million South Asians. Our effort to join other nations in meeting the most urgent needs of those who live in this area has reflected not only our compassion for them in their distress but also our recognition that an orderly society depends on the capacity of governments to 'promote the general welfare.'"

We therefore want to see Pakistan consolidate its integrity as a nation, restore its economic vitality, and take its place among the proud democratic nations of

the world. We want to see the new People's Republic of Bangladesh flourish as a non-aligned and economically viable democratic state. We want to join with India in a mature relationship founded on equality, reciprocity, and mutual interests, reflecting India's stature as a great free nation. We want to see all the small countries of South Asia live in stability and secure in their independence.

THE STRUCTURE OF PEACE IN SOUTH ASIA

In 1971 the breakdown of peace in South Asia not only brought war and suffering to the millions of people directly affected. It raised concern about stability for the whole region from the Persian Gulf to Southeast Asia. It involved the great powers in a potentially dangerous confrontation whose significance went far beyond the immediate South Asian conflict.

Today we can hope that the subcontinent has found a new foundation for stability.

This will depend first and foremost on the normalization of relations between India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. This means, to begin with, resolving the issues left by the events of 1971: repatriation of prisoners of war and other personnel detained; recognition and establishment of diplomatic relations; and resumption of trade and equitable division of assets and liabilities between Pakistan and Bangladesh. Beyond this, it means consolidating a new stability on the subcontinent: an end to the arms race; an end to territorial disputes; expanded economic cooperation; and creation of a climate of security and, ultimately, reconciliation.

The primary responsibility for this process rests necessarily on the region's na-

tions. The Simla Conference in June-July 1972 between President Bhutto and Prime Minister Gandhi, which produced agreement on the outline of a settlement between Pakistan and India, was a dramatic and promising step. Progress since then has been slow, as the relationship between India and Pakistan has become intertwined with the resolution of the unsettled issues between Pakistan and Bangladesh. President Bhutto has been understandably insistent on the return of the 90,000 Pakistani prisoners of war detained in India. India has been unwilling to release them without Bangladesh's concurrence. Prime Minister Mujib, until recently, insisted that Pakistani recognition of Bangladesh must precede any other steps toward reconciliation, and he has sought the return of Bengalees detained in Pakistan. Just this past month, however, new efforts have been made to break the impasse.

The United States, from its Vietnam experience, has a natural sympathy for Pakistan's desire for the return of its prisoners of war, and for the repatriation of all detainees. It is a basic humanitarian concern and also a way of liquidating one of the vestiges of the war and beginning a process of reconciliation. At the same time, recognition of Bangladesh as a new reality in the subcontinent is a key step toward stabilization of relations in South Asia.

As a general matter, reconciliation on the subcontinent is not a process the United States can directly affect, except to give encouragement and support to constructive actions. We have sought, on the other hand, through our bilateral relations with the nations of the area, to address the fundamental problems of recovery and stability.

Pakistan. As I stated in my Report last year, "Our concern for the well-being and security of the people of Pakistan does not end with the end of a crisis." The United States has always had a close and warm relationship with Pakistan, and we have a strong interest today in seeing it build a new future.

Pakistan entered 1972 a deeply troubled and demoralized nation. Crisis and defeat in 1971 had torn apart its political structure, halved its population, and shattered the established patterns of its economy. Yet the events of 1971 also brought to power the first civilian administration Pakistan has had since 1958 and produced a new and determined effort to develop institutions of representative government. The National Assembly in April 1973 has just adopted a new democratic federal constitution. President Bhutto has taken many courageous steps of political, economic, and social reform. He has restored much of the self-confidence of his countrymen.

The cohesion and stability of Pakistan are of critical importance to the structure of peace in South Asia. Encouragement of turmoil within nations on the subcontinent can bring not only the devastation of civil and international war, but the involvement of outside powers. This is the basis of America's interest in helping Pakistan now consolidate its integrity as a nation.

To this end, since January 1972 we have provided over \$300 million to assist Pakistan's program of economic recovery. Our assistance in the form of new loans to facilitate imports essential to Pakistan's industrial and agricultural growth totaled \$120 million. We worked with Pakistani and United Nations authorities to channel \$14 million in food and commodity emer-

gency relief to the roughly 1.2 million Pakistanis displaced from their homes by the 1971 war. We have committed \$124 million in Title I PL-480 foodstuffs (including 1.3 million tons of wheat) to meet shortages resulting from inadequate rainfall and the dislocations of the war. We provided \$5 million in technical assistance. We made about \$45 million in aid available to support the multilateral Indus Basin development program. In addition, we joined with other members of the Pakistan Consortium, led by the World Bank, to provide emergency debt relief, the U.S. share totaling \$50 million over 1972 and 1973.

As Pakistan now turns its efforts again to long term economic and social development, the United States once again stands ready to assist in collaboration with the Consortium and the World Bank. The prospects are encouraging, particularly because of the success Pakistan has had through its own efforts in the past year to reorient its economy after the loss of the eastern wing. Pakistan has already managed to expand its international markets for its cotton and rice to more than offset the loss of the east as a market and as an exporter. Its export earnings this year may even surpass the combined export earnings of East and West Pakistan in 1970, the last pre-war year.

The United States believes that Pakistan, like any other nation, has a right to its independence and security. Peace and stability on the subcontinent cannot be founded on any other basis. I made a decision in March 1973 to fulfill outstanding contractual obligations to Pakistan and India for limited quantities of military equipment whose delivery had been suspended in 1971. Our policy now, as before 1971, is to permit the export of non-

lethal equipment and of spare parts for equipment previously supplied by the United States. There is no change in our purpose. We are not participating in an arms race in the subcontinent.

Bangladesh. Bangladesh emerged from the 1971 crisis with a surge of enthusiasm, an unpredictable political situation, and a shattered economy. Its leaders faced the formidable tasks of restoring civil peace and harnessing national energies for building the political and administrative organization for a new state, while meeting the emergency and long-term human and development needs of what is now one of the world's most populous—and poorest—nations.

While the United States deplored the fact that military solutions were resorted to in 1971, we did not dispute the aspirations of the people of East Bengal for autonomy. My Foreign Policy Report last year described our efforts in 1971 to promote a peaceful political resolution of the crisis. We opposed not independence, but the outbreak of international war. Throughout the crisis year of 1971, the United States provided two-thirds of the world's relief to East Bengal, and supported the administration of that relief effort by international authorities. Once the issue was settled by the fact of independence, our principal interest was in the rehabilitation and stability of the new state. Our relief effort continued even in the absence of diplomatic relations. The United States formally recognized Bangladesh in April 1972, and established diplomatic relations in May.

Since January 1972, first under United Nations auspices and since May also bilaterally, the United States has contributed over a third of a billion dollars to

relief and rehabilitation in Bangladesh. The mobilized efforts and resources of the world forestalled a major famine, and the United States provided more than any other nation. We provided \$144 million in PL-480 food and grants for food distribution; \$21 million in grants to American voluntary agencies to aid in the resettlement of thousands of Bengalee families; a \$35 million grant to the UN Relief Operation Dacca, mainly for food distribution; and \$145 million in bilateral grants to the Bangladesh Government for essential commodities and to restore transportation services, power stations, hospitals, and schools, for the rehabilitation of the economy.

The political and economic progress of the new nation is an enormous challenge to its leaders. Unemployment, inflation, and commodity shortages remained serious in 1972. Civil disorders continued. The Bangladesh Government in 1972 was able to begin effective rehabilitation programs and to begin considering its pressing longer term development needs in cooperation with friendly nations and international lending institutions. We are particularly encouraged by its achievement of a new constitution, a new parliament, and a strong electoral mandate for the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Our interest in Bangladesh is in its stability—lest turmoil there affect other nations—and in its genuine non-alignment and peaceful policies. Instability anywhere in the subcontinent is an invitation to interference from outside.

Bangladesh's success in meeting this challenge will be a most important determinant of the future of peace in South Asia in the years to come.

India. India emerged from the 1971

crisis with new confidence, power, and responsibilities. This fact in itself was a new political reality for the subcontinent and for all nations concerned with South Asia's future. For the nations of that region, the question was how India would use its power. For the nations outside the region, the question was what the relationship of this power would be to that of other powers in the world.

Last year I explained that the United States was prepared for a serious dialogue with India on the future of our relations. We have taken steps in that direction in 1972. The United States respects India as a major country. We are prepared to treat India in accordance with its new stature and responsibilities, on the basis of reciprocity.

Because India is a major country, her actions on the world stage necessarily affect us and our interests.

—India's relationships with the major powers are for it to decide, and we have no interest in inhibiting their growth. However, we have a natural concern that India not be locked into exclusive ties with major countries directed against us or against other countries with whom we have relationships which we value.

—There have been serious differences over U.S. policy in Indochina. With the ending of the war, that problem is reduced, and we feel that India, as a chairman of the International Control Commission for Laos and Cambodia and a country with a stake in Asian peace, has an opportunity to play an important positive role in consolidating a just peace in Indochina.

—India's policy toward its neighbors on

the subcontinent and other countries in nearby parts of Asia is now an important determinant of regional stability, which is of interest to us.

—Other aspects of Indian policy affect us, and we have had our natural concerns. We have expressed unhappiness when Indian leaders have used the United States as a scapegoat in domestic disputes, which does not serve our common objective of improved relations.

Fundamentally, I believe that the United States and a non-aligned India have no significant conflicting interests. The United States has an interest in India's independence, and a natural preference to see democratic institutions flourish. We share an interest in the success and stability of Bangladesh. And as India and Pakistan move toward more normal relations, external military supply loses its relevance to the politics of the subcontinent. In short, the United States wants to see a subcontinent that is independent, progressive, and peaceful. We believe India shares these objectives—and this can be the firm basis of a constructive relationship.

—The United States will not join in any groupings or pursue any policies directed against India. Our normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China is not directed against India or inconsistent with our desire to enjoy good relations with India. The United States and China declared in the Shanghai Communique that we both saw attempts at collusion, hegemony, or spheres of interest as inconsistent with peace in Asia. I believe that on this principle a constructive pattern of relations is

possible among all the major countries of Asia, and this is the objective of United States policy.

—Both the United States and India are interested in defining a new basis for a mature economic relationship between us over the longer term. In October 1972, the United States joined in a program to reschedule the Indian debt under the aegis of the World Bank, and in March 1973 we lifted the suspension imposed in December 1971 on the flow of \$87.6 million in past development loans. For the future, both sides are now interested in how to move toward Indian self-reliance. This raises the issues of the role of U.S. development assistance, our trade relations, our consultation on world trade and monetary issues that affect Indian interests, and our common interest in promoting economic development on the subcontinent and elsewhere in Asia. A new framework for this economic relationship is a fruitful topic for our dialogue.

Our dialogue has now begun. Secretary Connally, on his visit to New Delhi, Dacca, and Islamabad last July, had frank and important talks on my behalf with Prime Minister Gandhi and her government's leaders. Indian Finance Minister Chavan consulted with Secretary Shultz in Washington in March 1973 on trade and monetary issues. Ambassador Moynihan's cordial reception in India was a sign that the passage of time and constructive attitudes on both sides have laid a foundation for a serious improvement in our relations. The recent discussions which Deputy Secretary of State Rush had in New Delhi on his trip to South Asia confirmed this.

We both understand, of course, that the issue is not one of communication or atmosphere. Our differences in 1971 injected a healthy realism and maturity into the U.S.-Indian relationship. We can deal with each other now without sentimentality and without the illusion that because we are both great democracies our foreign policies must be the same. Nor do great nations decide their policies on the ephemeral criterion of popularity. We have our interests and responsibilities; India's policy choices are for India to make. Good relations will come not from an identity of policies, but from respect for each other's concerns and a consciousness of the basic interest we share in global peace.

The Smaller Nations of South Asia. The smaller nations of South Asia are part of the regional system, and their well-being and independence are important to it. We do not view them as part of any country's sphere of influence. They have a right to their independence and non-alignment and a right to remain neutral with respect to the problems of their larger neighbors. Each has its own character, aspirations, and problems, and we seek relationships with each one on the basis of mutual respect.

We welcome the improvement in our relations with Sri Lanka in the past few years. Sri Lanka has strengthened its internal stability, and we hope to maintain and expand our cooperation and to assist Sri Lanka's progress. The United States joined with many other nations to assist Afghanistan in its recovery from a two-year drought and we will continue our cooperation in its economic development. We have assisted Nepal in its efforts to modernize its agriculture and transport, and we will welcome the opportunity to

continue this relationship as our help is wanted. We value our contacts with all the small countries of the region—from Bhutan to the Maldives.

Every country on the subcontinent has a basic right to determine its own destiny without interference or dominance by any other. The United States places a high value on this right, out of conviction and out of our interest in a peaceful regional system. Every major power—now including India, with its new power in the region—has a basic responsibility toward the international system to exercise its power with restraint, so that these smaller nations may look to the future confident of their security and independence.

AGENDA FOR THE FUTURE

When I visited South Asia in 1969, I said, “I wish to communicate my government’s conviction that Asian hands must shape the Asian future.” This was not a statement of lack of interest in South Asia; it was, on the contrary, a recognition that America’s relationship with Asia would change and that our involvement would require the increasing assumption of responsibility for the Asian future by the people of Asia. The United States role would be one of assistance; we would cooperate, but would not prescribe.

That was a time of significant progress and hope in South Asia. In conditions of peace, the gains from major economic policy decisions and reforms during the 1960’s in both India and Pakistan were being consolidated. The full potential of the Green Revolution was beginning to be recognized and in some areas realized. The concepts and practices of economic development and population planning were maturing.

Along with this progress, enormous problems remained on the agenda, and we discussed these at length in both India and Pakistan during my visits: the need for peace and normalization of relations between India and Pakistan; the future direction of Asia, of South Asian nations in relation to the rest of Asia, and of the United States, the Soviet Union, and the People’s Republic of China in relation to them; the need for a new relationship between aid donor and aid recipient; and the continuing efforts of governments to meet the demands and aspirations of their people for economic and social development.

The crisis of 1971 interrupted and enormously complicated these tasks—and underlined their urgency. For the United States the crisis of 1971 illustrated again that we did not control the destiny of South Asia—but that we had an important stake in it. The agenda for the future is both the natural outgrowth of the agenda we faced in 1969 and the legacy of the upheaval of 1971.

The first responsibility for building the future of South Asia rests on the leaders and peoples of South Asian nations themselves.

—To a unique degree, the political future of the subcontinent depends on the ability of institutions to meet basic human needs—the needs of the victims of drought, cyclone, flood, war, disease, hunger, and unemployment. No particular political form guarantees that these needs will be met. What is important is the determination to build institutions that can respond to human needs and give diverse elements a stake in a larger community.

—A precondition for the fulfillment of

these aspirations is a sense of security and a lessening of tensions between nations on the subcontinent. Each nation must respect the integrity of the other, and each must have the confidence that it can maintain its integrity and choose its future without fear of pressure or dominance from outside.

- The relations between the countries of South Asia and countries outside the region must be consistent with the peace and independence of the subcontinent and the peace of the world. If any outside power acquires an exclusive position in an area of this mass and potential, others will be forced to respond. The major powers all have important relationships there. No South Asian interest is served if those relationships are embroiled in local tensions.

The United States will support, as we can, South Asian efforts to address this agenda.

First, the United States will contribute, where asked and where possible, to meeting human needs and to the process of development. We do this out of the traditional humanitarian concern of the American people, and out of a common interest in supporting the effectiveness and stability of institutions. Where our economic assistance does not serve mutual interests, it should not be provided. Where it does, ways must be found to assure that the form of aid is consistent with the dignity of both the donor and the recipient. The donor must not expect special influence in return; the recipient must acknowledge a mutuality of interest, for only in a relationship of acknowledged common purpose are assistance programs sustainable.

Second, United States policies globally and regionally will support the independence of South Asian nations. Within the region, we shall encourage accommodation and help to promote conditions of security and stability. We see no reason why we cannot have bilateral ties with each country in South Asia consistent with its own aspirations and ours, and not directed against any other nation. We shall gear our relations with other major powers outside the region to encourage policies of restraint and noninterference. This is our responsibility as a great power, and should be theirs.

Third, we shall seek to assure that the concerns of all South Asians are heard in world councils on the issues of global peace and on all issues that affect them. This is not only for their benefit; it is for the general interest in building economic and political relations globally that all have a stake in preserving. As I wrote in my Foreign Policy Report in 1971: "More than ever before in the period since World War II, foreign policy must become the concern of many rather than few. There cannot be a structure of peace unless other nations help to fashion it." It is in the world interest that South Asia make a positive contribution.

I hope to see South Asia become a region of peace instead of crisis, and a force for peace in the world.

AFRICA

The birth of Africa's new nations was one of the dramatic features of the post-war period. The assertion of black nationhood in Africa coincided with a new affirmation of black dignity in America, creating a special bond of sympathy between the United States and the new

Africa. But in the conditions of the time, the United States was preoccupied with African crises. We assumed we would be drawn into assertive involvement on the continent economically and politically, both because of endemic instability and poverty and the threat of aggressive competition from Communist powers. In an exuberant phase of our own foreign policy, the United States exaggerated its ability to help solve many of Africa's problems.

Conditions had changed by the time I came into office. The United States clearly needed a more coherent philosophy for a long-term, positive role in Africa's future. There was no question about America's continuing commitment to the goals of regional peace, economic development, self-determination, and racial justice in Africa. The issue was to focus seriously on effective ways America could contribute to them in new conditions.

—The stark, long-term problems which Africa faced had not disappeared. But in many countries a new generation of leaders had come into power who knew that rhetoric was no substitute for determined effort to govern effectively and mobilize their peoples to meet the tasks ahead. Given underdevelopment, ethnic rivalries, and the arbitrary boundaries left by the colonial powers, the political cohesion and stability achieved by Africa's 41 nations was a testimony to African statesmanship. Moreover, African nations had proven to be the best guarantors of their own sovereignty. The continent was not divided into great power spheres of influence nor did it become an arena of great power confrontation.

—In the economic sphere, while the United States was able to maintain the level of its governmental assistance, the most promising sources of capital to finance African development were now trade and private investment. The means of American support for African development would thus necessarily be more diverse, and the first responsibility for mobilizing energies and resources would clearly rest on the Africans themselves.

—The yearning for racial justice in the southern half of the continent continued unfulfilled after more than a decade of violence and excessive rhetoric. The task now was to devise new and practical steps toward beneficial change.

Our policy goals in Africa are unchanged: political stability, freedom from great power intervention, and peaceful economic and social development. We seek positive bilateral relations with African nations founded on their self-reliance and independence, and on forms of support which we can sustain over the long term.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN AFRICA

The principal role America can play in the continent's future is that of support for economic development—one of the primary objectives of all African countries. This is what Africa's leaders have told me they need—and this is the field in which the United States can contribute most effectively.

Our common objective is Africa's self-reliance. African efforts, national and regional, are the key to this accomplishment.

We are encouraged by the growth and success of African institutions of regional cooperation. The recent creation of the African Development Fund is a promising example of such African initiatives.

Our interests in supporting Africa's development efforts rests on many bases. A central motive is our humanitarian concern. We also believe that as the quality of life improves on the continent, so will the prospects for regional peace. In addition a developing African economy will mean expanding potential markets for American goods. Moreover, Africa is becoming a major source of energy for the United States and Western Europe. Libya is one of the world's important producers of oil; Nigeria's oil production is increasing; Algerian natural gas is a rapidly growing source of world energy. One fourth of the world's known uranium ore reserves are in Africa. As the West seeks new and alternative sources of energy, African development becomes increasingly important.

There should be no illusions about the barriers to economic progress in Africa. The average per capita Gross National Product of most African nations ranges between \$100 and \$200 a year. Subsistence agriculture is the principal means of livelihood for much of their population. Malnutrition and disease are widespread. Africa still needs to build its social infrastructure—education and technical skills, public health, new methods of agricultural production, and improved transport links within nations and on a regional scale.

The United States can be proud of its record of direct *development assistance* to Africa. We have assisted Africa both through bilateral aid and by contributing over 30 percent of the funds provided to Africa by international agencies. In this

Administration, in spite of limited resources available for our total foreign aid program, we have increased our assistance to Africa in each of the last three years. In 1972 our bilateral and multilateral aid was \$600 million—up from \$550 million in 1971 and \$450 million in 1970. Our programs have reflected an increasing emphasis on areas of technical assistance that are relevant to broad regional needs, such as food and livestock production and regional transportation systems. Two thousand four hundred Peace Corps volunteers are currently serving in Africa, bringing needed skills and demonstrating America's commitment to helping others.

American direct *private investment* in Africa has almost doubled in the last four years, reaching a total of \$4 billion, and 75 percent of that total is in Africa's developing countries. We have promoted trade and development in Africa through our Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), which promotes the flow of American capital to the developing world, and through the guarantee and other facilities of the Export-Import Bank, whose long-term loans for African trade reached a record total of \$113 million in 1972.

American firms can be a conduit for the transfer of skills, resources, and technology. The productive impact of these enterprises may be the most direct as well as the most reliable outside stimulus to the raising of living standards in developing Africa.

Obviously such private activity must be undertaken in ways consistent with the sovereignty and policies of African governments. We accept the basic principle of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity that the natural and human resources of Africa must be harnessed

for the total advancement of African peoples. The specific conditions for private outside investment, and the degree of local participation in control and in profits, should be determined on a fair basis reflecting the interdependence of the relationship. American companies seek no special privileges, and the United States seeks no special advantage. Where investment has been allowed to take root and flourish, economic performance has been impressive. This is the clearest demonstration of a shared interest.

Trade expansion is important to both Africa and the United States. Our two-way trade has grown 30 percent in the last three years, but it is still modest in scale—only about \$3.1 billion in 1972. The U.S.-sponsored African Trade and Development Conference in Washington last October brought together representatives of African Governments, our Government, and the American business community to promote trade with developing Africa. We have an interest in seeing U.S.-African trade expand in a balanced way. Such trade reflects a healthy interdependence which serves the needs both of African progress and of the American economy. Our imports from Africa in 1972 rose to \$1.6 billion, a 33 percent increase over the previous year. U.S. exports to Africa, however, declined slightly in 1972.

The future of our trade with Africa and our hopes for its expansion will be affected by still-unresolved problems concerning the international terms of trade. One issue is that of commodity agreements. Understandably, African nations heavily dependent on a single crop like cocoa or coffee are interested in agreements stabilizing the prices of these commodities. The United States as a consum-

ing nation, on the other hand, seeking to control inflation at home, tends to favor free-market determination of price. This is a difficult problem involving divergent interests, and we recognize its vital importance to many African countries. We are committed to addressing the problem cooperatively and are prepared for regular consultation and exchanges of information on market conditions.

Another important issue for the United States is the evolving economic relationship between African nations and the European Community. The growth of preferential arrangements discriminating against competing American products in both European and African markets is naturally of concern to the United States. In this year of important multilateral trade negotiations, the United States will work for solutions that serve the long-term general interest in an open global system of expanding trade.

The United States has continued to respond to many of Africa's needs with *humanitarian assistance*. This is a reflection of the traditional concern of the American people. For decades, dedicated Americans have worked—through private and voluntary agencies and public programs—to help Africans combat illiteracy, starvation, disease, and the effects of natural disasters. We can take particular pride in our contribution to a major seven-year campaign to control smallpox throughout Central and West Africa. Working with the World Health Organization and twenty African Governments, we helped virtually to eliminate the disease from the area. We are continuing efforts to reduce the prevalence of measles in the area. In the semi-arid states south of the Sahara, where another year of inadequate rainfall threatened large-scale

starvation, the United States provided emergency grain above and beyond the quantities already being provided.

Where civil strife has occurred, the United States has responded with generosity and impartiality to the basic human needs of the victims of conflict. In the last year, even before the resumption of diplomatic ties with Sudan, we provided humanitarian aid to the Sudanese Government for the resettlement of refugees in the southern part of that country. The United States contributed to international programs to relieve the suffering of refugees who had fled from Burundi to neighboring countries. When Asians were expelled from Uganda, this country opened its doors to 1,500 of their number.

STABILITY IN AFRICA

There is no area of the world where states are more assertive of their national independence and sovereignty than in Africa. This is understandable because of still fresh memories of colonial experiences and because so many of these states continue to feel vulnerable to outside intervention and internal subversion. In each of my Foreign Policy Reports to Congress I have affirmed that non-interference in African internal affairs is a cardinal principle of United States policy. I reaffirm that principle, and pledge that we shall respect it. The same obligation rests on other outside powers. We believe that restraint should characterize great power conduct. This is in the interest of Africa's secure place in the international system, and in the interest of Africa's stability.

Africa's nations themselves have proven to be the best champions of their

right to determine their own future. African leadership has accomplished impressive examples of nation-building.

—Ethiopia, under the Emperor's leadership, has for decades been a symbol of African independence and a leader of institutions of African unity.

—Nigeria has not only survived a bitter civil war; it has gone far toward national reconciliation. Today it is a united, confident nation.

—Strife-torn Congo (Kinshasa) has transformed itself into the new and stable Zaire, with promising prospects for development.

—In Sudan, years of warfare between north and south were ended in 1972 and the nation embarked on a new era of unity and reconstruction.

These achievements by four of Africa's largest and most important states are grounds for confidence in Africa's future.

African nations have also shown their determination to safeguard the peace of their own continent. Out of their great diversity, they have fashioned institutions which have dampened political conflicts and provided mutual support for common purposes. The Organization of African Unity, celebrating its tenth anniversary this year, deserves special note. African states also have worked out bilateral solutions to serious problems. The accord reached in 1972 between Sudan and Ethiopia, which helped settle Sudan's internal conflict, and the understanding reached last year between Morocco and Algeria over their border dispute were two noteworthy achievements.

There also were serious disappointments in 1972. It would be less than candid not to mention them, for I am sure

they were disappointments, too, to Africans who are working for peace and justice on the continent.

The situation in Burundi posed a genuine dilemma for us and for African countries. Non-interference in the internal political affairs of other countries is a paramount and indispensable principle of international relations. But countries have a right to take positions of conscience. We would have expected that the first responsibility for taking such positions rested upon the African nations, either individually or collectively. The United States urged African leaders to address the problem of the killings in Burundi. We provided humanitarian assistance, impartially, to those who needed it in Burundi or who fled. All of the African leaders we spoke to voiced their concern to us; some raised it with Burundi's leaders. But ultimately none spoke out when these diplomatic efforts failed.

In Uganda, the attacks on that country's intellectual class, as well as the expulsion of Asians, were deplorable tragedies. The United States has provided refuge for some of the Asians, whose expulsion, whatever the rationale, had racial implications which do no credit or service to Africa.

While events in these two countries were tragic in comparison with the continent's other achievements, the ability of African leaders to maintain independence and territorial integrity while welding ethnic diversity into nationhood remains an undeniable source of real hope for the future.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

The denial of basic rights to southern Africa's black majorities continues to be a

concern for the American people because of our belief in self-determination and racial equality.

Our views about South Africa's dehumanizing system of apartheid have been expressed repeatedly by this Administration in the United Nations, in other international forums, and in public statements. As I said in my Foreign Policy Report two years ago, however, "just as we will not condone the violence to human dignity implicit in apartheid, we cannot associate ourselves with those who call for a violent solution to these problems."

We should also recognize that South Africa is a dynamic society with an advanced economy, whose continued growth requires raising the skills and participation of its non-white majority. It is particularly gratifying that some American companies have taken the lead in encouraging this. They recognized that they were in a unique position to upgrade conditions and opportunities for all their employees regardless of race, to the fullest extent possible under South African laws.

In addition, we have sought to maintain contact with all segments of South African society. We do not endorse the racial policies of South Africa's leaders. But we do not believe that isolating them from the influence of the rest of the world is an effective way of encouraging them to follow a course of moderation and to accommodate change.

In the Portuguese territories, we favor self-determination. We have clearly expressed this position in the United Nations, and we shall continue to do so.

The United States continues to enforce—more strictly than many other countries—an embargo on sales of arms

to all sides in South Africa and in the Portuguese territories. While we favor change, we do not regard violence as an acceptable formula for human progress.

We do not recognize the regime in power in Rhodesia; as far as permitted by domestic legislation exempting strategic materials, the United States adheres strictly to the United Nations program of economic sanctions. In Namibia, we recognize United Nations jurisdiction and discourage United States private investment.

No one who understands the complex human problems of Southern Africa believes that solutions will come soon or easily. Nor should there be any illusion that the United States can transform the situation, or indeed, that the United States should take upon itself that responsibility. This is the responsibility of the people who live there, not of any outside power.

It is important that all who seek a resolution of these problems address them with seriousness, honesty, and compassion.

THE FUTURE OF U.S.-AFRICAN RELATIONS

It is important to us that we have been able to preserve our political ties with this important sector of the Third World in this new period. My fourteen personal meetings with African leaders during my first term in office were an opportunity to further this process, as were the extensive visits to Africa by the Vice President and the Secretary of State—the first visit by an American Secretary of State to black Africa. A very special event occurred in January 1972—an official trip to Africa by Mrs. Nixon. Her warm reception in Ghana, the Ivory Coast, and Liberia was a symbol of the friendship of

Africans toward Americans and was particularly gratifying for that reason. I will have further meetings with African leaders this year. I traveled to Africa four times before becoming President, and I hope to become the first American President to visit black Africa while in office. I intend as President to demonstrate my concern for Africa—as a matter both of personal conviction and of national policy.

American policy toward Africa in the 1970's will reflect not only our friendship but a mature political relationship. The United States and African nations can deal with each other with frankness and mutual understanding. There will be differences of view, and there should be no illusions about this on either side. But the United States will seek bilateral relations with African countries on the basis of sovereign equality and mutual respect.

We have an interest in the independence and nonalignment of African countries. We ask only that they take truly nonaligned positions on world issues and on the roles of the major powers.

Our most tangible contribution to Africa's future is our support for its economic progress. We will continue to emphasize our aid, trade, and investment efforts.

We will continue to encourage evolutionary change in Southern Africa through communication with the peoples of the area and through encouragement of economic progress.

These are practical measures of support. They reflect our conviction that Africa needs concrete measures that have a real impact on its problems. Our approach represents a positive and constructive role for America to play over the long term. It sets goals we can meet. In a new period, this philosophy suits the

new maturity of American policy, of African policy, and of our relationship.

PART V: DESIGNING A NEW ECONOMIC SYSTEM

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY

International economic forces have a direct bearing on the lives of people in all countries. The monetary, trade, and investment policies of any government strongly affect the jobs, prices, and incomes of its people. They influence conditions in many other countries as well. Inevitably, they have a major impact on international relations.

We have moved far toward resolving political differences through negotiation in recent years. But the peace and stability we seek could be jeopardized by economic conflicts. Such conflicts breed political tensions, weaken security ties, undermine confidence in currencies, disrupt trade, and otherwise rend the fabric of cooperation on which world order depends.

It is imperative therefore that our efforts in the international economic arena be no less energetic, no less imaginative, and no less determined than our efforts to settle other complicated and vitally important problems.

In the past two years we have begun a major effort to reform the international monetary system, improve the mechanisms of world trade, and normalize our commercial relations with the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union, and the nations of Eastern Europe. We have moved closer to new agreements that will provide greater prosperity for us and for other nations while ensuring that economic relations reinforce traditional ties and contribute to the development of new

ones. We have the chance to make economic relations a strong force for strengthening the structure of peace.

THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM

The economic arrangements and institutions created following World War II served well until recent years. But as nations gained strength, points of economic contact between them multiplied and relative positions shifted, their policies had a deeper and broader effect on one another. International institutions and arrangements proved incapable of coping with the major problems that arose. Conflicts, imbalances, divisions, and protectionist tendencies threatened political, security, and economic cooperation. Nations were forced to meet repeated crises but did not get at their causes. In August 1971 we decided to take strong action toward fundamental reform of the world economic system. Our initiatives and proposals in 1972 moved the international community further towards that needed reform.

Our goal is to work with other nations to build a new economic order to meet the world's needs in the last quarter of this century. We believe these new arrangements should achieve six major objectives:

- continued economic progress from which all nations benefit;
- a broader sharing of responsibility commensurate with new economic power relationships and the potential benefits to be gained;
- rules that reflect an equitable balance among the interests of all nations;
- the widest possible consensus for principles of open economic inter-

course, orderly economic behavior, and effective economic adjustment; —improved methods for assuring that those principles are adhered to; and —sufficient flexibility to allow each nation to operate within agreed standards in ways best suited to its political character, its stage of development, and its economic structure.

The achievement of these objectives can create a new balance between diverse national economic needs and a greater international unity of purpose. Economic relations can become a source of strength and harmony among countries rather than a source of friction.

But these objectives can be achieved only if nations make a strong commitment to them. Close and constructive cooperation among the European Community, Japan, and the United States—the three pillars of the Free World economy—will be essential. Other nations, including the developing countries, Canada, and Australia must play a major role. All have an important stake in an improved economic system. Our country, for example, will import increasing amounts of energy fuels and raw materials and therefore will have to sell more abroad to pay for them. But the stakes go beyond the problems of individual nations. Nations must be determined to channel potential conflict into constructive competition to strengthen their mutual prosperity and the prospects for a more peaceful world order.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY POLICY

In the late 1960's, the monetary system created at Bretton Woods a quarter of a century before was beset by crisis. By mid-1971 it had given rise to serious imbalance

and instability which placed intolerable pressures on the United States. My decision of August 15—to suspend dollar convertibility and to impose a ten percent surcharge on imports—set the stage for thoroughgoing reform.

The Smithsonian Agreement of December 1971 moved toward more realistic exchange rates. By making both surplus and deficit nations responsible for balance of payments adjustment, it had important implications for the future. But its greatest significance was as the essential prologue to full reappraisal and reform of the system.

The Agreement was not designed to resolve all the problems. Heavy speculative pressures developed periodically; the substantial deficit continued in America's balance of payments, and many countries reinforced exchange controls.

Proposals for Reform. Early in 1972 we sought to establish a new forum to examine the problem. The members of the International Monetary Fund established the Committee of Twenty with representatives of both developed and developing nations for this purpose.

After consultations with other governments we took advantage of the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund/World Bank in September 1972 to put forward our views on needed reform in specific and comprehensive terms.

Of the proposals we put forward at the September meeting, one in particular—improvement of the balance of payments adjustment process—has important foreign policy implications. Because it deals with trade, investment, and monetary flows affecting the lives of people in all nations, balance of payments adjustment is an extremely sensitive issue. Relative competitive positions are par-

ticularly vital to the economic well-being of those living in nations that depend substantially on foreign trade. Exchange rates have a major impact on the international competitiveness of nations and thus affect the jobs and incomes of their people. When exchange rates are seriously out of line, the prospect of abrupt change in currency markets creates uncertainty, disrupts trade, and adversely affects the domestic economies of all nations. When one nation believes that another's adjustment or failure to adjust damages its interests, serious international friction can result.

Too little attention was paid to adjustment under the Bretton Woods System. Nations put a high premium on holding their exchange rates fixed. Remembering the dollar shortage of the early postwar period, many countries came to feel more secure with substantial surpluses and were reluctant to undertake adjustments to reduce them. Even after they had achieved large payments surpluses and growing reserves, some governments continued to help certain export industries and inefficient domestic industries. Yet precisely because of their large surpluses and reserves, balance of payments adjustments should have been made. Once the psychology of building surpluses and emphasizing exports had taken firm root, countries were concerned with the domestic repercussions of changing course.

There were other deficiencies in the system:

- there was no agreed way to determine when an imbalance should be corrected;
- there were too few means to induce surplus nations to reduce imbalances;
- there were too few methods used to adjust imbalances. In the indus-

trialized countries, domestic fiscal and monetary policies were considered the most appropriate methods, but we and others have learned that such measures are not always adequate or feasible.

Eventually these deficiencies produced intolerable pressures. For a time after World War II the world benefited from American deficits. Others needed our dollars to restore their liquidity, to buy our goods, and to finance expanding trade. When our deficits grew large, other countries urged us to bring our balance of payments into equilibrium and to stop using what they saw as the "special privilege" of having our trading partners hold dollars indefinitely. But our ability to adjust unilaterally was severely limited. Moreover, the effects of doing so by a change in exchange rates, when most transactions were valued in dollars and most reserves were held in dollars, were almost certain to be disruptive. Ironically, countries accumulating dollars they did not want were reluctant to revalue their own currencies for fear of losing their competitive advantage.

By August 1971 dollars held abroad far exceeded U.S. reserve assets. Some countries with large dollar reserves continued to maintain substantial balance of payments surpluses. The world became increasingly skeptical of the ability of the United States to convert outstanding dollars into other reserve assets and doubted the ability of other countries to maintain the exchange value of the dollar at its then current rate. As confidence waned, the rush to sell dollars and buy other currencies accelerated. The stability of the world's economic system was at stake and the need for reform was clear.

The history of the adjustment problem

demonstrates the need for more effective and balanced adjustment machinery. Obviously no nation can fully control its balance of payments. The action or inaction of one country affects the domestic and international economic situations of others. Nations naturally want as much control as possible over their economic policy to meet the social and economic needs of their citizens. But failure to accommodate the interests of others weakens the world economy, to the disadvantage of all. Our proposals would give each nation maximum discretion in choosing ways to adjust its payments imbalance, but would give the international community the means to ensure effective adjustment.

We believe governments should employ a variety of methods to achieve balance of payments adjustment. They should continue to use fiscal and monetary policy that fits their circumstances. Beyond this, they should have more latitude to adjust the international price of their currency when they face a payments imbalance. For countries choosing to maintain set par values for their currencies, greater flexibility could be achieved by allowing a "band" of permissible exchange rate fluctuation around parity wider than that under Bretton Woods. Under agreed conditions, countries might sometimes seek adjustment by a transitional float to a new par value, by a float on an indefinite basis, or by a move directly to a new set rate. All three techniques have been used in recent realignments.

Countries in surplus should also use trade and investment liberalization to contribute to adjustment. In exceptional circumstances, temporary trade restrictions may be an appropriate supplementary adjustment action for deficit countries. If

imports are to be restrained for this purpose, it should be by barriers such as a surcharge rather than by quotas. Surplus countries also can contribute importantly to adjustment by increasing the amount of foreign aid which they give without requiring purchases from them.

We believe that criteria should be established which will identify when an adjustment is needed. The need should be demonstrated before an imbalance becomes so great that the adjustment to correct it would pose serious difficulties either domestically or internationally for the nation involved. These criteria should apply even-handedly to surplus and deficit nations alike. In our view the disproportionate gain or loss in a country's reserves should be the primary indicator that balance of payments adjustment is needed. If in a particular case a country believed the reserve indicator to be misleading and the adjustment inappropriate, a multilateral review could help determine the proper action. But if that review did not override the indicator and if the country did not take action, the international community should apply pressures and inducements to bring it about.

Recent Events. Repeated crises over recent years have clearly demonstrated the need for closer international cooperation to speed progress toward monetary reform and improved payments equilibrium. In February and March of 1973, the United States and several other countries jointly acted to deal with the latest in a series of major crises. The high degree of international cooperation that marked the handling of these critical monetary issues can produce the fundamental reforms the system requires. We hope the outlines of a new approach can be agreed upon at the International Monetary Fund meeting in

Nairobi this September, and we will work closely with others to attain that objective.

FOREIGN TRADE

In determining their trade policies, governments must balance the desires of all their people. Some workers, farmers, and businessmen want greater access to foreign markets; others want to limit imports; and consumers want the widest variety of goods at the lowest possible prices.

Recent problems in the international trading system reflect in part the high priority some countries place on promoting certain exports and protecting favored producers. Over-emphasis by some countries on promoting certain exports has forced their own consumers to pay more for these products by reducing their availability at home and has sometimes led to disruptive increases in imports in the markets of other nations. Over-emphasis by countries on protection has penalized their domestic consumers and limited exports of other nations.

When such excesses by one nation occur, adversely affected groups in other countries demand retaliation or protection. These demands are particularly hard for governments to deal with in the present climate. International rules adopted in the 1940's to prevent or solve these and other problems have often been ignored. In some cases they do not meet contemporary needs. Nations on occasion have felt they had no choice but to accommodate particular domestic interests in ways that not only further complicate the international problem but also damage other domestic interests. The result has been an erosion of confidence in the trading system, and economic and political friction.

The U.S. Response. Balancing do-

mestic and foreign interests in this environment has been one of the most difficult problems faced by the United States. Early in 1972 the United States secured agreement from Japan to reduce trade barriers on a variety of industrial and farm products. At our meeting in Honolulu later that year and in subsequent talks as well, Japan agreed to take additional steps to boost imports of American products and to liberalize its internal distribution system. Although these actions have benefited American exporters, they have not been adequate and we are seeking further progress in these areas. In talks with our trading partners and in the forum provided under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade we are pressing for solutions to other problems including compensation for the impairment of our trade interests as a result of enlargement of the European Community and its new arrangements with other European countries.

Special problems caused by rapidly rising steel and textile imports into the United States have been eased by export restraint agreements reached with major foreign producers. Enforcement of anti-dumping and countervailing duty laws, which protect American workers and industry from injury due to unfair import competition, has improved markedly.

We have also taken steps to cut inflation and to benefit American consumers. We suspended import quotas on meats and relaxed them on certain dairy products. The entire oil import program was recently restructured to help ensure adequate supplies for the domestic market. These measures also have helped foreign exporters. Moreover, we have eliminated export subsidies on farm products, contributing to a sounder balance between

exports and home supplies and to a better world agricultural trading order.

But despite the actions we and other nations have taken to meet domestic needs and to help establish more sustainable trade arrangements, problems and grievances remain. Although farmers, workers, businessmen, and consumers together benefit overwhelmingly from foreign trade, trade issues continue to be the subject of intense debate. In some cases, pressures such issues generate prevent nations from reducing trade barriers even though to do so would be in their overall interest. In other cases, they produce pressures for new barriers that adversely affect both their own domestic consumers and other nations.

In the United States, these pressures—magnified by a period of high unemployment and a large payments deficit—have created demands for erecting high barriers against foreign competition. For both domestic and international reasons I do not favor this course. This approach might ease a few problems, but it would cause many more of a serious and permanent nature. Our consumers would have to pay higher prices. The many American industries that depend on imported materials and components would be seriously hurt and their products would become less competitive. This course could also trigger an escalation of international trade barriers which would cut American industrial and agricultural exports and strike at the roots of international cooperation and prosperity. The collective result would be highly damaging to our domestic well-being and to our foreign policy interests. We have agreed with our trading partners to pursue a wiser and better alternative.

The Need for a Multilateral Response.

The solution to the problems we face lies in a major international effort to develop an improved world trading system. We must build a system which allows nations to satisfy their domestic needs while participating fully in mutual gains from trade. Such a system should expand export opportunities and give consumers the benefit of less expensive and more varied goods. It should establish a set of rules under which a country could limit imports temporarily where necessary to give workers and industries time to adjust smoothly to sudden disruptive increases in foreign competition. And it should bring about an improvement in international trading rules and arrangements. Together these will enable us to better meet the needs of American agriculture, labor, business, and consumers.

The international commitment to multilateral trade negotiations provides the opportunity to achieve these goals. In February 1972, the United States, the European Community, and Japan agreed to "initiate and actively support multilateral and comprehensive negotiations in the framework of GATT beginning in 1973 . . . with a view to the expansion and greater liberalization of world trade . . . on the basis of mutual advantage and mutual commitment with overall reciprocity." At Honolulu, Prime Minister Tanaka and I reaffirmed that commitment. In October leaders of the enlarged European Community reemphasized their pledge to work toward a reduction of tariff and non-tariff barriers, expressing the hope that the negotiations could be concluded in 1975. Responding to these expressions, I sent new trade legislation to the Congress and announced my intention to work toward the timetable suggested by the European leaders.

The Task of Negotiations. We now have the chance to move from confrontation to negotiation in the field of trade. The negotiating process holds the greatest hope for reducing barriers to our exports, for resolving trade differences with friends, and for developing the improved trading system the world needs.

The impending negotiations can substantially lower world tariff barriers. But we do not look upon this effort merely as another round of tariff reductions—an area in which much progress has already been made. They also provide a major opportunity to settle a variety of other trade issues. Most nations employ a variety of non-tariff trade barriers. A number of these are erected for social, political, and security reasons. Others exist because of government procurement, health, and safety standards. It will be hard to eliminate these barriers or reduce their trade distorting effects without affecting the domestic interests that fostered them. But minimizing their adverse trade effects will open broad new areas for international commerce.

The majority of the world's people, in all nations, will benefit from more open agricultural trade and the resulting lower cost and increased availability of farm products. It is particularly important to the United States to remove the barriers which stand in the way of expanded agricultural trade. We are efficient producers of many farm commodities, and our farm policies are predicated on a more open, more market-oriented agricultural trading system.

Preferential trading arrangements, which discriminate against the trade of those who do not participate in them, cannot be reconciled with the Most Favored Nation principle, the basic tenet

of world trade. In certain cases we have actively encouraged closer regional political and economic relations. But close relations, where the objective is not a fuller economic and political union, need not include discriminatory trade arrangements. Where they do, we believe steps should be taken to reduce or eliminate their adverse trade effects. Regional arrangements that are part of a broader economic or political unity must be distinguished from preferential arrangements that primarily divert trade from other countries.

We also need a multilateral agreement on safeguards that nations can apply for a limited time to permit smooth adjustment to rapid increases in imports. As we pursue a more open trading world for the benefit of all, it is self-defeating to ignore the fact that adjustment to more open competition may be difficult for some. Effective procedures to ease this process are the most realistic way to ensure that open trade will bring the benefits we expect.

We also need better means to avoid trade conflicts and to settle them in an orderly way when they develop. One nation's efforts to promote some segment of its economy or to protect it against external competition can significantly damage other countries. One way to avoid the resulting frictions is to agree on more effective rules for trade. Another is frequent consultations so that nations consider the views of their trading partners before making decisions and assure that problems are faced promptly and candidly. At a time when we are moving from confrontation to negotiation in other areas, we need new trading arrangements and rules to solve trade problems in the same spirit.

Principles for Success. The coming trade negotiations will have the best chance of achieving their major objectives if they are based on sound political and economic principles:

- Negotiations should seek maximum feasible reliance on market forces as a means of guiding trade. Such arrangements will allow us to sell the goods we produce most competitively and to buy goods others produce most competitively, increasing the earnings of workers and farmers and giving the consumer more for his money. This is the most efficient way of using each nation's resources; it avoids the vicious circle of protection and counterprotection. The temptation to dwell on the "cost" of particular concessions must be avoided in favor of the overall objective of lessening trade barriers and improving the world trading system. The benefits that will accrue to all nations—not only economically but also in their broader relationships—should be the guiding objective.
- Negotiations should significantly reduce barriers in all trade sectors. Only all-inclusive negotiations permit a full weighing of broader national interests of participating countries. From our point of view, it is especially important that the negotiations reduce barriers in certain areas of agricultural trade. Other nations have areas in which they want similar results. To pay less attention to one nation's priorities will make that nation less inclined to meet the priority needs of others.

Prospects for the Future. Over the past

year this Administration has stressed the importance of creating a more open and equitable trading order. We have worked to get other nations to pledge full cooperation in this effort. We do not expect the coming negotiations to solve all trade problems, but they can successfully launch us toward that goal. Last October's declaration by leaders of the European Community and similar statements by Japanese leaders demonstrated their dedication to this effort. Other nations are similarly committed. But we must seize the moment, or the momentum that has developed could be lost.

I recently sent the Congress my proposed Trade Reform Act of 1973. This legislation would give the President authority to negotiate a system that will increase world trade, give the United States an opportunity to share fairly in that increase, and insure that trade becomes a source of stability and cooperation among nations. Meanwhile we are dealing with individual trade problems using, where available, the procedures of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Effective action on such matters could clear up some existing differences and improve the climate for broader negotiations. We look to other nations to work with us in forthcoming negotiations in a test of joint statesmanship to bring about a world trading order which serves the needs of all.

THE DEVELOPING NATIONS

Despite a record of significant accomplishment—including an average annual increase in economic growth of more than 5.5 percent in the last decade, the success of the Green Revolution, and rapid ad-

vances in health and education—hundreds of millions of people in the developing countries still exist in conditions of extreme hunger, poverty, and disease. Basic humanitarian considerations call on us to assist these countries in improving the lives of their people. But we also have a major economic and political interest in the growth and stability of these countries and in their active cooperation.

Many of these countries have energy resources and raw materials that we will need in significantly increasing amounts. Some of them have become fast-growing markets for our exports. Almost one-third of U.S. exports went to developing countries in 1972 and the future growth of these countries will expand our markets.

But an increased pace of development is essential. Unless substantial progress occurs—through efforts by developed and developing nations alike—the stability of many countries and regions can be jeopardized as essential needs of people go unsatisfied.

There has been a growing tendency to question our commitment to help developing nations. Attracted to rapid solutions and under-estimating the time and effort needed to stimulate development, Americans are frustrated by the slow pace of visible progress. But, our future economic and political needs will be far better served by actively cooperating with the developing countries for our mutual benefit than by neglecting their needs. We must pursue a realistic policy of development assistance and find better ways of dealing with the trade and monetary interests of developing nations.

Foreign Assistance. I have long been convinced that we needed major improvements in our foreign assistance program.

Numerous statements in committees responsible for aid legislation and by individual Congressmen suggest that broad support exists for a modified approach to aid.

We have already improved our aid system in several ways. Bilateral aid is now focused on a few key areas—such as population planning, agriculture, health, and education—in which the Agency for International Development (AID) has a high degree of experience and expertise. Development assistance has been separated organizationally from assistance given for security reasons. A new International Narcotics Control Assistance Program is helping developing countries improve their ability to control the production and flow of illicit narcotics. And we have strengthened our capacity to provide urgently needed emergency assistance to countries that have suffered disasters.

Effective coordination of aid has increased its efficiency and benefits for recipients. AID is increasingly coordinating its programs with those of other nations and international bodies. In cooperation with other nations, we have provided short-term relief to countries whose debt burden was so overwhelming that it threatened their growth and stability.

We deal with recipient countries as partners recognizing their growing expertise and their ability to determine their own development needs. While we help in the planning, funding, and monitoring of development programs, we no longer take the lead in setting priorities or in detailed execution.

We have made substantial contributions to development assistance through international institutions such as the World

Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and the United Nations Development Program. Because of their multilateral and non-political character, these institutions frequently can be more rigorous and frank on issues of development policy with recipient states. They have done an outstanding job in providing the framework for coordinating donor contributions and in assuming their appropriate role of leadership in the development assistance effort. The funds I have requested for these institutions and for our bilateral programs are essential to the peoples of the developing countries and to the structure of our relationship with the developing world.

Development Through Trade. While foreign assistance is important, developing nations have to earn by far the largest part of their foreign exchange through trade. Traditionally, they have exported mainly raw materials, though manufactured goods have increasing potential for expansion. They must export these goods in increasing amounts in order to buy the machinery and other products necessary for their future development. Recognizing this fact, we have included in our proposed trade legislation a provision for generalized tariff preferences which would allow many products of the developing countries to enter the U.S., as they already enter Europe and Japan, without duty.

In the 19th and early 20th Centuries there was considerable friction among developed nations as a result of their discriminatory commercial arrangements with the poorer areas of the world. Today's special preferential arrangements are also a source of such friction. And they run counter to the interests of many

developing countries. We seek a system that improves developing country access to the markets of the developed countries without discrimination and without restricted preferential arrangements. Our legislation reflects this approach.

In the forthcoming trade negotiations, developing countries have an opportunity to help create a general improvement of trade conditions. Most of them want greater freedom in agricultural trade and increased exports to developed countries of their manufactured and semi-manufactured goods. We and the developing countries which share these objectives have an interest in working together to achieve them. And, reductions in the import barriers of developing countries could benefit their economies and help make the system work more effectively.

Monetary Policy and the Developing Nations. The developing countries have a major interest in the reform of the world's monetary system. Their trade, exchange reserves, and debt positions are directly affected by monetary events. Yet in the past they have had little voice in monetary negotiations. The inclusion of nine representatives of the developing nations on the Committee of Twenty on international monetary reform is a significant and positive step. We are working closely with these nations to achieve reforms that serve our mutual interests.

FUTURE ISSUES

1972 began an era of negotiation and reform in international economic policy. We laid the groundwork for a thorough restructuring of the international economy and opened doors to new commercial relations with the Communist world. The

critical task facing us now is to carry forward the work of reordering the world economy to make it more responsive to the needs and realities of our time. We must develop new rules for international economic activity that reflect changing circumstances. Nations must share the responsibility for making the system work so that all can benefit from a more open and equitable world economy. All nations must work together cooperatively so that we can move into a new era of broadly shared prosperity.

Our goals will be to:

- carry forward negotiations in the Committee of Twenty to devise a monetary system that meets the needs of all nations;
- begin multilateral negotiations aimed at substantial reduction of barriers to open trade and improvement of the trading system;
- widen public understanding of our international economic goals and obtain necessary legislative authority for our active participation in building a stronger world economy;
- expand cooperation with the lower income countries to help their development efforts through improved aid policies and by opening the international system to their more effective participation;
- continue to broaden economic exchanges with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and the nations of Eastern Europe.

We must take advantage of the foundation laid in 1972 to build an international economic structure that will promote healthy competition, enhance prosperity for us and other countries, and contribute to a peaceful world order in the decades to come.

PART VI: MAINTAINING SECURITY

- Defense Policy
- Arms Control

DEFENSE POLICY

Of all the changes in the international situation over the postwar period discussed in this Report, one of the most fundamental has been the shift in our strategic position.

THE CHALLENGE WE FACED

When I entered office we faced a situation unique in American postwar experience. An era was behind us. In the immediate aftermath of World War II challenges to our security could be met with the assurance that our strategic nuclear position was overwhelmingly superior. By January 1969, the United States no longer enjoyed this strategic preponderance.

The Soviet Union had embarked on a formidable expansion of its nuclear arsenal. We could chart with some certainty when the Soviet Union would surpass us in numbers of intercontinental and submarine launched ballistic missiles; we could also project when they could close the technological gap in strategic weapons. Our own offensive building program had virtually ceased, as we had shifted our effort to qualitative improvements. We had developed a concept for ballistic missile defense of our territory, but had no active deployment. We faced a negotiation on strategic arms controls, but had only begun to analyze the relationship to strategic weapons decisions.

At the same time, our spending for

defense had grown substantially. Almost all the increases, however, had been absorbed by the war in Vietnam. The costs of new weapons were escalating, as were the expenses of maintaining the men of our armed forces. In addition, we were bearing burdens abroad for the common defense that seemed out of proportion to those borne by our allies. More than a million Americans were stationed overseas, and our reserves at home were minimal.

Yet, I found that our strategic doctrine called for an American capability to fight in two major theaters simultaneously. The confrontation atmosphere of the Cold War persisted in both Europe and Asia. But the international environment after 25 years suggested new opportunities for diplomacy and, accordingly, for adjustments in military planning. The rigidity of the confrontation between East and West was easing, and the conduct of nations could no longer be viewed in the simple bipolar context of military blocs.

The need for an urgent reexamination of our national security policy and programs was obvious. There were four overriding questions:

- What doctrine was appropriate for our strategic forces in an era when the threat of massive retaliation alone was no longer credible in all circumstances and decisive nuclear superiority was probably unattainable?
- What should the interrelationship be between the programs required for maintaining our strength and our proposals for limiting strategic arms through negotiations?
- How could we simultaneously satisfy pressing domestic needs, meet our re-

sponsibilities in Vietnam, and maintain the capabilities of our other forces in a period when non-nuclear challenges were an important dimension of the security problem?

- How could we, in coordination with our allies, strengthen our mutual defense in a manner that retained their confidence in our reliability but permitted them to play a more prominent role?

Early in my first term, I made a series of decisions that resulted in a new concept of national security, reflected in the Nixon Doctrine.

In strategic nuclear policy, we adopted the doctrine of sufficiency. We could no longer be complacent about the strategic status quo merely because we could cause a certain level of destruction in response to an attack. We therefore began to develop a sounder and more flexible doctrine for our forces that would provide other retaliatory options besides a direct attack on millions of people.

Concurrently, in order to reduce our vulnerability and to compensate for the Soviet buildup, we launched a program to modernize our strategic forces. We continued to convert our land and sea-based missiles to multiple independently targetable warheads (MIRVs). Thus, our missiles which would survive an attack would be able in retaliation to strike their targets with greater assurance of eluding defenses. We laid plans for a new long-range missile and submarine that would reduce vulnerability by allowing operation in a larger ocean area while still in range of targets. In addition, to increase the survivability of our retaliatory forces, we began planning a new strategic bomber to replace the aging B-52 force.

We also initiated the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile (ABM) program to protect our land-based retaliatory forces.

Each of these decisions was taken, however, with the full understanding that, as an integral part of our national security policy, we also would seriously pursue negotiations for arms limitations. We would offer the Soviet Union the opportunity to reach agreement on measures that would enhance the security of both sides.

Finally, we began to assess our security obligations to determine how our alliance defense posture might be strengthened through mutual effort. We examined whether U.S. forces in some forward areas might be reduced; in those regions where security required a strong and continuing American presence, as in Europe, we and our allies initiated new programs for sharing the defense burden.

In the past four years we have laid a solid foundation for safeguarding American security for the remainder of this decade. We are now entering a period of promising prospects for increasing international stability. But the outcome is by no means guaranteed. We are still in a challenging period of transition. We still face difficult decisions.

There have been a number of positive developments since 1969. Unprecedented progress has been made in strategic arms controls. For the first time in two decades there is a genuine possibility of mutual and balanced force reductions in Europe. Our allies in Western Europe and Asia have become stronger, both economically and militarily, and are contributing more to mutual defense. Tensions in these two regions have been easing. A Vietnam Peace Agreement has been signed and

our force of a half million men has returned home.

On the other hand, we cannot ignore the negative trends that persist. Even though Vietnam is entering a new phase, conflict remains in Indochina and ferment persists in other key areas of the world such as the Middle East where the interests of major powers are involved. Modern weapons are still being delivered to areas of great instability. The Soviet Union is strengthening its armed forces in every major category, including those in which the United States traditionally has had a substantial margin of superiority. A Soviet military presence now has been established in many strategic areas of the world.

As we determine the requirements for our defense in these circumstances and approach ongoing arms control negotiations, five factors of the current situation are of particular importance:

- There is approximate parity between the strategic forces of the United States and the Soviet Union. Soviet numerical advantages are offset by superior American technology.
- In such an era greater reliance must be placed on non-nuclear forces.
- Technological change while creating new opportunities also poses a potential threat to existing strategic stability.
- Manpower costs have increased substantially. They now absorb more than 56 percent of our entire defense budget, compared with 42 percent a decade ago. Now that we have chosen to rely on all-volunteer forces, the proportion devoted to manpower is not likely to decrease.
- The costs of increasingly complex

modern weapons are also spiraling, further constraining our ability to maintain conventional force levels.

At the same time, the political climate at home has changed. In spite of the adjustments we have already made to new conditions, we face intensified pressures for further withdrawals of our deployed forces and for greater reductions. In the post-Vietnam environment, some Americans seem eager to return to the prevalent philosophy of the 1930's, and resist U.S. involvement in world affairs. The consensus which sustained our national commitment to a strong American military posture over the postwar period is no longer unchallenged.

The emerging global order, however, has neither exact historical parallels nor a predestined outcome. American actions will be a decisive determinant of its shape. In a period of developing détente, it is easy to be lulled into a false sense of security. Threats are less blatant; the temptation is greater to make unilateral reductions and neglect the realities of existing forces of potential adversaries.

In such a fluid period we have no responsible choice but to remain alert to the possibility that the current trend toward détente with the Soviet Union and China may not prove durable. We have only begun an area of negotiations. We must not now ignore fundamental changes in the balance of forces or in the potential strength of our adversaries in an era of rapid change. To do so would only tempt challenges to our security interests and jeopardize chances for achieving greater stability through further agreements.

Military adequacy is never permanently guaranteed. To maintain security requires a continuing effort. But faced with es-

calating costs of manpower and weapons and competing domestic demands, we must insure that defense spending is based on a realistic assessment of our security requirements, and we must endeavor to reduce expenditures through more effective management.

There is, however, an irreducible minimum below which we cannot go without jeopardizing the very foundations of our diplomacy, our interests, and our national security. This Nation cannot afford the cost of weakness. Our strength is an essential stabilizing element in a world of turmoil and change. Our friends rely on it; our adversaries respect it. It is the essential underpinning for our diplomacy, designed to increase international understanding and to lessen the risks of war.

While taking the necessary steps to maintain the sufficiency of our strength, we are seeking a sound basis for limiting arms competition. Both elements are fundamental to a national defense that insures a more stable structure of peace.

STRATEGIC POLICY

Deterrence of war is the primary goal of our strategic policy and the principal function of our nuclear forces. Thus, our objectives continue to be:

- to deter all-out attack on the United States or its allies;
- to face any potential aggressor contemplating less than all-out attack with unacceptable risks; and
- to maintain a stable political environment within which the threat of aggression or coercion against the United States or its allies is minimized.

Strategic forces are the central com-

ponent of our military posture. It is on them that our security and that of our allies is most heavily dependent.

While our goals are unchanged, there have been fundamental changes in the strategic military environment. Approximate nuclear parity between the United States and the Soviet Union is now a strategic reality and has been confirmed in strategic arms control agreements. Certain technological advances, however, could become destabilizing. So it is, therefore, imperative that we continue to assess the adequacy of our strategic policy and programs in light of advances made by potential adversaries.

The task is greatly complicated by the long lead time required to make significant changes in these forces. Because of the extended development phase for new systems, a lengthy period could pass before a nation perceived that it was falling dangerously behind. From that point, it would require another considerable period before the imbalance could be corrected.

We must plan now to have a strategic force that will be adequate to meet potential threats of the next decade. We must develop our programs in the context of an uncertain world situation and accelerating technological possibilities.

During the 1960's missiles were relatively inaccurate and single warheads were the rule. Today, accuracies have improved significantly and missiles carry multiple warheads that can be independently targeted. In the present environment it would be misleading to measure sufficiency only by calculating destructive power in megatonnage. The quality of weapons systems, and their survivability, are vital determinants of sufficiency.

The SALT Agreement of May 1972

halted the rapid numerical growth of Soviet strategic offensive systems. Within the limits of the current SALT Agreement, however, strategic modernization programs may continue. We must, therefore, carefully assess the efforts the Soviets are making to improve their capabilities and must pace our programs accordingly.

—At least three new Soviet Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) are being developed: a new, very large missile which could have greater capability than the SS-9, which is now the largest operational Soviet missile; a smaller ICBM, possibly intended as a follow-on to the SS-11 missile; and a solid propellant ICBM, probably designed to replace the SS-13 or possibly to provide a mobile capability.

—These new missiles may well carry MIRVs with accuracies which would increase the vulnerability of our land-based missiles, thus jeopardizing the current strategic stability.

—The Soviet Union has begun deployment of a new submarine capable of submerged launch of a 4,000-mile-range missile.

—The Soviet ABM research and development program continues unabated.

If present trends continue and we do not take remedial steps, the forces which we currently rely upon to survive an attack and to retaliate could be more vulnerable. At some time in the future we could face a situation in which during a crisis there could be a premium to the side that initiated nuclear war. This would be an unstable and dangerous strategic relationship. Such a strategic environment is unacceptable.

In the late 1960's the effectiveness of American strategic nuclear forces was measured by a criterion known as "assured destruction." This concept assumed that deterrence could be maintained if it were clear that following a large-scale nuclear strike the United States could retaliate and inflict an unacceptable level of damage on the population and industry of the attacker.

In the 1970's strategic doctrine must meet different criteria. While the specter of an unacceptable response is fundamental to deterrence, the ability to kill tens of millions of people is not the only or necessarily the most effective deterrent to every challenge. Such a drastic course can be credibly reserved only for the most overwhelming threats to national survival. Moreover, the measurement of the effectiveness of our strategic forces in terms of numbers of dead is inconsistent with American values.

A different strategic doctrine is required in this decade when potential adversaries possess large and more flexible nuclear forces. The threat of an all-out nuclear response involving the cities of both sides might not be as credible a deterrent as it was in the 1960's. An aggressor, in the unlikely event of nuclear war, might choose to employ nuclear weapons selectively and in limited numbers for limited objectives. No President should ever be in the position where his only option in meeting such aggression is an all-out nuclear response. To deal with a wide range of possible hostile actions, the President must maintain a broad choice of options.

Credible deterrence in the 1970's requires greater flexibility:

—Lack of flexibility on our part could tempt an aggressor to use nuclear

weapons in a limited way in a crisis. If the United States has the ability to use its forces in a controlled way, the likelihood of nuclear response would be more credible, thereby making deterrence more effective and the initial use of nuclear weapons by an opponent less likely.

—Therefore, to extend deterrence over a wider spectrum of possible contingencies we should ensure that our forces are capable of executing a range of options.

—If war occurs—and there is no way we can absolutely guarantee that it will not—we should have means of preventing escalation while convincing an opponent of the futility of continued aggression.

Greater flexibility in the employment of our forces does not necessitate any drastic change in our nuclear programs. The fundamental objective of military forces remains deterrence. Potential aggressors must be aware that the United States will continue to have both the resolve and the capacity to act in the face of aggression in all circumstances.

STRATEGIC PROGRAMS

Our weapons programs are planned within the framework of this strategic policy. We must also consider Soviet strategic developments, arms limitations, and the potential for technological change. In light of the current strategic situation, I have determined that the U.S. must continue its modernization programs to ensure the future sufficiency of our nuclear forces.

—We are therefore improving our ICBM force. Silos for Minuteman missiles are being hardened, and 550

- Minuteman III missiles with multiple independently targeted warheads will be deployed by the mid-1970's.
- Development of a new strategic submarine, the Trident, has been undertaken to provide a highly survivable replacement for our current ballistic missile submarines.
 - We are developing a generation of submarine launched missiles with substantially greater range. With these new missiles our Trident and Poseidon submarines will be able to operate in a much larger ocean area while still within range of targets, and thus will be less vulnerable.
 - The survivability of B-52 bombers has been increased by decreasing the time required for take-off on warning of an attack and by developing new basing concepts. This will reduce the threat from the growing force of Soviet ballistic missile submarines.
 - We have also begun engineering development of the B-1 bomber as a potential replacement for the aging B-52s. The B-1 would maintain our bomber force as an important element in our mix of retaliatory forces, providing assurance against technological breakthroughs, complicating an enemy's offensive and defensive planning, and ensuring flexibility of response.
 - The ABM facility at Grand Forks, North Dakota, is being completed. This installation will give us operational ABM experience while directly enhancing the survivability of Minuteman ICBMs. We will also continue our planning for the Washington, D.C. ABM site in order to

provide additional security for the major control center of our forces. —Similarly, we are improving facilities for command and communications to control our responses in crisis situations.

We cannot prudently ignore the long-term strategic requirements of our security. But at the same time we are conscious of a serious responsibility—to preserve an environment which enhances stability and encourages further efforts to limit nuclear arms. Our forces, therefore, are not designed to provide a capability for a disarming first strike. Moreover, our programs are not so substantial that our objectives could be misunderstood, conceivably spurring a Soviet building cycle. There is not necessarily a direct relationship between every change in the strategic forces of the two sides. Some changes reflect an action-reaction cycle in the strategic arms programs of the two nations. In other cases, the similarity between American and Soviet forces results simply from the fact that roughly the same technologies are employed.

This year we will continue to assess how to deal more effectively with the implications of parity and to guard against unanticipated technological breakthroughs. At the same time, our efforts will reflect the essential defensive and deterrent purposes of our doctrine and forces.

GENERAL PURPOSE FORCES

In a strategic environment of approximate parity, nuclear weapons alone are less likely to deter the full range of possible conflicts. Our success in negotiating strategic limitations has thus increased the

importance of maintaining other deterrent forces capable of coping with a variety of challenges.

In recent years conventional forces have played a critical role in numerous conflicts involving great power interests, including Arab-Israeli and Jordanian-Syrian fighting in the Middle East; the India-Pakistan war; and the North Vietnamese invasion of Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam.

The United States cannot protect its national interests, or support those of its allies, or meet its responsibilities for helping safeguard international peace, without the ability to deploy forces abroad. In the Jordan crisis of 1970, for example, our forces helped stabilize an explosive situation. When warnings went unheeded and the North Vietnamese launched an all-out invasion of the South in the spring of 1972, our determination to act decisively with conventional forces was tested. The bombing and mining of North Vietnam complemented the defensive action of our South Vietnamese allies on the battlefield and provided a convincing incentive for serious negotiations. In both instances the combination of local superiority and a strong U.S. defense posture decreased the likelihood of challenge to these forces.

When I came into office, I ordered a reassessment of the rationale upon which our conventional force planning was based. Our analysis concluded that a coordinated attack by the major Communist powers simultaneously in both Europe and Asia was unlikely. We determined, however, that our forces should still be adequate to meet a major threat in either Europe or Asia and to cope simultaneously with a lesser contingency elsewhere.

The specific potential threats we face in Asia or Europe continue to be the primary determinants of the size, composition, and disposition of our general purpose forces. Our principal forward deployments are in these areas where, supplementing the forces of our allies, they help counterbalance the strong forces of potential adversaries. The strength of the defenses of Western Europe remains the cornerstone of our own security posture. The American presence in Europe and Asia is essential to the sense of security and confidence of our friends which underpins all our common endeavors—including our joint efforts in the common defense. Our forces are deployed to provide a responsive and efficient posture against likely threats.

But planning based on the threats in these two areas alone is not sufficient. We also need forces to deal with lesser contingencies that pose a threat to our interests—a capability not necessarily provided by units positioned for a major conflict overseas.

Moreover, even in a period of developing détente, we cannot ignore the reality of a modern Soviet navy operating increasingly in the Caribbean, Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean and along the coasts of Africa; newly established Soviet security commitments, support, facilities, and communications networks in key areas of the Third World; or increasing Soviet arms programs in these areas.

The credibility of our force posture has two basic determinants; overall size and the level of forward deployments. Our general purpose forces are now substantially below the peak levels of the Vietnam buildup and well below even the levels maintained prior to the Vietnam

war. This is the result of changing assessments of security requirements, our success in developing allied capabilities, and the increasing costs of replacing obsolescent systems and maintaining existing forces.

Our ground, naval, and air forces have now reached the absolute minimum necessary to meet our commitments and provide a credible conventional deterrent in an age of strategic parity. Compared to levels in June 1964, we have a third fewer combat ships, 37 fewer aircraft squadrons and $3\frac{1}{3}$ fewer ground divisions.

Manpower has been cut to a comparable degree. In the last four years we have reduced our forces by more than a million men. They are now one-third

smaller. They are at the lowest level since the Korean War, and are nearly half a million below levels prior to the Vietnam War.

About one-third of our general purpose forces are necessarily deployed abroad to provide a capability for responding rapidly to threats to American and allied interests, for guaranteeing the credibility of our joint defense, and for underpinning our diplomacy. The forces remaining in the United States serve as a ready reserve for reinforcing our forward deployments, and for protecting our interests in other parts of the world. The largest portion of our overseas forces is stationed in Western Europe; a smaller increment is stationed in the Mediterranean and Asia.

PRE AND POST VIETNAM FORCE LEVELS

	<i>Pre-Vietnam June 1964</i>	<i>Peak Vietnam June 1968</i>	<i>Current June 1973</i>
<i>Ships:</i>			
Attack carriers.....	15	15	14
Anti-submarine, including attack submarines..	381	379	252
Fleet air defense.....	53	75	73
Amphibious assault.....	134	148	65
	583	617	404
<i>Attack and Fighter Aircraft Squadrons:</i>			
Air Force.....	90	103	71
Navy.....	85	80	70
Marine.....	28	27	25
	203	210	166
<i>Ground Force Divisions:</i>			
<i>Army:</i>			
Airborne.....	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1
Airmobile.....	...	1	1
Infantry.....	6	7	2 $\frac{3}{8}$
Mechanized.....	4	4	4 $\frac{1}{8}$
Armored.....	4	4	3
<i>Marines:</i>			
Amphibious.....	3	4	3
	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	*16

*1 division not shown consists of armored, air cavalry, and airmobile units.

- Our NATO force in Europe consists of $4\frac{1}{3}$ Army Divisions, 21 Air Force attack and fighter squadrons, and naval units in the North Atlantic.
- In the Mediterranean we maintain two attack carrier task forces and a Marine amphibious group which help protect NATO's southern flank as well as meet non-NATO challenges in this volatile area.
- United States forces in Asia consist of those still supporting operations in Indochina and normal forward deployments not directly related to Vietnam needs. The basic forces include: one Army division stationed in Korea and two-thirds of a Marine division located in Okinawa; ten Air Force and five Marine fighter/attack squadrons distributed in Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Thailand, Okinawa, and the Philippines; and three attack carrier forces and two Marine amphibious groups operating in the Western Pacific.

Although NATO deployments have been relatively constant in recent years, Asian force levels are now substantially below those maintained prior to the Vietnam War.

Given our broad requirements, the uncertainty of the current international situation, and the post-Vietnam contraction of our armed forces, it would be unwise to make further unilateral cuts in deployments or significant reductions in overall force levels in the foreseeable future. To do so would raise questions about the adequacy of our force posture to safeguard our interests. The limitations of our current force levels were illustrated by the strain placed on our forces as a whole by our effort last year to help counter the in-

vasion of South Vietnam by a small nation with practically no navy or air force.

Obviously, American forces alone cannot balance the strong capabilities of potential adversaries. For this reason our planning under the Nixon Doctrine has emphasized the strengthening of mutual defense by bolstering allied capabilities.

In *NATO*, it is often forgotten that our allies provide nearly 90 percent of ground forces and the majority of alliance air and naval craft. American ground forces are concentrated in Germany where they constitute over one-fourth of the forces in this vital area. Along with our allies we are taking additional measures to strengthen *NATO* forces. Expenditures by individual members for force modernization have increased for the third consecutive year, and under the billion dollar five-year European Defense Improvement Program, *NATO* communications, anti-armor and air defense capabilities continue to improve. United States capabilities are also being improved, and our ground forces are being strengthened by selectively transferring men from support to combat units.

Programs in *Asia* too have achieved remarkable success in strengthening allied capabilities. In Southeast Asia, progress in Vietnamization was demonstrated by the effective Vietnamese defense on the ground against all-out invasion. In North-east Asia, South Korean forces are growing in effectiveness as a result of our joint program for modernization, and the Korean economy is now able to support more of the recurring costs of maintaining these forces without hampering normal economic growth.

Our Asian allies are also becoming more self-sufficient in dealing with subversion and guerrilla warfare, which remain a

potent threat. As our friends develop greater local and regional military sufficiency under the Nixon Doctrine the need for our direct involvement diminishes. In the meantime, the stabilizing presence of our forces in the area enhances the wider framework of security and gives encouragement to further allied efforts to develop their capacity for self-defense.

In the current delicate international balance of forces, I believe our general purposes forces are now at the minimum level consistent with our safety and our interests. However, as we assess our requirements for the late 1970's and beyond, we will not let the perceptions and experiences of the past drive our planning for deterrence of wars of the future. We will ensure that our planning and doctrine are attuned to the evolving international situation and to our strategic needs in a new era.

SECURITY ASSISTANCE

Many nations in the world whose security we consider important to our own face military challenges, often instigated or supplied by third countries. A stable international system requires that small countries be secure and independent, and that they be able to protect their security and independence mainly by their own efforts.

For this reason, American support of other nations' defense efforts has always been a vital component of our security policy and an essential element in maintaining international stability. In today's multipolar world, and as the United States adjusts its role from one of preponderance to one of sharing responsibilities more widely, this supportive role becomes all the more central to our policy.

As great as our resources are, it is

neither possible nor desirable for the United States to pay most of the costs, provide most of the manpower, or make most of the decisions concerning the defense of our allies. Nor, is it necessary. Our allies are determined to meet the threats they face as effectively as possible within the limits of their resources. Under the Nixon Doctrine, our role in our Security Assistance programs is to share our experience, counsel, and technical resources to help them develop adequate strength of their own.

We provide this support through various programs of Security Assistance: grant military assistance to friendly countries unable to afford equipment which is essential to their self-defense; foreign military sales for cash or credit; and supporting assistance, which provides budgetary support to a few key countries to enable them to sustain their economies in spite of unusually heavy defense requirements.

These programs have been a part of our policy for more than 25 years. They have met specific needs in a wide variety of cases. Our programs and means have reflected a careful and continuing assessment of our interests and needs in changing conditions.

The success of these programs is strikingly evidenced by the changes over time in the composition of the program. The growing self-sufficiency and self-reliance of our friends—which our assistance is designed to promote—are reflected in the declining necessity for grant aid and the dramatic increase in their ability to take financial responsibility for their defense needs. Our grant military assistance has dropped from over \$4 billion twenty years ago to less than \$1 billion today, exclusive of South Vietnam. Where once our program was almost entirely on a grant

basis, today sales make up by far the major portion of the program.

In 1966 the largest military assistance grants went to the Republic of Korea, Turkey, the Republic of Vietnam, the Republic of China, Greece, and Iran. In 1974, in contrast, Iran will purchase all military equipment, paying fully for everything received. Greece and the Republic of China will receive no grant materiel, and both are turning increasingly to cash and credit sales. The security requirements of South Korea and Turkey continue to require grant assistance, but both are moving toward increased use of credits as their economies continue to expand. The success of our programs in helping South Vietnam and South Korea build capable forces of their own has permitted us to withdraw all our forces from South Vietnam and 20,000 men from South Korea. These are two of the most significant demonstrations of how Security Assistance is precisely what enables allies to take up more of the responsibility for their own defense.

The assistance of the United States cannot be effective unless an ally is willing and able to mobilize its own people and resources for its national defense. No country can escape responsibility for its own future. None of our friends would wish to do so. The encouragement, counsel, and assistance we provide can make a crucial difference to their success.

RESOURCES FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE

Managing Modernization. In today's conditions, maintaining modern forces at adequate levels is a major challenge. General purpose forces now take three times as much of the defense budget as strategic forces. Yet the Soviet Union has made

significant qualitative improvements in conventional forces, while many of our essential programs have been deferred because of more pressing Vietnam requirements.

A major modernization effort is underway to provide our forces with adequate weapons for the decade ahead. Our national technological base is one of the foundations of our national security. But the continual escalation of weapons costs and complexity limits our ability to exploit all the latest technical advances. Even with adjustments for inflation, weapons today cost, on the average, two to three times more than those ones they replace. Sophisticated equipment is often more difficult to repair. Complexity frequently results in higher operating costs and lower reliability. These trends make it difficult to replace older weapons on a one-for-one basis. But the higher performance of new systems does not always compensate for the severe reduction of flexibility caused by fewer numbers.

This cost problem is most acute with respect to tactical aircraft. New first-line aircraft are four to five times more costly than the older planes being replaced, primarily because of their sophisticated electronics and fire control systems. The same problem arises in modern ship and ground force systems.

The long lead time for new weapons development has far-reaching implications. It is therefore imperative that proposed programs provide sufficient improvements to justify their expense, and that once adopted they do not exceed planned costs or fail to perform as intended. Unless we improve management performance in this area, we simply will not be able to maintain the minimum force levels necessary to meet the needs of

our security without drawing increasingly on funds required for such essential intangibles as force manning, training, and readiness.

We are taking a number of innovative steps to grapple with this problem. In evaluating proposals for increased technical sophistication, more weight is now being given to cost, and greater care is being devoted to assessing the real gain in terms of mission relevance and military effectiveness. In addition, combinations of high and low cost weapons are being developed for major missions. For example, a less costly lightweight fighter is being developed at the same time as the highly sophisticated F-15 fighter. This approach also has been used in meeting diverse ship requirements. Low-cost patrol frigates are being purchased for convoy duties while more expensive nuclear-powered guided missile frigates are being constructed to escort nuclear carriers as part of a rapid reaction task force.

We also are improving techniques for closer monitoring of the development process. Benchmarks have been established for more frequent checking of compliance with cost and performance standards. Operational testing is being emphasized to ensure that new equipment is reliable and effective under combat conditions.

Manpower. Rising manpower costs are one of the most significant factors limiting overall force levels and the resources available for modernization. Even after the large personnel reductions we have made, manpower today takes more than half the defense budget. These rising costs result principally from the effort to make military pay competitive with that of other professions. While the program to attract volunteers and correct past financial in-

equities is expensive, it is also essential to manning our armed forces at adequate levels.

Our success in attracting volunteers into the services gives us confidence that manpower constraints will not seriously limit the manning of our forces in peacetime. We are now able to support our military strategy without a draft. When I first announced my intention to end the draft, many feared we would not be able to maintain the force levels, readiness, and morale needed to support defense needs in an increasingly technical environment. But initial experience under this program suggests these fears were unwarranted. The quality of volunteers has fully met the service needs and compares favorably with the quality in the past.

Current projections indicate that the portion of the defense budget devoted to manpower should stabilize, but the expense of personnel programs will require continuing attention.

Defense Spending. Allocation of resources between security needs and domestic requirements is one of the most difficult tasks of the budgetary process. Though the upward pressures of manpower and weapons costs have complicated the problem, defense spending has leveled off in real terms. As a result, we have been able to shift Federal budgetary priorities markedly from security toward domestic needs. Defense today takes only six percent of our total national output, compared to eight to nine percent in the 1960's. National security once took nearly half of every budget dollar; now it requires less than one-third.

Nevertheless, unless we aggressively meet the management challenge of spiraling weapons and manpower costs, it will be nearly impossible to maintain modern

forces at the levels necessary for national security. I have directed the Secretary of Defense to give these matters the most urgent attention.

In the next four years, we will continue to be faced with important choices concerning national priorities. But I am determined that our military power will remain second to none. The experiences of the past four years have confirmed the wisdom and absolute necessity of a strong and committed America in the world. It is the only sound foundation on which peace can be built.

ARMS CONTROL

The progress recorded in arms control over the past four years has been unprecedented. Four major agreements have been achieved:

- In February 1971, an international treaty was signed that bans the emplacement of nuclear weapons on the seabed or ocean floor.
- In September 1971, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed on a series of measures to reduce the danger of accidental war.
- In April 1972, an international treaty was signed that bans the development, production, and stockpiling of biological weapons and toxins.
- On May 26, 1972, I signed for the United States two agreements with the Soviet Union limiting strategic offensive and defensive armaments.

These accomplishments represent the initial fulfillment of my commitment to limit the most dangerous forms of weaponry as part of our broader objective of moving from confrontation to negotiation. Each of these agreements is im-

portant. But their cumulative impact is even greater than their specific merits. They reflect a new political attitude toward arms limitation by the United States and the Soviet Union and within the international community generally.

Arms control has taken on new significance in the nuclear age and represents an important component of national security policy. When this Administration took office there were several factors that suggested an agreement to limit strategic weapons might be attainable:

- In the classical balance of power system, most national leaders were concerned with accumulating geopolitical and military power that could be translated into immediate advantage. In the nuclear era, both the United States and the Soviet Union have found that an increment of military power does not necessarily represent an increment of usable political strength, because of the excessive destructiveness of nuclear weapons in relation to the objective.
- The accumulation of strategic power offered no guarantee of achieving a decisive military advantage, since neither the United States nor the Soviet Union would passively accept a change in the overall balance. Moreover, with modern weapons, a potentially decisive advantage requires a change of such magnitude that the mere effort to obtain it could produce a disaster.

—Modern technology, however, offered an apparently endless opportunity for the further sophistication of both offensive and defensive weaponry. In particular, a nation might be able simultaneously to de-

velop offensive weapons that could destroy a substantial number of an opponent's retaliatory forces and a defense that could blunt a retaliatory strike. In such circumstances a high premium would be placed on striking first.

- Neither side could afford to concede an advantage in strategic defense. The gap between the rapid advances in offensive technology and the embryonic state of defensive systems was growing. For a considerable period, therefore, both the United States and the Soviet Union would be vulnerable to devastating attacks. Yet, inherent in new technology is the prospect of enhanced first strike capabilities.

These were the strategic circumstances facing the United States in 1969. They suggested certain principles for our approach to arms control negotiations as an instrument of national security.

- As President, my overriding responsibility is to protect the security of the United States. We had to maintain our strategic weapons programs and develop new ones as appropriate. Unilateral restraint in anticipation of the negotiations would not advance the chances for an agreement; weakness has been the incentive for aggression much more frequently than the arms race.
- Our objective in negotiations would be to reduce the gap between the capability for a first strike and the capability to retaliate. An agreement should help ensure that a first strike could not disarm either side.
- We would seek to gain some control over military technology so that the basic political relationships with the

Soviet Union would not be dominated by competition in this area.

- Our objective would be to break the momentum and moderate the process of strategic competition. The basic decisions of war and peace would then remain in the hands of the political leaders and not be dictated by the balance of weapons.
- Finally, we recognized that any agreement would have to provide equal security to both sides. No agreement was even conceivable if its purpose was to ratify a clear advantage for one side.

These were the principles that evolved in the course of our preparation for negotiation in 1969. They were our basic criteria throughout the talks.

The advances in other areas of arms control have reflected a similar approach. We concentrated on those specific issues where it was possible to make immediate progress so that agreements would contribute to a broader improvement of relations. We looked for areas where we could strengthen the principle of mutual restraint. We decided that progress should not be tied solely to the state of technical or procedural discussions but should take into account the political relationships, especially with the Soviet Union, that would ultimately determine the success or failure of the agreements.

- In 1969–70 we concentrated on banning nuclear weapons from the seabeds, because this was an area where the nuclear powers and the non-nuclear countries had clear common interests and where the political, environmental, and strategic policies offered a chance for early progress. Moreover, by separating nuclear weapons from all other military ac-

tivities affecting the seabeds, we could crystallize agreement on the aspect most important to control.

—The questions of control over biological weapons and chemical weapons had been linked, although there was no objective reason to do so. We first took a unilateral step by renouncing the use and possession of biological weapons. Then we moved to eliminate procedural questions by proposing the separation of biological and chemical issues, with priority for biological controls. This course ultimately produced a treaty prohibiting biological weaponry.

—The progress in arms control from 1969 to 1972 added to the general improvement in Soviet-American relations and helped to break the deadlock over opening negotiations on the reduction of military forces in Central Europe. Preliminary talks began in Vienna in January 1973 to prepare for formal negotiations this fall.

In preparing for the negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions in Central Europe we are following much the same pattern as in SALT. We have concentrated initially on a complex technical analysis to illuminate all the individual issues and on that basis to develop basic concepts of reductions.

We can be proud of the accomplishments of the past four years:

- In an area of overriding importance, we have limited the strategic arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union and created the conditions for further progress.
- There is now momentum on a broad international front that enhances the prospects for additional agreements.
- In the region of major confrontation

in Central Europe the foundations have been laid for serious negotiations to begin this year.

STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION (SALT)

On November 17, 1969, representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union met in Helsinki to begin the first discussions on the limitation of strategic armaments. At that time, I characterized the meetings as the “most momentous negotiations ever entrusted to an American delegation.” I repeated my pledge, made at the United Nations in September 1969, that the United States would deal with the issues “seriously, carefully, and purposefully” to achieve the goal of “equitable accommodation.” We were embarked on a “sustained effort not only to limit the build-up of strategic forces but to reverse it.”

The agreements I signed on May 26, 1972, in St. Catherine’s Hall in the Kremlin were a major step toward fulfilling this commitment. We had not only succeeded in resolving extraordinarily complex technical issues, but had also raised Soviet-American relations to a new level of mutual understanding. The political commitment reflected in these agreements was a vital element in the broader effort we were engaged in, one that culminated in the Basic Principles of U.S.-Soviet relations agreed upon in Moscow.

Since last May, Government officials have testified before the Congress at length on all aspects of these agreements, and I have discussed them with Congressional leaders. We have fully described what we believe they accomplished and their significance for Soviet-American relations and international security. In this Report certain points are emphasized so

that future prospects can be related to the perspective of these past four years.

The Negotiating History. In 1969 there was no dearth of ideas, suggestions, and proposals on how to limit strategic arms and conduct the talks. There was never any question that we would agree to negotiate. The task was to be sure that we had a well-defined position for a negotiation of this magnitude. We had to analyze all conceivable limitations for each of the major weapons systems to understand how they would affect our own and Soviet programs. We also had to determine whether we could verify compliance with the limitations and by what means. These building blocks enabled us to examine the strategic interrelationship caused by various combinations of limitations. Then we could go on to identify realistic alternatives and compare them with likely developments should no agreements be reached.

Our aim was to be in a position to sustain momentum in the negotiations. Meticulous preparations for the negotiations gave us the best chance of moving from general principles through specific proposals to concrete agreements. The fact that the agreements on such complex and vital issues were signed only two years after the first specific proposals were introduced by the United States testifies to the value of that approach.

We recognized that there would be deadlocks and that, with national security at stake, frequent high level political decisions would be required. But we wanted to ensure that when deadlocks did occur, they would not be over technical issues, and carefully analyzed alternatives would be ready for my immediate decision.

Certain fundamental strategic factors

influenced our preparations and our initial approach to the talks:

—By 1969 the United States had stopped building major new offensive systems in favor of making qualitative improvements in existing systems. We had no current plan to deploy additional Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs), Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs), or heavy bombers. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, was engaged in a dynamic buildup of both ICBMs and SLBMs.

—At the same time, both sides were only in the initial stages of Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) deployment. The Soviet Union had already deployed a small system to protect its capital, while most of the U.S. program was designed to protect our retaliatory forces.

—The United States had aircraft deployed at bases abroad and on carriers, while the Soviet Union had medium and intermediate range missiles and bombers capable of attacking our bases and the territory of our allies.

—There was a vast difference in the composition of the forces on each side. The Soviet Union had several types of ICBMs and was developing two classes of ballistic missile launching submarines. The United States had one basic class of ICBMs, a modern and more effective submarine force, and a substantial advantage in heavy bombers.

These asymmetries meant that defining strategic equivalence in individual categories or in a general sense would be technically complicated and involve significant political judgments.

The initial exploratory phase in November-December 1969 produced a general work program. Full negotiations began in the spring of 1970, and both sides outlined comprehensive programs to control a wide spectrum of armaments.

This parallel effort, however, gradually became deadlocked over two major issues. First, should both offensive and defensive limitations be included from the outset? The Soviet Union proposed that the deadlock be resolved by limiting ABM systems only. The United States thought it essential to maintain a link between offensive and defensive limits; we believed that an initial agreement that permitted unrestrained growth in offensive forces would defeat the basic purpose of SALT.

Second, what offensive forces should be defined as "strategic"? The Soviet Union wanted to include all nuclear delivery systems capable of reaching Soviet territory. The United States maintained that major intercontinental systems should have priority in negotiating limitations.

By late 1970 these two issues had blocked further progress. I decided to take the initiative in direct contacts with the Soviet leaders to find a solution. The result of our exchanges was an agreement on May 20, 1971, that we would concentrate the negotiations on a permanent treaty limiting ABM systems, while working out an Interim Agreement freezing only certain strategic offensive systems and leaving aside other systems for consideration in a further agreement.

This left for resolution the precise level of ABMs and the scope of those offensive weapons to be included in an initial agreement. Progress was made during the next year on these matters and on technical questions so that by the time of the

summit meeting in Moscow only a few key issues remained.

The ABM solution was to limit both sides to two sites. The United States would continue construction of an ABM site in Grand Forks, North Dakota, for the protection of an ICBM field, while the Soviet Union would have the right to deploy a similar site. The Soviet Union would retain the ABM site already deployed around Moscow, and we would have the right to build a similar site around Washington. Both sides would have essentially the same systems and would be limited to an ABM level low enough to preclude a heavy defense of national territory—the mode of ABM deployment that could be most strategically destabilizing.

Defining which offensive systems would be frozen in an interim agreement proved more difficult. The Soviet Union wished to include ICBMs only. We pressed for the inclusion of both ICBMs and SLBMs. These were active Soviet programs; the purpose of SALT, in our view, was to break the momentum of unconstrained growth in strategic systems. Furthermore, since we had no active building programs in these categories, the numerical gap would widen without an agreement.

A freeze on ICBM and sea-based ballistic missile systems was clearly in the United States interest. I used my direct channel to the Soviet leaders to urge the inclusion of SLBMs in the Interim Agreement. We finally reached agreement in late April 1972 when the Soviet leaders accepted a proposal to place a ceiling on their SLBM force. The final details were negotiated at the summit the following month.

The Provisions of the Agreements. The highlights of the two agreements are as follows:

The ABM treaty allows each side to have 100 ABM interceptors at each of its two sites. The two sites must be at least 800 miles apart in order to prevent the development of a territorial defense. The treaty contains additional provisions which effectively prohibit the establishment of a radar base for the defense of populated areas as well as the attainment of capabilities to intercept ballistic missiles by conversion of air defense missiles to anti-ballistic missiles.

The Interim Agreement on offensive arms is to run for five years, unless replaced earlier by a permanent agreement which is the subject of the current negotiations. This agreement froze the number of strategic offensive missiles on both sides at approximately the levels operational and under construction at the time of signing. For ICBMs, this is 1,054 for the United States and 1,618 for the Soviet Union. Within this overall ceiling, there is a freeze on the Soviet Union's heavy ICBM launchers, the weapons most threatening to our strategic forces. There is also a prohibition on conversion of light ICBMs into heavy missiles. These provisions are buttressed by verifiable provisions and agreed criteria; of particular importance is the prohibition against any significant enlargement of missile silos.

The submarine limitations are more complicated. The Soviet Union is restricted to a level of 740 submarine ballistic missile launchers, some of them on an old type of nuclear submarine. However, they are permitted to build as many as 62 modern nuclear submarines and 950 SLBM launchers if—and only if—they dismantle an equal number of older ICBMs or older submarine-launched ballistic missiles to offset the new construction. This would mean dismantling 210

older ICBM launchers if the Soviet Union chooses to build up to the SLBM ceiling. The United States gave up no active offensive program.

The Significance of the Agreements. Two questions have been asked concerning these accords.

Do the agreements perpetuate a U.S. strategic disadvantage? Clearly they do not. The present situation is, on balance, advantageous to the United States. The Interim Agreement perpetuates nothing that did not already exist and that could only have grown worse without an agreement. Considering the momentum of the Soviet ICBM and SLBM programs, the ceilings in the Interim Agreement will make major contributions to our national security, while we proceed with negotiations for a permanent agreement.

Our present strategic military situation is sound. The United States is not prohibited from continuing current and planned strategic modernization and replacement programs for offensive systems. The imbalance in the number of missiles between the United States and the Soviet Union is only one aspect. There are other relevant factors such as deployment characteristics and qualitative differences between their system and ours. For example, the Soviet Union requires three submarines for every two of ours in order to keep an equal number on station, though they are testing longer range missiles that would ultimately change this ratio.

The quality of the weapons must also be weighed. We have a major advantage in nuclear weapons technology and in warhead accuracy. And with our Multiple Independently Targeted Reentry Vehicles (MIRVs) we have a 2 to 1 lead in numbers of warheads. Because of our continuing programs we will maintain this

lead during the period of the agreement, even if the Soviets develop and deploy MIRVs of their own.

Moreover, to assess the overall balance it is also necessary to consider those forces not in the agreement; our bomber force, for instance, is substantially larger and more effective than the Soviet bomber force.

Thus, when the total picture is viewed, our strategic forces are seen to be completely sufficient.

Will the agreements jeopardize our security in the future? The Soviet Union has proved that it can best compete in sheer numbers. This is the area limited by the agreements. The agreements thus confine competition with the Soviets to the area of technology where, heretofore, we have had a significant advantage.

Clearly, the agreements enhance the security of both sides. No agreement that failed to do so could have been signed or would have stood any chance of lasting. As I told the Congressional leaders last June, I am convinced that these agreements fully protect our national security and our vital interests. The Congress accepted this judgment and gave the agreements overwhelming approval.

I am determined that our security and vital interests shall remain fully protected. We are therefore pursuing two parallel courses:

- We have entered the current phase of the strategic arms limitations talks with the same energy and conviction that produced the initial agreements. Until these negotiations succeed we must take care not to anticipate their outcome through unilateral decisions.
- We shall continue our research and developmental programs and establish the production capacity to sus-

tain a sufficient strategic posture should new agreements prove unattainable. This effort also dissuades the other side from breaking the agreements.

These agreements are not isolated events. They are embedded in the fabric of an emerging new relationship, and can be of great political and historical significance. For the first time, two great powers, deeply divided by their values, philosophies, and social systems, have agreed to restrain the very armaments on which their national survival depends. A decision of this magnitude could only have been taken by two countries which had chosen to place their relations on a new foundation of restraint, cooperation, and steadily growing confidence.

The possibility always exists that the agreements will not be respected. We concluded them not on the basis of trust, but rather on the enlightened self-interest of both sides. They contain extensive and carefully negotiated provisions for verification. Beyond the legal obligations, both sides have a stake in all of the agreements that have been signed and the broad process of improvement in relations that has begun.

We are confident that the Soviet leaders will not lightly abandon the course that led to the summit meeting and the initial agreements. For our own part, we will not change direction without major provocation, because we believe our present course is in the interest of this country and of mankind. We will remain fully protected as long as we maintain our research and development effort and the strategic programs for modernization and replacement that I have recommended to the Congress.

Future Prospects. In November 1972

the second stage of SALT began. In this new phase we are dealing with those new issues inherent in working out permanent, rather than temporary, arrangements and with some of the problems set aside in SALT I.

There is mutual agreement that permanent limitations must meet the basic security interests of both sides equitably if they are to endure in an era of great technological change and in a fluid international environment. There obviously can be no agreement that creates or preserves strategic advantages. But each side perceives the strategic balance differently and therefore holds differing concepts of an equitable framework for a permanent agreement.

The problem of defining a balance that establishes and preserves an essential equivalency in strategic forces is no less complicated than it was four years ago. It involves the numerical levels of major systems, the capabilities of individual systems, and the overall potential of the entire strategic arsenal that each side can develop.

The impact of unconstrained technological developments in particular must be considered. On the one hand, both sides will want to ensure that their forces can be modernized. They will want confidence in the reliability of their forces and their survivability in foreseeable strategic circumstances. On the other hand, if competition in technology proceeds without restraint, forces capable of destroying the retaliatory forces of the other side could be developed; or the thrust of technology could produce such a result without deliberate decisions. Competition could inexorably intensify to the point that there could be a high premium on striking first.

Thus a major challenge is to determine

where a balance of capabilities enhances stability and where it could generate severe competition for advantage in first strike capabilities.

Given the different roads we and the Soviet Union have followed in developing our respective forces, perfect symmetry is not possible. To the extent that one side retains certain technological capacities, the other side must be conceded similar rights or some form of compensation in other areas of technology.

The Soviet Union has deployed a very large and heavy ICBM. The weight this missile can deliver to its target is several times greater than that of our Minuteman ICBM. The entire Soviet ICBM force, therefore, has a "throw weight" approximately four times greater than ours.

On the other hand, the United States is deploying MIRVs on our Minuteman ICBM and Poseidon while the Soviet Union thus far has not begun such a deployment.

Once MIRVs are developed and tested, however, the greater throw weight capacity of Soviet ICBMs will allow the Soviet Union to deploy a larger number of MIRVs than the United States.

These are the types of extremely complicated issues that arise in defining an essential equivalency. Moreover, verification of limitations on technological capabilities will be extraordinarily more difficult than monitoring limitations on the numbers of weapons.

Nevertheless, there are a number of factors which give us reason to hope for continuing progress:

- The initial agreement provides a foundation of confidence.
- For the past four years both sides have engaged in a dialogue on strategic matters that was inconceivable

in 1969. We now understand each other's concerns better than we did then. We have a common language for discussion.

- The limits of ABM systems should provide an incentive for limiting further growth in offensive capabilities.
- At the present levels of strategic forces, small differences in numbers assume less importance.

A further question is the impact of future agreements on other states. We will not make agreements that reduce the security of other countries. Nor can we permit threats to our allies to develop unchecked because of SALT agreements. Such factors do not limit the prospects for further U.S.-Soviet limitation on offensive systems, but they do delimit the area for negotiation.

In sum, a future agreement should:

- establish an essential equivalence in strategic capabilities among systems common to both sides;
- maintain the survivability of strategic forces in light of known and potential technological capabilities;
- provide for the replacement and modernization of older systems without upsetting the strategic balance;
- be subject to adequate verification;
- leave the security of third parties undiminished.

MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS (MBFR)

Preparations. In June 1968, before this Administration took office, the North Atlantic Alliance made a proposal to begin discussions with the Warsaw Pact on a mutual reduction of forces in Central Europe. Although this overture had met with no positive response, we reaffirmed

the Alliance proposal in April 1969. Troop reduction was a concrete security issue, rather than an exercise in atmospherics, and was thus consistent with the general effort to move from confrontation toward negotiations.

At the same time, we found that the idea of mutual reductions had not been systematically analyzed before 1969. The general theories were that it would be possible to maintain security at lower force levels and that force reductions in themselves would enhance the relaxation of political tension.

We decided to follow an analytical approach similar to the one we used for SALT. We investigated the feasible reductions of all the forces that might be involved, analyzed the effect of reductions on the capabilities of each side, and examined the changing balance of forces should the agreements be violated and both sides begin reinforcing. We also studied the verification requirements and how they might affect the possible kinds of reductions.

The following considerations illustrate the complexities of the MBFR process:

- Reductions provide an inherent advantage for the side that has postured its forces along offensive lines: offensive forces would retain the initiative to concentrate and attack, while the defense must continue to defend the same geographical front with fewer forces.
- Major deployments of equipment, especially those with offensive capabilities, are therefore an important element in the reduction process.
- How can equivalence be established between different categories of equipment? What ratios would be equitable?

—Manpower, of course, is a common denominator to all the forces in Central Europe. In large forces however, reducing manpower may not necessarily be the only important aspect. If manpower is reduced, what becomes of the equipment? Should it be destroyed or reassembled in depots for continuing surveillance?

—Small reductions of manpower cannot be verified except under well-defined and stringent circumstances; demobilization of national forces on their own territory is particularly difficult to monitor except in very large numbers.

—The forces in Central Europe are both indigenous and “foreign” but this is a political as well as a military distinction. Should all forces be treated equally? If so, what compensation is necessary for the fact that the United States would withdraw its forces across the Atlantic, while the Soviet Union would withdraw only several hundred miles?

—Following actual reductions, control on the reintroduction of forces into the area for maneuvers or for replacements needs to be considered along with related verification requirements.

—How quickly each side could restore its forces to a pre-reduction level through mobilization and reinforcement becomes a significant factor. Compensation for advantages that one side may have should be considered.

As in SALT, the analysis of such questions provides us with the building blocks which can be put together in different ways to help us understand the implications of different reduction processes:

—Proportionately equal reductions. Each side would apply a common percentage to reduce its forces. This appears to be a simple but equitable approach. If applied to all forces, however, it could create an imbalance because it would favor the offense and because of the geographical advantages of the Warsaw Pact.

—Reductions to equal levels. This would in effect produce a common ceiling for Central Europe. There would be some unequal cuts in absolute numbers, but the residual capabilities would be more balanced and offensive potential would thereby be reduced.

—Mixed, asymmetrical reductions. This means reductions would be made by different amounts in various categories of weapons or manpower. It could prove extremely complex to define equivalence between different weapons systems.

We have now completed our technical evaluation. We understand the major issues related to actual reductions and which approaches are realistic. We have shared the results of our studies with our NATO allies and have contributed to studies within the Alliance.

Allied Consultations. We now enter the final and most important stage in building an Alliance position. In addition to the completion of technical studies and diplomatic plans, we face one basic question: what security concept will the Alliance follow in developing its position for the negotiations next fall?

The Alliance is committed to “undiminished security” in the MBFR process, but we must agree on what this means in concrete terms. Different political view-

points shape the attitudes of each ally, especially if its forces or territory may be involved. Issues of this magnitude could become divisive if there were no common concept. The Alliance must approach force reductions from the standpoint of their effect on military security in a period that may be marked by a further amelioration of tensions. Some of the key questions are:

- How do we reconcile reductions in roughly balanced conventional forces with the fact that the strategic balance is no longer clearly favorable to the Alliance?
- What are the capabilities to sustain a conventional defense of NATO territory with reduced forces?
- Could a substantial reduction in conventional defense lead to a greater or earlier reliance on nuclear weapons?
- Can reduced forces be maintained and improved in the present political environment?
- What would be the net effect of a new balance in Central Europe on the flanks of NATO?
- How would reductions affect the relative burdens of American and European forces?

To deal with these kinds of issues effectively, the Alliance must first set its security goals and relate them to technical MBFR analysis. Then, however the negotiations may unfold, the Alliance position throughout will be determined by a common concept of security rather than by negotiating tactics or abstract political formulas. We can then rationally address the questions of which forces and equipment should be reduced and by what amounts. We can translate our technical

analysis into detailed proposals that both protect our interests and offer the other side a proposal for reductions that will enhance military stability in the heart of Europe.

Our security and that of the Alliance is inextricably linked. We will pursue these negotiations in full agreement with our allies. We will negotiate with the same dedication we displayed in SALT. We will also observe a fundamental principle of those talks; we will not enter into agreements that undermine international equilibrium or create threats to other countries.

OTHER ARMS CONTROL ISSUES

During the past year we have pursued arms control on several multilateral fronts.

Biological Arms Control. On April 10, 1972, the United States, the Soviet Union, and over 70 other nations signed an international treaty banning the development, production, and stockpiling of biological and toxic weapons and requiring destruction of existing stocks. The treaty has now been signed by more than 100 nations. I submitted it to the Senate on August 10, 1972, for advice and consent. Meanwhile, we are taking steps to implement some provisions.

The facilities that once produced these weapons are now doing research for peaceful purposes. The former biological warfare facility at Pine Bluff Arsenal in Arkansas has become a center for research on the adverse effects of chemical substances in man's environment. The former military biological research facility at Fort Detrick, Maryland, now houses a national center for cancer research. Scien-

tists from all nations are being invited to share in the humanitarian work of these centers.

Chemical Arms Control. This Administration remains firmly committed to achieving effective international restraints on chemical weapons.

During the past year the United States played a leading role in the discussion of chemical weapons controls at the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva. We presented a comprehensive work program on the prohibition of chemical weapons and several technical studies of this subject.

The basic problem is that several nations may have these weapons and the capacity to produce them is widespread. It is exceedingly difficult to verify existing stocks, let alone their reduction, or to distinguish between civilian and military production. Furthermore, however remote the threat may be that any nation would use chemical weapons offensively, that threat must be countered with certain defensive capabilities.

The major issue is whether competition will continue or whether, as in SALT, some partial measures can be adopted to facilitate more comprehensive measures.

Comprehensive Test Ban. The United States has continued to support the objective of an adequately verified agreement to ban all nuclear weapons testing.

Some countries maintain that national means of verification would be sufficient to monitor such a ban with confidence. We disagree. Despite substantial progress in detecting and identifying seismic events, including underground nuclear tests, we believe that national means of verification still should be supplemented by some on-site inspection.

The United States shares the view of

many other nations that an adequately verified comprehensive test ban would be a positive contribution to moderating the arms race. For this reason we are giving high priority to the problem of verification. We will continue to cooperate with other nations in working toward eventual agreement on this important issue.

The responsibility for controlling arms does not rest with the great powers alone. As the United States and the Soviet Union seek to curb the nuclear arms race, and the nations with forces in Central Europe seek to reduce conventional forces, other countries should develop regional arms control arrangements which will enhance mutual security and reduce the danger of local conflicts. External powers should respect such arrangements by restricting the flow of weapons into such areas. The United States is prepared to do so.

PART VII: NEW INTERNATIONAL CHALLENGES

—The United Nations

—The Global Challenges of Peace

THE UNITED NATIONS

In this increasingly interdependent world, a more effective United Nations continues to be an important goal of our diplomacy. There is no inconsistency between our search for a better equilibrium among the major powers and our commitment to global cooperation through worldwide institutions. Success in adjusting and improving big power relationships should reinforce the multilateral framework in which all nations can work together in dealing with worldwide problems.

We should not exaggerate the present capacity of the United Nations for strong

action, particularly in the field of peace and security. But neither can we discount or ignore the significant and constructive role that multilateral organizations can and do play in coping with matters of world interest. What is essential is to discern how and when the United Nations can act effectively for the benefit of mankind. This Administration, like its predecessors since the founding of the United Nations in 1945, is committed to strengthening the world organization as a dynamic instrument for constructive international action.

MAINTAINING THE PEACE

The capacity of the United Nations to reconcile political disputes and curb outbreaks of violence is limited, depending as it does on the willingness of members to utilize its machinery and, in particular, on the attitudes of the permanent members of the Security Council. This was starkly illustrated by the inability of the Security Council to act in the India-Pakistan conflict in December 1971, when Soviet vetoes frustrated ceasefire resolutions which had the support of an overwhelming majority of members. Differences among the major powers on the authorization, conduct, and financing of peace-keeping missions have yet to be resolved, but improvement of relations among these powers may enable the United Nations to act more effectively in the future. In view of America's objective that responsibilities for maintaining peace be widely shared, the strengthening of the United Nations peace-keeping role is an important goal of American policy.

A way must also be found to assure the continuous representation on the Security Council of those states whose resources

and influence could facilitate the Council's action. Any formula for such a restructuring of the Council, however, should not result in an unwieldy body whose operations would be slower and more uncertain than they now are.

We believe that Security Council procedures must be improved. A far greater effort must be made to base decisions on impartial fact-finding. It is also imperative that the Council not allow itself to be used for the blatant promotion of the views of one party while that party is in negotiations with another, as happened during the meetings in Panama in March 1973. At the time, we said that this was an unwise and improper use of the Council; the atmosphere of the meeting and its outcome showed that our misgivings were justified.

THE HUMAN RIGHTS DIMENSION

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights guides our actions in the United Nations to ease the plight of those whose basic rights have been denied. Our stand against apartheid and other forms of racism has been clearly articulated in many United Nations forums. Our commitments to the basic rights of freedom of movement has caused us to speak out in the United Nations against restrictions on the right to emigrate.

In other areas of human rights concern, our United Nations representatives have played a leading role in promoting the development of new rules for the observance of rights in armed conflicts. Responding in part to initiatives taken in the United Nations, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) held a series of consultations of experts to frame proposals for enlarging the protections

now provided in the four Geneva Conventions on war victims, including prisoners of war. The ICRC's proposals will be submitted to an international conference for the adoption of new protocols to the Geneva Conventions.

DECOLONIZATION

Much attention in the United Nations continues to be focused on colonial issues. We support self-determination for all peoples. But we have made clear that in supporting this objective we cannot condone recourse to violence or interference across established frontiers. We do support proposals which encourage communication and peaceful change. But we view with concern the efforts to give formal international status to insurgent movements that are still contesting for territorial control. The United Nations is an organization of established governments founded to bring parties together and to work for peace. We cannot accept its use as an arena for sanctifying the use of force. It is not in the spirit of the United Nations Charter.

INTERNATIONAL ORDER

The rule of law in a world beset by global problems must of necessity be a matter of priority for the United Nations. We cannot limit armaments, exploit the seas' riches, travel through the skies and the seas, control narcotics trafficking, or combat terrorism unless international legal norms are created and universally respected.

Despite the obvious urgency of many of these problems, the United Nations has failed to address some of them seriously. On hijacking, members of the Interna-

tional Civil Air Organization continue to balk at the prospect of the tough measures needed to curb air piracy. The failure of the 27th General Assembly to take effective action to combat international terrorism was a major disappointment.

The world community suffers when its most respected international institution fails to deal with elementary questions of international order. Even so, those who wish an orderly world must persevere in their efforts to achieve United Nations action to these ends. United Nations conventions on narcotics and earlier hijacking conventions are examples of what can be done by a united world community.

THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM

Controversies in the United Nations over questions of peace and security have often overshadowed other ongoing activities of the organization. The United Nations plays an important, if less dramatic, role in transferring skills to the developing nations and in dealing with a variety of worldwide problems brought on by the quickening pace of social and technological change. It is well to recognize that the United Nations is a system of interlocking organizations and that more than nine-tenths of its resources are devoted to activities in the economic, social, technical, and scientific fields.

These functions, which we have encouraged and continue to support, encompass virtually every transnational government activity. They include promoting disarmament, assuring the safety of civil aviation, combating epidemics, protecting the environment, checking the illicit flow of narcotics, setting guidelines for the orderly exploitation of seabed resources, providing technical assistance to

developing countries, and organizing relief for victims of disaster.

About one-fourth of the United Nations system's expenditures for these purposes are devoted to activities of a regulatory, standard-setting, or exchange-of-information character. They are, in effect, global public services managed by the United Nations system for the world community. The remaining three-fourths finance economic, social, and technical activities to assist the less developed areas of the world. In an interdependent world these activities are inseparable from more traditional actions to promote peace and security.

Within the United Nations system, a dozen bodies are involved in the effort to reduce the gap between the rich and poor nations. The most important of these is the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the world's largest technical assistance program. This vital and successful activity of the United Nations merits our continued and substantial support.

The world community's development efforts cannot make major headway unless the present rate of population growth is slowed. We will continue to support the United Nations Fund for Population Activities and other UN agencies in addressing this critical world problem, while also maintaining our bilateral programs. We particularly welcome the UN decision to designate 1974 as World Population Year and to convene a World Population Conference.

United Nations specialized agencies are playing an important role in the multilateral response to the challenges of protecting the environment. The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) is helping to monitor the earth's atmos-

phere; the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is conducting basic environmental research; the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) is implementing rules governing the discharge of oil at sea; and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) is conducting programs dealing with soil salinity and soil erosion. At United States initiative the General Assembly created a United Nations Environment Fund and institutional arrangements to direct and coordinate global action to lend further impetus to these environmental activities.

The United Nations is increasingly providing the means for a truly international response to tragedies and disasters around the world. This relatively new and very important activity of the UN system deserves the fullest support.

The role of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in administering the program of safeguards on the use of nuclear materials under the 1970 Non-Proliferation Treaty is an essential contribution to international security.

The world values and needs these many services of the United Nations system. But all of them are increasingly costly. It is essential that they be performed—and it is also essential that they be performed in the most efficient and economical manner possible. The ongoing improvement of UN management practices will continue to receive priority support and emphasis from the United States.

OUR PARTICIPATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS

The United States played a leading role in the founding of the United Nations in 1945, and has been a leader in providing

political and financial support. Many Americans may have thought of the United Nations as an "instant world government" that could somehow attack and solve all the problems and ills of the world. But it must be recognized that the United Nations is a body of 132 member states, each maintaining its sovereignty and pursuing its own national interests. Only when there is a broad consensus does United Nations action become possible.

The United States takes seriously its obligations under the United Nations Charter. Except for imports of small quantities of certain strategic materials exempted by U.S. public law—accounting for no more than a minute percentage of Rhodesia's exports—the United States, unlike many others, adheres strictly to the UN program of sanctions against Rhodesia. Many in the United Nations challenged our observance of sanctions. But there should not be a double standard which ignores the widespread, substantial—but unavowed—non-observance of sanctions by others.

In last year's Report, I stated that "prudence and political realism dictate that no one country should be assessed a disproportionate share of the expenses of an organization approaching universality in which each member, large or small, has but one vote. That is particularly true when experience has shown that the major contributing countries are unable to exercise effective control over the UN budget." I therefore announced that it would be our goal to negotiate a reduction in our United Nations assessment from 31.5 percent to 25 percent of the organization's budget. This idea was not at all new; in fact, in 1946 Senator Arthur Vandenberg argued in favor of a U.S. assessment of 25 percent. This figure was

also cited as desirable by the Lodge Commission on the United Nations in 1971, and it was endorsed by the United States Congress in 1972.

On December 13, 1972, by an overwhelming majority vote, the United Nations initiated action to reduce our assessment to 25 percent as soon as practicable. This step, which required the agreement of other members, can only result in a strengthened United Nations, in which the costs of membership are more evenly distributed.

We have continued to be generous in voluntary contributions to a variety of programs, including the United Nations Development Program, UNICEF, and the United Nations' funds on population activities, the environment, and narcotics control.

LIVING TOGETHER

Unable to retreat into isolation in a world made small by technology and shared aspirations, man has no choice but to reach out to his fellow man. Together we must build a world order in which we can work together to resolve our common problems. That is what the United Nations is all about. If we sometimes appear to be criticizing rather than praising the United Nations, it is because we need it and want to make it a dynamic instrument for promoting a lasting peace.

The commitment of this Administration to the strengthening of international institutions remains firm. We stand ready to cooperate with all United Nations members, large and small, in enhancing the capacity of the United Nations to deal as effectively with problems of peace and security as it does with economic and technical questions.

THE GLOBAL CHALLENGES OF PEACE

Our purpose in building a structure of peace is not simply to prevent the outbreak of war. We also seek to foster a new spirit of cooperation among nations in meeting urgent problems that face the whole human family. Some of these can be welcomed as opportunities, such as the use of the oceans and the exploration of space. Others are vexing problems, including pollution, international terrorism, and drug abuse. But all transcend ideology and parochial conceptions of national self-interest. They involve the world's interests and the entire world community must work together on them.

Since taking office, this Administration has sought ways to focus world attention on these issues and to propose measures for resolving them. Substantial progress has been made in a number of areas, but in all areas much more remains to be done before we can feel we have effectively met the global challenges of peace.

THE OCEANS

As man's activities in the oceans intensify, the need for international accommodation is clear. Serious efforts are now being made in the United Nations to work out new rules and develop institutions to ensure the rational future use of the marine environment. If these efforts are successful, mankind's development of the sea frontier can proceed without the destructive national rivalries that characterized the earlier race for land empires. But if the effort fails, conflicting claims and bitter international disputes are inevitable.

As a major maritime power and a leader in ocean technology, the United States has a special responsibility for this inter-

national effort to reach agreement on the peaceful use of the world's oceans. Together with more than 90 other nations, we are making intensive preparations for a comprehensive Law of the Sea Conference called for by a resolution of the United Nations General Assembly. We have introduced detailed proposals relating to the seabed and seabed resources, living marine resources, the breadth of the territorial sea, and freedom of transit through and over international straits. These proposals are designed to accommodate the diverse interests of many nations and to permit all to use the seas more effectively and harmoniously.

An early and successful Law of the Sea Conference is essential. The demands on such a Conference will be intense if an effective new law of the sea treaty is to be realized. Each nation will have to identify with care its vital interests in the use of the world's oceans and their resources, and to enter the negotiations ready to seek accommodation of potentially conflicting national interests.

The United States shares, to a greater or lesser degree, all the fundamental interests being weighed in these negotiations. We have a crucial stake in ensuring that essential high seas freedoms are maintained. We also have important interests in the areas off our coasts. Some 80 percent of all U.S. fishing is conducted in adjacent coastal waters, and offshore oil production is nearly 20 percent of the U.S. total. We are also concerned with protecting our coastline and coastal waters from pollution and otherwise preserving the marine environment.

Territorial Seas and Straits. The United States has presented to the UN Seabed Committee draft treaty articles providing for:

- a territorial sea with a maximum breadth of 12 nautical miles, together with and conditional on
- a right of free transit through and over straits used for international navigation.

We firmly believe that 12 miles represents the only figure on which general agreement among nations is possible, and there has been growing consensus on this view in the international community.

Many straits used for international navigation are less than 24 miles wide. Twelve-mile territorial seas might thus overlap. Accordingly, the United States has made a provision for a specific right of "free transit" a condition to our agreement to a 12-mile territorial sea. This would preserve the right of transit through and over international straits for ships and aircraft. The U.S. proposal is designed to accommodate the concerns of nations bordering such straits with respect to traffic arrangements and pollution control.

Until the right of free transit is established, the prevailing law in international straits six miles wide or less will continue to be that of "innocent passage." In straits wider than six miles, the United States position continues to be that high seas freedoms exist. Under the 1958 Geneva Convention on the Territorial Sea and Contiguous Zone, aircraft do not have a right of overflight and submarines exercising innocent passage must navigate on the surface. Moreover, coastal states may give their own interpretation to "innocent" passage. In these circumstances, the right of innocent passage is no longer adequate to ensure free transit through and over international straits.

Marine Resources. All coastal states have strong interests in the living and non-living resources off their coast. Accord-

ingly, any new law of the sea convention should provide for certain coastal state economic rights beyond the territorial sea. But the nature and extent of those rights is fundamental and must be carefully defined.

The regime for the deep seabed area beyond national jurisdiction, which is the common heritage of all mankind, should provide developing as well as other countries with the opportunity to take part in and benefit from deep seabed exploitation. It should also provide reasonable and secure investment conditions for countries whose capital and technology make such exploitation possible.

With respect to marine resources generally, the United States is willing to agree to broad coastal state economic jurisdiction beyond the territorial sea as part of a satisfactory overall law of the sea settlement. But this management jurisdiction over mineral resources and fisheries should be tempered by international standards that respect the interests of other states and the international community.

Internationally-agreed limitations on seabed resources should include:

- Standards to prevent unreasonable interference with other uses of the ocean, to protect the oceans from pollution, and to safeguard the integrity of investment;
- Sharing of revenues for international community purposes; and
- Compulsory third-party settlement of disputes to help reduce the potential for conflict.

Effective harvesting of the oceans' fisheries resources, consistent with sound conservation, will be required if the nations of the world are to realize the potential of fish as a major source of protein-rich food. With both a coastal and distant water

fishing industry, the United States has incentives to work toward a multilateral fisheries agreement that takes into account the world's supply of fisheries resources as well as the differing interests of coastal and distant water fishing nations.

We believe coastal states should have special management authority and preferential rights with regard to fisheries stocks in their coastal waters or those that spawn in their rivers. We have proposed to make these rights correspond to the biological characteristics of the fish involved. Our proposal provides for broad coastal state jurisdiction and preferences over coastal and anadromous fisheries, such as salmon, beyond the territorial sea, with international standards for conservation, maximum utilization, equitable allocation, and compulsory third-party settlement of disputes. On the other hand, our proposal provides that highly migratory fish, such as tuna, would be regulated by international organizations in which all interested fishing and coastal states could participate. We have suggested that during the law of the sea negotiations a formula be devised to determine what part of the allowable catch is to be left to traditional distant water fisheries.

If nations are to continue to gain the knowledge required for fuller, wiser use of the oceans, maximum freedom of scientific research must be maintained, and developing countries should participate. The United States has also proposed that the Law of the Sea Conference develop draft treaty articles on marine pollution to ensure that man's uses of the oceans pose minimal risks to the marine environment.

The past year saw encouraging signs that the international community as a whole is beginning to understand the pressing need to accommodate these di-

verse interests. This process must continue and the United States will continue to work with other concerned nations to meet this challenge.

OUTER SPACE

Man's ventures into outer space provide a natural arena for international cooperation. Such cooperation is not merely helpful; in some cases it constitutes the only practical means of realizing the potential of space.

This Administration has worked through both governmental and nongovernmental organizations to realize the technical, economic, and other benefits offered by space activities. We are also trying through both bilateral and international channels to develop sound and equitable legal arrangements to govern such activities.

Our dramatic moon expeditions were almost exclusively national ventures, but they provided opportunities for significant international involvement. Many experiments developed in foreign laboratories were carried to the moon by our Apollo spacecraft and more than a hundred foreign scientists shared in the analysis of the lunar samples our Astronauts brought back. We are now discussing international participation in our post-Apollo space program, including plans for a possible joint aeronautical satellite experiment.

The American capability for launching payloads into orbit has also made possible a wide range of joint space efforts. To date, we have launched sixteen satellites developed by other countries or by international organizations. I announced last October that the United States would provide launch assistance on a non-

discriminatory, reimbursable basis to foreign countries and international organizations for any space project undertaken for peaceful purposes and consistent with relevant international arrangements. This policy extended to other nations the assurances we had given earlier to member states of the European Space Conference.

The Earth Resource Technology Satellite (ERTS) program of the United States is a particularly significant example of international cooperation in space. The program is designed to develop ways to use satellites in geological, hydrological, agricultural, and oceanographic surveys, in pollution monitoring, and in other types of resource utilization planning. Ninety projects from 37 nations and two international organizations are included in the present research program. The first ERTS satellite was launched in July 1972. Several earth resource survey experiments, including some proposed by other countries, will be conducted by the manned Skylab spacecraft. An additional unmanned experimental satellite is also planned.

After years of intensive negotiations, an international satellite telecommunications consortium of 83 nations, known as Intelsat, has come into existence. Intelsat is a unique multinational venture responsible for a worldwide network of satellite telecommunications.

The United States continues to play an active role in United Nations space affairs, particularly the Outer Space Committee. International acceptance has been secured for the 1968 Astronaut Rescue and Return Agreement and for the 1972 Space Liability Convention. Work is also going forward on treaties covering the moon and other celestial bodies and on registration of space objects.

The past year also marked a significant milestone in U.S.-Soviet space cooperation. The Space Cooperation Agreement which I signed in Moscow on May 24, 1972, provides for a variety of cooperative activities, including a joint docking mission of Soviet and American spacecraft in 1975.

Further opportunities lie ahead, including possible international cooperation in the use of a space shuttle and the development of basic international understandings regarding earth resource surveys. We will shape our response to these and other challenges in ways that enhance the prospects for the peaceful use of outer space in the interest of all mankind.

INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGES

Political relations among nations are increasingly influenced by the growing range of unofficial contacts between individuals and groups in the modern world. The increase in economic and scientific interdependence, the growth of new transnational communities based on common interests and concerns, the global reach of communications, and the upsurge in travel have all radically altered the environment in which national governments develop and pursue their policies.

U.S. foreign policy has kept pace with these changes. Our policies and programs have been responsive to the opportunities. For example, as a result of agreements made last year in connection with my visit to the Soviet Union, the American and Soviet peoples are now working more closely in a host of areas—exchanging reactor scientists, sharing research findings in heart disease, cancer, and environmental health, cooperating in nearly 30 environmental projects, collaborating in

the use of computers in management, and planning joint probes into space. Cultural groups and performing artists ply between the two countries in increasing numbers. Similar exchanges are occurring with the People's Republic of China. In the past year, Chinese table tennis players, physicians, scientists, and acrobats have visited the United States, and businessmen, doctors, journalists, educators, scientists, and scholars from this country have gone to China.

Scientific, educational, and cultural exchanges between the United States and scores of other countries are also steadily increasing, under both official and unofficial auspices. These have helped open up new levels of dialogue with present and prospective leaders in much of the world.

These expanding contacts of millions of American citizens and hundreds of American organizations with their counterparts abroad must increasingly influence the way others see us and the way all societies see themselves. These trends are not a panacea but they are contributing to a climate of understanding in which governments can pursue the adjustment of official relationships. They also afford the individual citizen meaningful ways to help build the structure of peace which is America's goal.

INTERNATIONAL HIJACKING AND TERRORISM

Just when prospects for peace among nations are stronger than at any other time in recent decades, a new form of lawless violence is spreading like a cancer through the international community. Acts of politically-inspired terrorism against innocent persons and against com-

mercial aircraft and other targets have increased sharply in recent years. The means chosen by these terrorists are often completely unscrupulous and their destructive effects indiscriminate. Terrorism threatens not only the safety and well-being of individuals around the globe but even the stability of some societies.

Crimes against civil aviation continue to be a major threat. The number of aircraft hijackings has grown throughout the world since the first such incident, the diversion of an American plane to Cuba in May 1961. Aircraft of nations representing the full range of the political spectrum have been affected, including Soviet, Israeli, German, Belgian, British, Mexican, and American planes.

Terrorists have also struck in many other ways. More than 100 letter bombs have been sent through the international mails. A wave of diplomatic abductions began in August 1968 when terrorists tried to kidnap the U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala, and killed him in the process. Since then, 17 diplomatic kidnapping attempts have occurred in the Western Hemisphere alone. The recent murders of one Belgian and two American diplomats in Khartoum underscore the global dimension of the terrorist problem.

The United States, in consultation with other governments, has tried to curb this rising tide of international crime and gangsterism. Over the last ten years we have pressed for adoption of international conventions to deal with skyjacking. Three multilateral agreements are now in force:

—The 1963 Tokyo Convention, which requires states to return hijacked aircraft to the control of their lawful commanders and to facilitate continuation of air journeys interrupted by violence;

—The 1970 Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, which obligates states either to prosecute or extradite suspected air hijackers found in their territory; and

—A companion convention, the 1971 Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Civil Aviation, which deals with sabotage and other terrorist attacks against civil aircraft.

We are working for the adoption of another international convention which would establish procedures for possible sanctions, including suspension of air service, against countries which fail to punish or extradite hijackers or saboteurs of civil aircraft.

We took an important bilateral action on February 15, 1973, when we entered into an agreement with Cuba whereby each agreed to extradite, if it did not punish, individuals involved in hijacking.

The United States has also pressed for concrete results in the United Nations to deal with international terrorism generally. We welcomed Secretary General Waldheim's proposal that the UN General Assembly consider this subject, submitted a draft convention, and called for discussion. Some UN members, while sympathetic to the need for quick actions, emphasized the difficulty of defining terrorism and devising international arrangements to deal effectively with it. Some sought to sidetrack the debate. The General Assembly set up an interim working group to study the question in depth.

The Assembly also considered draft articles on the protection of diplomats and agreed to solicit member states' comments with a view to completing action on a convention at its 1973 session. We will

do our utmost to secure General Assembly acceptance of this convention this year.

In INTERPOL, the mechanism for international cooperation in criminal police work, we have sought the maximum exchange of intelligence among participating countries with respect to cases of hijacking and acts of terrorism.

We have addressed these problems at home as well. The Cabinet Committee to Combat Terrorism, which I established last September, reviewed existing procedures and adopted new measures where necessary to ensure that our Government could take swift and effective action in diplomatic, intelligence, and law enforcement channels. We have already improved our methods for screening aliens entering or transiting the United States and have taken additional precautions for the protection of foreign diplomatic missions and personnel in the United States.

The international community should examine the political causes of terrorism and seek to remedy any legitimate injustices. But political passion, however deeply held, cannot be permitted to wreak criminal violence on innocent persons. As I have made clear in the past, the United States Government will not submit to terrorist blackmail. We will continue to work vigorously to deter and prevent terrorist acts and to punish those who perpetrate them.

CONTROL OF DRUG ABUSE

As part of our drive to meet the deadly menace of narcotics abuse, this Administration remains committed to an unrelenting global struggle against illicit drug traffic.

The Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control, which spear-

heads U.S. drug control efforts overseas, requested our ambassadors in each of 59 countries to prepare narcotics control action plans. These were reviewed early in 1972 in Washington and returned to our embassies to serve as the basis for negotiating bilateral narcotics control programs.

By letter of February 16, 1972, I advised the appropriate Chiefs of Mission that the most essential element in such programs was to convince leaders of countries where drug production and trafficking occur to commit their governments to attacking the narcotics problem with urgency and determination. Last September, at a special Washington conference of senior U.S. narcotics control officers from around the world, I emphasized my readiness under the provisions of the Foreign Assistance Act both to assist cooperating countries and to suspend economic and military assistance to any country which fails to take adequate steps against illicit drug traffic. By mid-year, our embassies had initiated discussions with all target countries, and since then they have concentrated on the implementation of cooperative action programs.

The results of our international anti-drug effort have been most encouraging. Worldwide seizures of heroin and morphine base tripled in 1971 and nearly doubled again in 1972. In 1972 some of the most important figures in the world drug traffic were arrested, and a number of high level traffickers were extradited to the United States from other countries. Five heroin laboratories in the Marseilles area were shut down by the French authorities during the year. Steps have been taken, particularly in Laos and Thailand, to tighten controls on drug smuggling from Southeast Asia. We have cooperated with other countries in drug treat-

ment, rehabilitation, and education efforts, and in crop substitution and eradication measures. The Turkish ban on opium cultivation, for example, has been implemented resolutely. Multilateral efforts to fight illicit narcotics production and trafficking have also received full U.S. support. This country has been the chief contributor to the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control, which has started narcotics control programs in Thailand and Afghanistan. And we have initiated proposals to amend and strengthen the Single Convention on Narcotics Drugs.

With more and more countries now working to stop drug trafficking, seizures and arrests are up dramatically both here and abroad. This progress has helped to reduce the illicit drug supply in the United States. During 1972 the price of street level heroin in the eastern half of the country rose sharply, the quality declined, and new users had difficulty locating sources of supply.

These gains notwithstanding, a sustained vigorous campaign is still required against what has become one of the most serious of the world's social ills. The United States will continue to provide leadership in that worldwide campaign.

POPULATION

Twenty years ago the world's population was less than 2,600,000,000. Today it is more than 3,800,000,000. In just these two decades, the human family has increased by nearly half the total population attained in all the millennia before. In most of the developing countries, populations will double in the next 20 to 28 years.

Rapid population growth burdens and

retards development, accentuates malnutrition and unemployment, and crowds cities with slums. These effects are felt particularly in developing countries. For developed and developing nations alike, population pressure constitutes one of the principal threats to the environment. Too many people scrambling for cultivable land and resources are a danger to international peace, and this danger may sharply increase as populations double and treble in coming decades.

Efforts to moderate population growth are having important, if limited, success around the world. Many countries have already undertaken measures to bring rapid increase under control; others have national programs to provide family planning services to their people. The United States now provides bilateral assistance for such activities in 36 countries. We also contribute to the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, which supports programs in 76 countries, and to the International Planned Parenthood Federation, with programs in over 40 countries.

At the Second Asian Population Conference in Tokyo last November, the United States joined 22 other countries in calling on governments to establish goals and programs for effectively controlling population growth, and to provide family planning information, education, and services to all their citizens as soon as possible.

In order to focus international attention on the vital problem of world population growth, the United Nations has designated next year as World Population Year. A World Population Conference has been called for August 1974. I believe information and action programs undertaken as part of the observance can be a valuable means of furthering apprecia-

tion of population problems and of generating more resolute action by nations to solve them. The United States will cooperate fully with the United Nations in observing the year and working to make the World Population Conference a success.

It is imperative that the nations of the world reach agreement on means for dealing effectively with this global problem.

ENERGY

Satisfying the world's energy requirements over the next several decades is a matter of urgent concern to the United States and other nations. Important factors include a rapidly increasing demand for energy, the need to choose among alternative new sources, the costs of developing these sources, and the strong emphasis on environmental protection which limits the use of many energy forms.

One major problem that will face us during the next two decades will be ensuring an adequate supply of energy from secure sources at reasonable prices. This task will require broad cooperation between consumer and producer nations. It will have a major impact on international trade and finance.

This Administration has recognized the need for adjustment in our policies to meet the demands of the changing energy scene. Domestically, we plan to accelerate the development of our own oil and gas resources, including those on the Outer Continental Shelf and in Alaska, in a manner consistent with national interest and conservation. We have worked, as appropriate, with U.S. private enterprise in its efforts to develop new foreign sources of oil and natural gas, including Soviet and Algerian sources. We have been kept

informed by our petroleum industry concerning its negotiations to develop new relationships with the world's major oil producing countries. Finally, we are investigating ways in which closer cooperation among producers and consumers could result in an adequate supply of oil and natural gas throughout the world—with due regard for the interests of consumers and producers alike.

We are maintaining our support for the development of nuclear energy, which has proven to be an economically viable alternative to more traditional fuels for the generation of electric power. In all aspects of U.S. cooperation with other nations in the nuclear energy field, however, we continue to insist on satisfactory safeguards against the diversion of nuclear materials from civilian use to the production of weapons.

We are also considering the feasibility of developing other alternative sources of energy—the gasification of coal, recovery of oil from shale, and the utilization of solar and geothermal resources.

In my recent energy policy statement, I announced several modifications in our domestic policies, and a major increase in funding and renewed emphasis on research and development programs aimed at creating alternative sources of energy. I am confident these programs will make possible the rapid expansion of domestic energy supplies that may be needed in the future.

The energy problem will also have major impact on our national security and foreign policy planning. Potential vulnerabilities could be created for the United States and our allies as we increase our energy imports in coming years. We will continue to consider these problems and design programs to alleviate them.

The shifting energy scene is a major challenge for international cooperation. These new common problems could introduce strains into our relations with other countries. But they also create new opportunities for cooperation that could ultimately bring countries closer together.

Cooperative research efforts with other nations can do much to speed the development of new forms of energy. Such cooperation in this difficult and expensive process is of mutual advantage to all nations. And while we search for new sources we must move with others—producers and consumers alike—toward wider measures of cooperation to ensure that the world's remaining fossil fuels are used most effectively.

POLLUTION AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Global environmental concerns transcend national boundaries, economic systems, and ideologies. They demand a truly global response. During the past year, we made progress on a number of fronts toward developing such a response.

Multilateral Actions. The most notable success was the first UN Conference on the Human Environment. Held in Stockholm in June 1972, with 113 countries participating, the Conference agreed on a far reaching program for international action on the earth's environmental ills. Specific aspects of the program include a global system to monitor the environment; international conventions to control ocean dumping of shore-generated wastes and to preserve plants and animals threatened with extinction; and creation of a World Heritage Trust to protect unique natural, historical, or cultural areas. The Conference also decided to set up an Environmental Secretariat to co-

ordinate UN programs in this field and to establish a UN Environmental Fund, which I had proposed in February 1972, with an initial goal of \$100 million for the first five years to finance environmental activities.

At the same time, we recognize the concerns of developing countries that steps to preserve the environment must enhance, not hinder, the development process. During the Stockholm meeting we made clear that in carrying out environmental programs we will take all practical steps to prevent reduced access to our markets; we will not use environmental concerns as a pretext for discriminatory trade policies.

The success of the Stockholm Conference offers considerable promise for more effective international cooperation on the environment. It is only a first step, however. Now we must work to translate the Conference recommendations into actions.

NATO's Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society (CCMS) also made progress in 1972. Committee projects on air and water pollution are providing valuable information and recommendations to member countries in the Atlantic Alliance, and a project in the field of urban transportation is now being developed. An inland water project is yielding important guidelines for dealing with the pollution of rivers that cross jurisdictional boundaries, and has already led to the formation of a U.S.-Canadian Joint Committee on Water Quality for the St. John's River Basin on our common border. As part of a CCMS pilot study, the United States last November signed an agreement with the principal European auto manufacturing nations to exchange information on technology for low pollution power systems.

At its May 1972 ministerial meeting, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) adopted guidelines designed to avoid possible trade distortions arising from differences in the environmental policies of member countries. The United States is now working with other OECD members to develop procedures for effective implementation of these guidelines, which should permit countries to strengthen their environmental protection programs without upsetting international trade relationships.

Marine mammals, including whales, dolphins, seals, and polar bears, are increasingly endangered by man's onslaughts. Whales are probably in the greatest jeopardy, with some species on the edge of extinction. The United States advocated a ten-year moratorium on all whaling, both to permit presently depleted stocks to recover and to generate needed scientific data on whales. The UN Conference on the Human Environment endorsed this proposal, calling upon the International Whaling Commission to adopt it. While the Commission rejected the proposed moratorium at its meeting in June 1972, it did agree to significant reductions in the 1973 quotas for catches of certain whales, and it extended the current ban on hunting other varieties.

The United States joined with 91 other nations in adopting a Convention on the Prevention of Marine Pollution by Dumping of Wastes and Other Matter at a conference in London last November. The parties to the convention agreed to institute national systems for regulating ocean dumping similar to the comprehensive program we now have in the United States.

The Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) has con-

tinued its efforts to prevent and reduce oil pollution from tanker collisions, groundings, and intentional discharges of oil ballast and bilge water. In May 1972, I submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent provisions to implement standards adopted by IMCO to reduce oil outflow from tanks ruptured in vessel casualties. IMCO's 1973 Conference on Marine Pollution, to be held in October in London, will focus on measures for the complete elimination of intentional pollution from oil and noxious substances and for the minimization of accidental spills. The United States is helping to develop a new international convention to eliminate intentional discharges of oil and hazardous substances from ships by 1975, if possible, or at the latest by the end of this decade.

Bilateral Actions. International progress on the environment in 1972 included significant bilateral developments.

Last May in Moscow I signed the U.S.-Soviet Agreement of Cooperation in the Field of Environmental Protection, which calls for mutual cooperation and exchange of information in eleven specific areas. The Joint Commission to implement this agreement met in Moscow last September, and agreed on a number of concrete projects, including a comparative investigation of air pollution in St. Louis and Leningrad; joint studies of water pollution problems at Lake Baikal in the Soviet Union and Lake Tahoe and one of the Great Lakes in the United States; exchange of information on environmental planning in urban areas, with emphasis on Leningrad in the Soviet Union and Atlanta and San Francisco in the United States; and a range of cooperative ventures in areas such as earthquake prediction, wildlife protection, effects of en-

vironmental change on climate, and marine pollution.

In April 1972 in Ottawa, Prime Minister Trudeau and I signed the U.S.-Canadian Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement to clean up and prevent further pollution in the Great Lakes. This agreement establishes an important international precedent for cooperation between neighboring nations to protect vital shared resources. It specified both general and specific water quality objectives and set a December 1975 deadline for various programs to be completed or underway.

In a joint communique issued last June with President Echeverría of Mexico, I announced that the United States would take immediate measures to reduce the salinity level of the Colorado River, a problem which Mexico has indicated damages agriculture in the Mexicali Valley. The communique also contained an agreement that policy-level officials from our two nations would meet regularly to discuss other mutual environmental concerns and to develop methods for dealing with them more systematically.

These, then, are the challenges which confront the entire world community. The international response during the past year to these issues has been encouraging. These efforts are providing institutional foundations for effective future action. While many problems still remain unresolved, the world has moved closer to the global solutions that are required.

CONCLUSION

In the past four years, there have been fundamental changes and signal successes. We have cleared away vestiges of the past. We have erased or moderated hos-

ilities. And we are strengthening partnerships.

The specific events or policies, however important, reflect a more profound enterprise. We are seeking the philosophical, as well as the practical, reorientation of our foreign policy. This is the primary challenge of a radically different world. If America is to provide the leadership that only it can, Americans must identify with new visions and purposes.

As we look toward this nation's two hundredth birthday, we shall continue our efforts—with the people and the Congress—to create this new consensus.

In the transition from the bipolar world of American predominance to the multipolar world of shared responsibilities, certain themes need emphasis. They indicate not only what our approach is, but what it is not.

We seek a stable structure, not a classical balance of power. Undeniably, national security must rest upon a certain equilibrium between potential adversaries. The United States cannot entrust its destiny entirely, or even largely, to the goodwill of others. Neither can we expect other countries so to mortgage their future. Solid security involves external restraints on potential opponents as well as self-restraint.

Thus a certain balance of power is inherent in any international system and has its place in the one we envision. But it is not the overriding concept of our foreign policy. First of all, our approach reflects the realities of the nuclear age. The classical concept of balance of power included continual maneuvering for marginal advantages over others. In the nuclear era this is both unrealistic and dangerous. It is unrealistic because when both sides possess such enormous power, small

additional increments cannot be translated into tangible advantage or even usable political strength. And it is dangerous because attempts to seek tactical gains might lead to confrontation which could be catastrophic.

Secondly, our approach includes the element of consensus. All nations, adversaries and friends alike, must have a stake in preserving the international system. They must feel that their principles are being respected and their national interests secured. They must, in short, see positive incentive for keeping the peace, not just the dangers of breaking it. If countries believe global arrangements threaten their vital concerns, they will challenge them. If the international environment meets their vital concerns, they will work to maintain it. Peace requires mutual accommodation as well as mutual restraint.

Negotiation with adversaries does not alter our more fundamental ties with friends. We have made a concerted effort to move from confrontation to negotiation. We have done well. At the same time, our determination to reduce divisions has not eroded distinctions between friends and adversaries. Our alliances remain the cornerstones of our foreign policy. They reflect shared values and purposes. They involve major economic interests. They provide the secure foundation on which to base negotiations.

Although their forms must be adapted to new conditions, these ties are enduring. We have no intention of sacrificing them in efforts to engage adversaries in the shaping of peace. Indeed such efforts cannot succeed, nor can they have lasting meaning, without the bonds of traditional friendships. There is no higher objective than the strengthening of our partnerships.

Détente does not mean the end of danger. Improvements in both the tone and substance of our relations have indeed reduced tensions and heightened the prospects for peace. But these processes are not automatic or easy. They require vigilance and firmness and exertion. Nothing would be more dangerous than to assume prematurely that dangers have disappeared.

Thus we maintain strong military power even as we seek mutual limitation and reduction of arms. We do not mistake climate for substance. We base our policies on the actions and capabilities of others, not just on estimates of their intentions.

Détente is not the same as lasting peace. And peace does not guarantee tranquility or mean the end of contention. The world will hold perils for as far ahead as we can see.

We intend to share responsibilities, not abdicate them. We have emphasized the need for other countries to take on more responsibilities for their security and development. The tangible result has often been a reduction in our overseas presence or our share of contributions. But our purpose is to continue our commitment to the world in ways we can sustain, not to camouflage a retreat. We took these steps only when our friends were prepared for them. They have been successfully carried out because American backing remained steady. They have helped to maintain support in this country for a responsible foreign policy.

I underlined the vital importance of the redefined American role two years ago:

"Our participation remains crucial. Because of the abundance of our resources and the stretch of our technology, Amer-

ica's impact on the world remains enormous, whether by our action or by our inaction. Our awareness of the world is too keen, and our concern for peace too deep for us to remove the measure of stability which we have provided for the past 25 years."

Measured against the challenges we faced and the goals we set, we can take satisfaction in the record of the past four years. Our progress has been more marked in reducing tensions than in restructuring partnerships. We have negotiated an end to a war and made future wars less likely by improving relations with major adversaries. Our bonds with old friends have proved durable during these years of profound change. But we are still searching for more balanced relationships. This will be our most immediate concern, even as we pursue our other goals.

Where peace is newly planted, we shall work to make it thrive.

Where bridges have been built, we shall work to make them stronger.

Where friendships have endured, we shall work to make them grow.

During the next four years—with the help of others—we shall continue building an international structure which could silence the sounds of war for the remainder of this century.

NOTE: The text of the report was issued by the White House in the form of a 234-page booklet entitled "U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1970's: Shaping a Durable Peace; A Report to the Congress by Richard Nixon, President of the United States, May 3, 1973."

On the same day, the White House released the transcripts of two news briefings on the President's report. The briefings were held by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, on May 2 and 3.

142 Statement About Signing the Older Americans Comprehensive Services Amendments of 1973.

May 4, 1973

I HAVE SIGNED S. 50, the Older Americans Comprehensive Services Amendments of 1973. This legislation extends through fiscal year 1975 the appropriation authorization for the Older Americans Act of 1965 and expands the range of services provided for the elderly under that and other acts.

Last fall I felt compelled to veto another bill extending the older Americans programs.¹ I am particularly pleased that S. 50 eliminates many of the significant problems which were present in the earlier legislation while also building upon the strengths of existing programs.

Specifically, S. 50 provides authorization levels which avoid the cruel over-promises implied by the levels in the earlier bill. I applaud the Congress for taking such a responsible stand and ask that it show similar restraint as it considers other authorizing and spending bills which will come before it.

S. 50 also authorizes financial assistance for area-wide planning within individual States, thus opening the way to more comprehensive and coordinated systems for the delivery of services. Within those systems, the bill encourages more effective focusing of resources so that we can set up programs to meet needs identified by State and local leaders. I am sure that many older Americans who have volunteered thousands of hours of their time to serve others will also be gratified that S. 50 provides for a continuation of the Foster Grandparent and the Retired

Senior Volunteer Program—two efforts which have my wholehearted support.

In sum, S. 50 represents another step forward to assist older Americans, and I am proud and pleased to sign it into law.

In recent years, the executive and Congressional branches, working together, have strengthened programs for the elderly in a number of ways that should be a source of pride for all Americans:

- Levels in the Administration on Aging will have risen from \$28 million in fiscal year 1970 to \$196 million in fiscal year 1974, a seven-fold increase in only 4 years.

- Social security benefits rates have been increased by 51 percent in the last 4 years, and cash benefits paid to the elderly will have increased from \$22.5 billion in 1970 to \$41.5 billion in fiscal year 1974.

- Medicare and Medicaid benefits for the elderly will have increased from \$7.8 billion in 1970 to \$11.5 billion in the coming fiscal year.

- Total Federal outlays which benefit the elderly will have increased 71 percent from fiscal year 1970 to 1974, rising from \$37.2 billion to \$63.8 billion.

- In fiscal year 1974, Federal outlays to benefit the elderly will represent almost 24 percent of the total Federal budget, up from less than 18 percent in 1970.

All of this progress helps to fulfill the hope of older men and women throughout America of achieving lives of independence and dignity. It represents, as well, the

¹ See 1972 volume, Item 391.

continuing commitment of this Administration to improving the lives of all our elderly citizens.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 50, approved May 3, 1973, is Public Law 93-29 (87 Stat. 30).

The statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

143 Statement About the Report of the Presidential Study Commission on International Radio Broadcasting.

May 7, 1973

FOR MILLIONS of listeners on the European Continent, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are sources of reliable, comprehensive information. They make available a broad range of news and news analysis which we in the West take so much for granted that we sometimes forget that such information is denied to others.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are not spokesmen for American official policy—a broadcasting job that belongs to the Voice of America. Rather, they are highly professional media of news and news analysis, functioning as a kind of substitute free press for a crucial part of the world.

Today I am making public the report of the Presidential Study Commission on International Radio Broadcasting. It is a thorough and thoughtful statement concerning the need to maintain and strengthen the free flow of information among nations and the unique role that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty play in that process. It also contains constructive and detailed recommendations on ways that support for the radio stations

should be organized and financed for the future.

I shall soon send to the Congress legislative proposals for continuing Federal financial support for the two stations.

I endorse wholeheartedly the conclusion of the Commission that these voices of free information and ideas serve our national interest and merit the full support of the Congress and the American people. As I have said before, the free flow of information and of ideas among nations is a vital element in normal relations between East and West and contributes to an enduring structure of peace.

To the Chairman of the Commission, Dr. Milton Eisenhower, and to the other members—Mr. Edward Ware Barrett, Ambassador John A. Gronouski, Ambassador Edmund A. Gullion, and Dr. John P. Roche—I express my deep appreciation for their report.

NOTE: The statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

The report is entitled “The Right To Know—Report of the Presidential Study Commission on International Radio Broadcasting” (Government Printing Office, 91 pp.).

144 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Disaster Preparedness and Assistance Legislation. May 8, 1973

To the Congress of the United States:

I am today submitting for the consideration of the Congress the Disaster Preparedness and Assistance Act of 1973. This legislation has resulted from a comprehensive review of all our disaster assistance activities as called for under Public Law 92-385, enacted last August.

A major objective of this bill is to consolidate the responsibility for disaster assistance, reducing the number of Federal agencies involved in these efforts, eliminating overlapping responsibilities and distributing benefits on a more equitable basis. Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1973, in which the Congress has already concurred, provides the organizational structure for achieving this consolidation under the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. This new legislation would also do a great deal to strengthen the role of State and local governments and of private institutions in meeting this important challenge.

In addition, as its name clearly implies, this bill would place greater emphasis on protecting people and property against the effects of disasters before they occur. In this same connection, I would call once again for prompt enactment of the Flood Disaster Protection Act of 1973 which I submitted to the Congress several weeks ago.

The Disaster Preparedness and Assist-

ance Act of 1973 represents a comprehensive new approach to a very crucial problem. To ease the transition to this new system, I propose that during its first year of operation a special Federal grant of \$250,000 be provided to each State to help it increase its disaster preparedness and assistance capabilities.

Last year set a new record for the number of disasters which had to be formally declared by the President of the United States—48 in all. Already this year, spring floods and tornadoes have brought tragedy to many areas of our country.

While we cannot fully control the occurrence and the impact of disasters, we must do all we can to prepare for them, to prevent them, and to mitigate and remedy their effects. The legislation I am submitting today can help us do all these things more efficiently and more effectively and I strongly urge its prompt enactment.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

May 8, 1973.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the proposed legislation. Participants in the news briefing were Darrell M. Trent, Acting Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness, and Floyd H. Hyde, Under Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

145 Message to the Senate Transmitting Six Amendments to the Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea.

*May 9, 1973**To the Senate of the United States:*

I herewith transmit for the advice and consent of the Senate six amendments to the Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea, 1960.

These amendments were adopted at London on October 12, 1971 by the Assembly of the Inter-governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) and are the outcome of recommendations of the Maritime Safety Committee of IMCO directed toward improvement of safety of navigation. The regulations as amended would provide for improved radio-telephone watch procedures, more modern radio-telephonic devices, and more detailed procedures for operation of such devices. In addition, the insertion of a new regulation on routing speci-

fies an increased role for IMCO in establishing and coordinating routes and increased enforcement responsibility for the contracting governments.

For the information of the Senate, I am also transmitting the report of the Department of State with respect to the amendments.

I recommend that the Senate give swift and favorable consideration to all of these amendments.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

May 9, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the amendments to the convention and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive I (93d Cong., 1st sess.).

146 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the United States Civil Service Commission.

*May 9, 1973**To the Congress of the United States:*

I hereby transmit the Civil Service Commission's annual report for fiscal year 1972.

The past year was one of significant initiatives in the field of Federal personnel management. Persistent challenges such as simplifying the complexities of the appeals system and broadening the scope of labor-management bargaining were effectively addressed. The first full year of operations under the Intergovernmental Personnel Act showed impressive results,

as State and local governments responded enthusiastically in working with Federal agencies to improve personnel resources. Substantial progress was also made in carrying out the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, strengthening our commitment to employment practices which are scrupulously fair to all our people.

We can be grateful for the cooperation from all sectors and levels of government which made this record possible. And we can be proud that Federal personnel man-

agement not only enables us to serve the public more effectively but also stands as a respected model for all employers.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

May 9, 1973.

NOTE: The report is entitled "Mandate for Merit—89th Annual Report, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1972, United States Civil Service Commission" (Government Printing Office, 57 pp. plus appendixes).

147 Remarks at a Republican Fundraising Dinner.

May 9, 1973

Mr. Vice President, and all of the distinguished guests, because everyone here is a distinguished guest tonight:

I had been hearing that this would be less than an enthusiastic dinner tonight, and I must say you have proved that perhaps the critics were wrong.

I do know, too, that this is an evening when you have been paying tribute to some who have led our party in the past year, in fact over the past years, to Chairman Bob Dole, Bob Wilson, and Peter Dominick, and I wish to pay tribute to them, too, and also to the new leaders—the new leadership that is up here, George Bush, and Bob Michel, Bill Brock. They are a great team, and they are a team that the Vice President and I will be very proud to work with for the victory that we are going to win in 1974.

Having mentioned the Vice President, I thank him for his indefatigable campaigning in all the years since we have been together in Washington. He has had to carry, as is often the lot of the Vice President, the campaigning load when the President has some other responsibilities to undertake, and he has carried that load with great dedication and great effectiveness, and I am proud to have him as a member of our team.

Now, as is always my custom before

speaking before any audience of such a distinguished group as this, I asked the chairman what I should talk about. And it just happened this afternoon I met with the chairman, Chairman Bush, and also his other two colleagues and our new finance chairman, Mr. Wilson from Tennessee, and we had a discussion about this dinner tonight and what you would like to hear about.

You already heard the Vice President praise the accomplishments of the Administration, and so for me to add to that would simply be, of course, adding praise for what he says I have done, but which you have made possible and all of us working together have made possible, and I will have something to say about that as I conclude tonight.

But it has always been my practice before any kind of audience to take on those subjects that some people think you don't want to take on because they are difficult.

Let me say, I didn't get where I am by ducking tough issues. I am keenly aware of the fact that many Americans—everybody in this room, for example—are concerned about the developments that we have been reading about and hearing about in recent weeks and recent months.

I expressed my concern just a few days ago on national television. I will not add

to what I said then, except to make some comments that I think are quite appropriate at this time.

In the American political process, one of the most difficult tasks of all comes when charges are made against high officials in an administration. That is a very great test of an administration, and many times in the history of our country, administrations have failed to meet the test of investigating those charges that might be embarrassing to the administration, because they were made against high officials in an administration.

We have had such a situation. We have been confronted with it. We are dealing with it. And I will simply say to you tonight that this Nation—Republicans, Democrats, Independents, all Americans—can have confidence in the fact that the new nominee for Attorney General, Elliot Richardson, and the Special Prosecutor that he will appoint in this case will have the total cooperation of the executive branch of this Government. They will get to the bottom of this thing; they will see to it that all of those who are guilty are prosecuted and are brought to justice. That is a pledge I make tonight and that I think the American people are entitled to.

But I would add that the place where that should happen is in the courts of law. Charges are these days made rather easily, as we know, in our political process, and there is sometimes a tendency for us to convict the innocent in our own mind before they have the opportunity to be heard, before they have the opportunity, even if charges are made, to be tried.

And let us resolve tonight that until we hear the evidence, until those who have been charged have had a chance to present

their case in a court of law, let's uphold the great American tradition that an individual, even a government official, is innocent until he is proven guilty.

I also want to add a word with regard to what all this is going to mean to the next 3½ and a bit more years that we have in office as a result of the election last November. I can assure you that we will get to the bottom of this very deplorable incident. We shall do everything that we can to develop new legislative tools which will deal with this kind of abuse and other abuses as practiced too often in many campaigns by both parties over the years.

But the most important thing I want to say tonight is this: We are not going to allow this deplorable incident to deter us or deflect us from going forward toward achieving the great goals that an overwhelming majority of the American people elected us to achieve in November of 1972.

We received the greatest popular majority in history for good reasons. The American people had a clear choice, and the same reasons and that same choice exists today as did exist then. And when we look at those goals, some of which the Vice President has referred to so eloquently, when we look at those goals, it is our responsibility at this time to go forward now and achieve them, and that we do intend to do. And I can assure you that whether it is in a Cabinet meeting that we will be having in the morning, or whether it is a meeting with legislative leaders which we will be having next week, that you can be sure the business of your Government is going forward and we are going to make the next 4 years better than the last 4 years, and that is something Americans are entitled to.

As you know, in a few weeks I shall probably be meeting with the leader of the Soviet Union in a return visit that he will be making to the United States. And as the Vice President has indicated, we have had great progress over the past year, particularly in trying to work towards not just ending a war that had gone on much too long—12 years, as a matter of fact—but in building a more peaceful world so that, for example, the leaders of one-fourth of all the people in the world wouldn't be out there isolated from the rest of the world, with the danger of a confrontation 15 to 20 years from now being inherited by our children, and making progress as we have made it with the other great super power, the Soviet Union, progress that does not resolve the basic differences between our various systems of government and our philosophies. They are there; they will remain. But progress towards seeing to it that differences can be resolved around a conference table after a hard bargain, which is what we did last year and what we intend to do as a result of very careful planning that is now going forward this year as well.

What I would like to say to you, my friends, is this: Every individual, I am sure, who occupies the Office of the President, tries to think of one thing he wants more than anything else, and I could name many goals tonight that I would want more than anything else. But more important than anything else for the present President of the United States is the goal of building a new structure of peace in the world.

And the reason that is the most important goal is that unless the President of the United States, backed by the people

of the United States and the Congress, takes the leadership in this field, we will not have peace. That is the truth of the matter, because there is no other free nation that is strong enough, and there is no other group of nations that has the will to provide that leadership.

We have tried to meet that responsibility over the past 4 years, and we have made progress. We are going to continue to meet that responsibility over the next 3½ years, as I have indicated.

But in order to meet it, it is essential that we concentrate our minds and our hearts and our souls and our energy toward achieving that goal as well as the others that I have mentioned in my speech a few days ago and that the Vice President referred to in his introduction today.

And that brings me to a personal note referring to everybody here. I have had, as you know, some political ups and downs during my 27 years in politics, and I have known times when I wondered if I had very many friends. And every man or woman who has been in politics knows that when you win, they are all your friends, and when you lose, it is pretty hard to find them, except when you lose and they are still there, they are the real friends.

Let me say, I don't stand here tonight as a loser. We stand here tonight as winners, and we are going to win again. But I shall always remember this group tonight, remember that when the going was tough, you hung in there, remember that when the challenge was greatest, you didn't lose your faith. And if some of you think, "Why does this kind of challenge have to come to us? Why do we have to endure it?," let me remind you that the finest steel has to go through the hottest

fire, and I can assure you, my friends, this room is full of fine steel tonight.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:04 p.m. in the International Ballroom of the Washington

Hilton Hotel. The dinner was cosponsored by the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, the National Republican Congressional Committee, and the Republican National Committee.

148 Statement Following the Swearing In of Michael P. Balzano, Jr., as Director of ACTION. *May 10, 1973*

AS THE new Director of ACTION takes office today, I am pleased to reaffirm the commitment of this Administration to America's volunteer programs both at home and abroad.

One of the greatest potential forces for solving contemporary social problems is voluntarism—the helping hand that each of us can give to those in need. Two years ago, in order to tap that resource more effectively, we brought a number of federally sponsored volunteer programs under one roof, ACTION.

Today there are some 48,000 volunteers who participate in the activities of this

agency. Many of them are involved with programs begun earlier and continued by this Administration; others participate in new programs which we have launched over the past 4 years.

I am confident that the ACTION agency will continue to write exciting new chapters in the history of voluntarism in America. I hope the American people will join me in giving this important work our strong support.

NOTE: The President participated in the swearing-in ceremony for Mr. Balzano in the Oval Office at the White House.

149 Statement About Proposed Legislation To Establish a Legal Services Corporation. *May 11, 1973*

TWO YEARS AGO I proposed the creation of a Legal Services Corporation as a means of delivering high quality legal assistance to those who would otherwise be unable to afford it. The need still exists, and today I am once again asking the Congress to establish this corporation.

I firmly believe that we must provide a mechanism to overcome economic barriers to adequate legal assistance.

Eight years ago a legal services program was initiated as a small experiment within the Office of Economic Opportu-

nity. It grew rapidly, and today more than 2,250 lawyers are assisting the needy in about 900 neighborhood law offices.

We have learned many lessons during this time. We have learned, for instance, that any federally sponsored effort which runs counter to State and local officials is sure to spark controversy. We have learned that Federal programs with noble social aims must be carefully structured to mitigate abuse by those who run them. But more than anything else, we have learned that legal assistance for the

poor, when properly provided, is one of the most constructive ways to help them to help themselves. During this period, we have also learned that justice is served far better and differences are settled more rationally within the system than on the streets. Now is the time to make legal services an integral part of our judicial system.

When I asked the Congress in 1971 to create an independent Legal Services Corporation, I said that my proposal had three major objectives. Those same objectives apply to my proposal today:

"First, that the corporation itself be structured and financed so that it will be assured of independence; second, that the lawyers in the program have full freedom to protect the best interests of their clients in keeping with the Canons of Ethics and the high standards of the legal profession; and third, that the Nation be encouraged to continue giving the program the support it needs in order to become a permanent and vital part of the American system of justice."

Many of the features of the new legislation are also similar to those in the 1971 proposal:

—The corporation would be nonprofit and governed by a board of 11 members appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate. No more than six members could be of the same political affiliation, and a majority would have to be attorneys.

—The corporation would be authorized to make grants or enter into contracts with individuals, partnerships, firms, organizations, and corporations, as well as with State and local governments for the purpose of providing legal assistance to eligible clients.

—The corporation would be authorized

to undertake research on the delivery of legal services and to serve as a clearinghouse for information on such services.

—No funds provided by the corporation could be used with respect to criminal proceedings.

—While engaged in legal assistance activities, attorneys would be barred from participating in political activities and from encouraging or participating in strikes, boycotts, picketing, and various forms of civil disturbance.

In addition to these provisions, the new legislation contains several features which I believe represent an improvement over my 1971 proposal:

—A nine-member advisory council would be established in each State, to be appointed by the Governor or, if he failed to act, by the national board. The State advisory council would maintain a continuing review of all legal service activities within its State and would report any program abuses to the national board.

—Anyone could qualify for legal assistance under the program so long as his income were less than 200 percent of the poverty level and his lack of income did not result from a refusal to seek or accept a job.

—The corporation would also be charged with responsibility for conducting a study of alternative ways of delivering legal services, such as judicare, vouchers, prepaid legal insurance, and contracts with law firms. A report of this study would be prepared and submitted to the President and the Congress no later than June 30, 1974.

I firmly believe that this bill merits the support of all who believe in a legal services program which gives the poor the help they need, which is free and independent of political pressures, and which

includes safeguards to ensure that it operates in a responsible manner.

America's system of law now requires equal treatment for all in our courts of criminal justice. It is no less important that equal access be afforded those who seek redress through our civil laws.

We propose no special favors for any group in our society, nor do we seek to mandate the use of the legal system to the exclusion of other social institutions as instruments of social progress. We propose, simply, to protect and preserve a basic right of all Americans.

150 Message to the Senate Transmitting the United States–Canadian Agreement for Promotion of Safety on the Great Lakes by Means of Radio. *May 11, 1973*

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Agreement Between the United States of America and Canada for Promotion of Safety on the Great Lakes by Means of Radio, 1973, signed at Ottawa on February 26, 1973. I also transmit for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Agreement.

This Agreement will, upon entry into force, terminate the 1952 Agreement for the Promotion of Safety on the Great Lakes by Means of Radio between the

United States and Canada and constitutes a significant modernization thereof.

This new Agreement will make a valuable contribution to the protection of lives and property on the Great Lakes. I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Agreement and give its advice and consent to ratification.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
May 11, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the agreement and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive J (93d Cong., 1st sess.).

151 Statement on Signing a Bill To Improve the Rural Electrification and Telephone Program. *May 11, 1973*

THIRTY-EIGHT years ago today, President Franklin Roosevelt signed Executive Order 7037 to create the Rural Electrification Administration. On this anniversary date, I am pleased to sign into law S. 394, a bill making significant improvements in the REA program.

When the Federal Government first moved to assist in bringing electricity to

rural America through low-cost loans, only 10 percent of the country's farms and rural areas had central station electric service. Today, 99 percent of the farms in America have such service. Because of these changing conditions, I could not in good conscience continue to ask the American taxpayer to subsidize a need which no longer exists in its original form.

Therefore, in 1972, the Administration moved to convert the existing 2 percent loans to a program of insured and guaranteed loans at higher rates.

There were many in the Congress who wanted to restore this program in its original form, a move which I was unwilling to accept. Fortunately, S. 394 represents a reasonable compromise on both sides. In fact, the enactment of this bill is a tribute to the months of constructive cooperation between the executive and legislative branches. There was much debate and much negotiation, but the important point is that the common objectives of all parties were not lost in a cloud of partisanship. I want to express the hope that this cooperative attitude will characterize many of our legislative efforts in the future.

S. 394 recognizes and deals with two major objectives which were particularly essential to the reform of the REA program.

First, this bill focuses Federal assistance and taxpayer dollars on those who truly need that assistance. Only those borrowers in rural areas with a definite need—those in remote, geographically isolated, or eco-

nomically depressed areas—will receive Federal loans at the 2 percent interest rate.

Second, in those areas in which the consumers are able and can afford to help themselves, credit and assistance will come from the private sector. No longer should those who can afford to pay for their electricity and telephone service continue to receive unwarranted assistance from the Federal Government.

I am also pleased that the volume of loan funds available under this legislation will substantially exceed the total loan funds previously available.

These changes insure the modernization and continued viability of the REA program.

The hard work and mutual effort with which this legislation proceeded convincingly shows that when government works well by working right, there is credit enough for all. In such instances the winner is always the American citizen.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 394 is Public Law 93-32 (87 Stat. 65).

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the rural electrification and telephone direct loan program and the major provisions of S. 394.

152 Remarks at a Ceremony Honoring Roberto Clemente. May 14, 1973

Ladies and gentlemen:

We are here for the presentation of the first Presidential Citizens Medal, and I am very honored and this office is honored that that first medal—which we know will be awarded in the future to distinguished Americans for their service—that first medal goes to Roberto Clemente.

I would like to read the citation, because it is better than any speech I could

make, I think, with regard to Roberto Clemente:

Citizens Medal citation, Roberto Clemente:

“All who saw Roberto Clemente in action, whether on the diamond or on the front lines of charitable endeavor, are richer for the experience. He stands with that handful of men whose brilliance has transformed the game of baseball into a

showcase of skill and spirit, giving universal delight and inspiration. More than that, his selfless dedication to helping those with two strikes against them in life blessed thousands and set an example for millions. As long as athletes and humanitarians are honored, Roberto Clemente's memory will live; as long as Citizens Medals are presented, each will mean a little more because this first one went to him."

[At this point, the President presented the medal to Mrs. Roberto Clemente. He then resumed speaking.]

Let me say our only regret is that he isn't here—but he's really here—I think he is here in this room. Don't you think so? I think he would be proud to be the first American to get this medal, too, the first one.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we will have another ceremony, the signing of a special bill setting up a commemorative medal. The bill was introduced in the House by Congressman Moorhead, who represents that district, and in the Senate by Senator Scott.

It was a bill which received, as you might imagine, overwhelming and unanimous support in both the House and the Senate. Senator Schweiker here was also a cosponsor of the bill, from Pennsylvania. I am sure that there would be 100 Members from the Senate down here and all 435 Members of the House, on this occasion, if we had that much room.

Mrs. Clemente, if you will step between these gentlemen, and I will sit down and sign the bill. I think while the custom usually is to give the first pen to the sponsoring Congressmen or Senators, that the sponsoring Congressmen and Senators would want me to present this pen to Mrs. Clemente. And on that also, we will have

souvenir pens for everybody attending this ceremony, the Governor and all the rest.

Senator Scott, you are recognized for the purpose of responding for the whole group.

SENATOR HUGH SCOTT. Two minutes? [Laughter]

THE PRESIDENT. No, you can take 2 minutes and yield 2 minutes, if you like, to Senator Schweiker or Congressman Moorhead.

SENATOR SCOTT. Mr. President, I think the story of Roberto Clemente is too well known for repeating, and he died, as we all know, on a compassionate errand. In that errand, for Nicaraguan relief, he had raised, himself, \$150,000 and 26 tons of clothing. And it should be noted that the first contribution to that fund came from the President and Mrs. Nixon, in addition to which, very near to his heart, was the Puerto Rican sports center to which he gave much time and thought, because he believed that if kids didn't particularly like one sport while another one appealed to them, in one way or another they would get more active and learn what is to be gained from participating in that sport. So that we all are very proud of him. We all miss him and I am glad Mrs. Clemente is here, and some of his teammates.

And, if I may, I will yield to Senator Schweiker and then to Congressman Moorhead.

THE PRESIDENT. Senator Schweiker.

SENATOR RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER. I would like to strongly say that we are not only proud of him as a Pennsylvanian, but proud of everybody who joined in his efforts, and I am delighted to be a small part of this today.

THE PRESIDENT. Congressman.

CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Under the rules of the House, you can have 5 minutes.

CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD. I never seem to get those 5 minutes.

THE PRESIDENT. It is awfully hard. One minute then, or more.

CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD. Just let me say that not only is Roberto Clemente the number one citizen of my city of Pittsburgh, but also of Puerto Rico and, I believe, as a result of his activities, of the entire world.

COMMISSIONER JAIME BENITEZ. Would the gentleman yield?

CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD. I yield to the Delegate from Puerto Rico.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, Mr. Delegate.

COMMISSIONER BENITEZ. I would like to say, Mr. President, on behalf of Puerto Rico, we are very honored by this occasion. We knew Clemente well and loved him as he has been loved by all of you, and we are particularly thankful to you for your great interest.

THE PRESIDENT. As you all know,

ladies and gentlemen, when they do refer to the international character of this event, it should be noted that not only the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is to benefit from it, the city of Pittsburgh, in many respects, since Roberto Clemente grew to fame in that city, but Managua in Nicaragua, one of our friends to the south. And I think that is the way Roberto Clemente would have wanted it. And we hope, as a result of the sale of these medals, that all three of those countries, and those cities, particularly, will benefit.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:05 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

As enacted, the bill (H.R. 3841) is Public Law 93-33 (87 Stat. 71), which authorized the striking of one gold commemorative medal and not more than 200,000 duplicates. Profits from the sale of the medals would be contributed to the Roberto Clemente Memorial Fund in Pittsburgh, Pa.

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet which included information on the Presidential Citizens Medal and biographical data on Mr. Clemente.

153 Toasts of the President and Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. May 15, 1973

Your Imperial Majesty and our very distinguished guests:

As I sat here in this room tonight thinking of this very distinguished company, I thought how fortunate all of us are. This Nation is 195 years old, this house is about 185 years old, and in the whole long history of this Nation, no chief of state, no head of government has been received more often, honored more often, than is the man we honor tonight.

Many of us remember him, of course, from those days when he stood at the old League of Nations as the Lion of Judah,

37 years ago, and captured the imagination of everybody who loved freedom and independence all over the world.

But through the years, those of us who have followed him since know that this man, the man we receive again in this house tonight, stands for far more than his own country, great as that country is and long as its proud history is, because His Imperial Majesty, who for 57 years has been the head of state—57 years—His Imperial Majesty is not only the revered leader of Ethiopia, as anyone who has visited that country knows—and I have

visited it twice—he is the acknowledged leader of Africa, and the Organization of African States, of course, is located in his capital.

And so tonight, I could propose a toast to him as the leader of Ethiopia, a country that the United States is proud to have a long and very, very friendly relationship with over the years. I could propose a toast to him as a great leader of Africa, that continent with all of the promise that it holds for the future. But tonight we are privileged even beyond that, because in our midst, here again in this house, being honored more than any man who has ever been in this house, is the senior statesman of the world, and how privileged we are to raise our glasses to the senior statesman of the world, His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:56 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Earlier in the day, the President met with Emperor Haile Selassie at the White House.

Emperor Selassie responded to the President's toast in Amharic. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

Mr. President and Mrs. Nixon:

I wish to express very sincerely my appreciation for the generous hospitality you have accorded us since our arrival in Washington and for this most enjoyable evening you have arranged in our honor tonight.

I also wish to express my appreciation for the very kind words you have said about the leadership we have provided for our people and the role we have played in the community of African nations. Those sentiments, I must add, reflect the generosity of the spirit that has always characterized your disposition towards us.

Having had the privilege to visit the United States early in your first Administration, we find this particularly gratifying that we should have this opportunity once more to meet with

you and exchange views on matters of common interest at the beginning of your second Administration.

The 4 years since we last met have seen profound changes in international relations, especially in relations between the big powers. True to the promise that you have given to your country and the world, at the onset of your first Administration, you have helped launch an era of negotiation replacing the dangerous threats of confrontation of yesteryears.

Believing that the big powers should set an example to the rest of the world, you have traveled far and wide, to Peking, Moscow, and the capitals of Eastern Europe in search of new direction in international relations.

In renouncing the victory of arms for negotiated settlement, you have, Mr. President, led your Nation away from war and on to negotiation and peace.

Thanks to the wisdom of your leadership and the persistence of your effort, there is today a fresh breeze in the relations of the big powers. This breeze has spread to all corners of the world carrying the message of realism and common interest.

Mr. President, your kind invitation has enabled us to share your views on recent developments in international relations. We have valued today's exchange of views as we have on several occasions in the past.

Because of the mutually beneficial cooperation of long standing that has existed between our two countries, we have also had ample opportunity to review matters of bilateral interest. These relations, covering a wide front of our mutual interests, required that they be sustained at increasing levels. Ethiopia has always appreciated the assistance she continues to receive from the United States in many spheres of national endeavors. Ethiopia is gratified to know that she can always count on the continuation of this assistance.

Distinguished guests, may I at this point ask you to kindly join us in a toast to the health and well-being of the President of the United States, Richard Nixon, and Mrs. Nixon, and of the continued prosperity of the great American people.

154 Remarks About Proposed Legislation To Establish a
Nonpartisan Commission on Federal Election
Reform. May 16, 1973

Good afternoon:

In my televised address to the Nation 2 weeks ago, I called on the leaders of both political parties, and on citizens everywhere, to join in working toward new ways of ensuring that future elections would be as nearly free of abuse as possible.

To achieve this goal, I have today proposed to the Congress the establishment of a nonpartisan, top-level, independent commission charged with making concrete proposals for reform—not only to examine our laws and see what new ones are needed, but also to examine the observance and enforcement of our laws, and those campaign standards and practices not governed by law but rooted in common usage.

This Commission would be composed of 17 members. Eight would be chosen by and from the Congress—two Democrats and two Republicans from the House, two Democrats and two Republicans from the Senate. Seven public members would be chosen by the President for their experience, knowledge, and perspective in this field—of whom no more than four could be from the same political party. The chairmen of the Democratic and Republican National Committees would also serve on the panel. To ensure further the Commission's complete independence, its chairman and vice chairman would be selected from among the members of the Commission by the Commission itself.

I trust the Congress will act swiftly to establish the Commission. Yesterday I met

with the bipartisan leadership of the Congress to discuss this matter. The proposal I am making today incorporates suggestions made by them, and my discussions with them have given me reason to believe that swift action in the Congress is possible. If the Congress does give this proposal its quick approval, then the Commission's report and recommendations can provide the basis for reforms that could be in place in time for the 1974 Congressional elections.

The mandate of the Commission I have proposed will be as broad as the Federal election process itself. Nothing will be excluded.

It will be authorized to examine the costs and financing of campaigns to look into the various ways in which the costs can be kept down and improper influence or influence-seeking through large campaign contributions can be ended. It can consider limitations on the total amounts candidates can spend, recognizing both the potential for abuse and the heavy burden that high campaign costs impose on both parties. It can look into the laws governing disclosure of campaign funds and how they are spent and how both those laws and their enforcement might be improved. It can review the tax laws as they relate to the financing of political campaigns. It can look into the question of possible public funding of campaigns.

Other areas for inquiry would include the elimination from our election campaigns of violence and the threat of violence, of intimidation, of frauds in the casting and counting of ballots, of the

throwing about of misleading or malicious charges, of sabotage and espionage and other infringements on the rights of privacy, and of the whole range of improper campaign practices.

Beyond measures to curb these clearly evident abuses, the Commission will be authorized to examine such matters as the length and structure of our political campaigns, the purposes for which campaign funds are spent, the use and abuse of techniques such as television commercials, polling and computerized direct mail—and whatever else it may consider appropriate to a thorough-going campaign reform.

There is another matter of crucial importance to our election process, which I am also asking that the Commission consider. That is whether the Constitution should be amended to change the length of the terms of office of Members of the House, of the Senate, or of the President.

Many political scientists have suggested, for example, that the President should be elected for a single, nonrenewable 6-year term, instead of being eligible for two 4-year terms. The Commission could well consider the merits of this proposal.

Another change it might consider is whether Members of the House of Representatives should be elected for terms of 4 years instead of 2.

Personally, I have long favored the 4-year term for Members of the House, with half of the Members elected every 2 years. Members serving for 2-year terms have to spend 1 of every 2 years running for reelection, with the result that they serve 1 year and run for 1 year. This not only places an enormous burden on the Member himself, it also can work to the disadvantage of his constituents and of the

country. By reducing the extraordinary campaign burden on its Members, I believe the House of Representatives could be made a more effective instrument of government.

The Commission will be directed to come up with a comprehensive set of legislative recommendations. It will also be directed to examine whether additional measures, such as voluntary agreements between candidates or party organizations, may be desirable to extend into those areas where legislation cannot appropriately reach.

Because time is of the essence, the resolution I have proposed would direct the Commission to file a public report no later than December 1 of this year. I believe that with hard work, the members of the Commission can complete their study even before then.

The Commission will have complete, independent authority to choose its own priorities among the matters to be considered, and as it proceeds, it will be encouraged to make interim recommendations for actions by the Congress without waiting for its final report in December.

One option I considered was for the Administration itself to prepare a set of proposed reforms and present them at this time. I rejected that course for two reasons:

First, a really comprehensive campaign reform, which I believe we need, must thread its way through enormous complexities, high sensitivities, entrenched interests, and a careful assessment of the possibilities of enactment by the Congress. This will take time. It can be done, but it cannot be done overnight.

Second, I feel it is essential that proposals for reform come not from one polit-

ical party, not from one administration, not from one Congress, but from a bipartisan group of recognized experts, working in a nonpartisan atmosphere and broadly enough based to give their recommendations the full authority of manifest impartiality.

Let me stress that this new Commission is in no way competitive with the Senate's Ervin committee. The new Commission will draw on information being developed by the Ervin committee, and also on other studies of past campaign abuses. But its own central focus will be on the future—on how not only Presidential elections but also Congressional elections can most effectively be reformed.

Campaigns have changed drastically in the past century, and even in the past generation. Television, the rise of professional campaign management firms, jet air travel, sophisticated polling techniques, skyrocketing costs, all have had a powerful impact on the way campaigns are conducted. As in so many other areas of our life, the sheer size of modern campaigns has contributed to the size of the problem and to the magnitude of the abuses.

There will be a temptation to attempt reforms piecemeal; this, I believe, would be a mistake. The reforms needed are sweeping rather than scattered, and each should be considered in relation to the others. We should think in terms of nothing less than a complete reexamination of our system of elections and campaign practices.

Scores, perhaps hundreds, of ideas for various election reforms have already been seriously and responsibly put forward. Many are now pending before the Congress. The principal need is to sort through these ideas, to develop such additional

ideas as may be appropriate, and to design a comprehensive reform of the campaign system so that in its totality it will work, and work fairly and honestly.

It would be premature to predict what a Commission such as the one I propose might recommend. But these are a few examples of the kinds of reform it would certainly consider:

- strict limits on the size of individual campaign contributions;
- strict limits on the size of campaign contributions or the amount of campaign assistance that can be given by business, labor, or professional organizations;
- strict limits on cash contributions;
- tightened control over the activities of multiple organizations working for the same candidate;
- shorter election campaigns;
- new disclosure rules that would simplify not only the filing of reports but also the public discovery of what was important in those reports;
- reducing the cost of reaching the public, as, for example, by making free radio and television time available to candidates, or by revision of the equal time requirements that now restrict broadcasters in their campaign coverage;
- new Federal laws that would make illegal practices that now are only unethical; and finally,
- the establishment of an independent Federal Elections Commission, with its own enforcement powers.

It is important that these reforms stay within the spirit as well as the letter of the Constitution, that they not unduly infringe either the rights of the States or the First Amendment rights of individuals to freedom of expression and free-

dom of assembly. It is important that they be fair, effective, realistic, and enforceable. Devising such a system of campaign reform will be difficult, but it is not impossible.

I am convinced a route can be charted that will avoid the obstacles, that wide-ranging reforms are possible and desirable, and that persons of the caliber of

those who would be named to this Commission, given a reasonable period of time and also a firm deadline, can come up with a set of proposals that will work and that will help to restore the faith of the American people in the integrity of their political process.

NOTE: The President's remarks were recorded for use on radio.

155 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Establishment of a Nonpartisan Commission on Federal Election Reform. May 16, 1973

To the Congress of the United States:

A thorough-going reform of campaign practices in our Federal elections ranks high on our list of national priorities.

Many separate proposals for such reform are now pending before the Congress; in light of recent disclosures of widespread abuses during the Presidential campaign of 1972, many more will doubtless soon be made.

I believe that reform is essential, and urgent; I also believe it is vital that these proposed reforms be carefully considered not singly, but in their relation each to the others, and that this be done in a non-partisan context.

Therefore, I recommend creation of a Non-partisan Commission on Federal Election Reform, to be established as quickly as possible and to be charged with examining our entire pattern of campaign practices and with recommending a comprehensive set of reforms. A proposed Joint Resolution to accomplish this accompanies this Message.

The Commission I propose would be composed of seventeen members. Eight of these would be chosen by and from the Congress, two Democrats and two

Republicans from the Senate and two Democrats and two Republicans from the House of Representatives. It would also include the national chairmen of the two principal political parties, and seven other, public members, to be selected by the President. No more than four of seven public members shall be members of the same political party. To further ensure its complete independence, the chairman and vice-chairman would be selected from among the members of the Commission, by the Commission itself.

The Commission's mandate would be as broad as the Federal election process itself. Nothing would be excluded. It would be authorized to examine the cost and financing of campaigns, including proposals for alternative methods of financing; laws on reporting and disclosure; the elimination from campaigns of violence and the threat of violence, and infringements on the right of privacy; curbing vote frauds; the length of political campaigns; the use and abuse of techniques such as television commercials, polling and computerized direct mail; methods of curbing the entire range of unfair or unsavory campaign practices; and anything

else the Commission might consider desirable for a comprehensive reform of Federal elections and campaign practices.

It would be directed to make its final report to the Congress and the President no later than December 1, 1973. It would also be encouraged to make interim recommendations during the course of its work, in order to expedite their consideration by the Congress.

Because it bears an intimate and vital relationship to campaign reform, I recommend that the Commission also consider the question of whether the length of the terms of office of members of the Senate, of the House of Representatives or of the President should be changed.

If the Commission is to complete its work promptly, in order to allow the Congress time to consider and possibly to act on its recommendations prior to the 1974 Congressional campaigns, it is, of course, essential that the Commission begin its work soon and pursue it expeditiously. For my part, I shall do all that I can to facilitate this, and I urge the Congress to take swift and favorable action on this proposal.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
May 16, 1973.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the message by Leonard Garment, Special Consultant and Acting Counsel to the President.

156 White House Statement About Congressional Role in Indochina Peace Efforts. May 16, 1973

AFTER MORE than 10 arduous years of sacrifice and effort in Indochina, an equitable framework for peace was finally agreed to in Paris last January. This could not possibly have been achieved without the active support of Congress, especially in the last difficult years.

The President is very concerned that having persevered to success these long years, the Congress has, on the very eve of negotiations to achieve compliance with that settlement, taken action that could severely undermine prospects for success.

It is the President's hope that as the legislative process unfolds, consideration of these matters will take place in the broader perspective of continuing nego-

tiations.

The President, in full compliance with his constitutional responsibilities, is determined to achieve a cease-fire and withdrawal of foreign forces from Cambodia in accordance with the Paris agreements, and to secure the lasting peace in Indochina for which so many people have sacrificed so much.

NOTE: Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler read the statement at his news conference at the White House on May 16, 1973.

On May 15, the Senate Appropriations Committee had approved an amendment to H.R. 7447, a supplemental appropriations bill, which would prohibit the use of any funds in the bill, or subsequently appropriated, to support U.S. combat activities in Cambodia or Laos.

157 Message to the Senate Transmitting the United States–Uruguayan Treaty on Extradition. *May 18, 1973*

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty on Extradition and Cooperation in Penal Matters Between the United States of America and the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, signed at Washington on April 6, 1973. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the Report of the Secretary of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Treaty significantly updates the present extradition relations between the United States and Uruguay and adds to the list of extraditable offenses both narcotic offenses, including those involving

psychotropic drugs, and aircraft hijacking. Provision is also made for extradition for conspiracy to commit the listed extraditable offenses.

The Treaty will make a significant contribution to the international effort to control narcotics traffic. I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

May 18, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the treaty and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive K (93d Cong., 1st sess.).

158 Message to the Senate Transmitting an Amendment to the United Nations Charter. *May 18, 1973*

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the text of the amendment to Article 61 of the Charter of the United Nations adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 20, 1971, and set forth in General Assembly Resolution 2847 (XXVI).

I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report received by me from the Department of State with respect to the amendment.

Article 61 of the Charter relates to the composition of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and the election to membership thereon by the

General Assembly. At present the Council is composed of 27 members as a result of a Charter amendment adopted in 1963, which entered into force on August 31, 1965. By the new amendment to Article 61, the Council membership would be increased from 27 to 54. A formula for geographic distribution of the seats on the Council is also set forth in the General Assembly's Resolution.

As in 1963, when the Council membership was enlarged from 18 to 27, the Economic and Social Council must be enlarged to take account of the growth of the United Nations Organization, with particular attention to the need for an equitable distribution of membership

among the less developed countries.

It is in the national interest of the United States to ratify the new amendment to Article 61 with a view to making more effective the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

I therefore request the consent of the Senate to ratification by the United States

of the amendment set forth in Resolution 2847 (XXVI).

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

May 18, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the amendment and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive L (93d Cong., 1st sess.).

159 Veto of a Bill Requiring Senate Confirmation of the Director and Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget. May 18, 1973

To the Senate of the United States:

I am today returning without my approval S. 518, a bill which would require Senate confirmation of those who serve as Director and Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

This legislation would require the forced removal by an unconstitutional procedure of two officers now serving in the executive branch. This step would be a grave violation of the fundamental doctrine of separation of powers. In view of my responsibilities, it is my firm duty to veto this bill.

Under present law, the Director and Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget are appointed by the President and serve at his pleasure. S. 518 would abolish these two positions effective thirty days after enactment and then provide for their immediate reestablishment. If the officers now lawfully occupying these Office of Management and Budget positions were to continue to serve, they would have to be reappointed by the President, subject to the advice and consent of the Senate.

The constitutional principle involved in this removal is not equivocal; it is deeply rooted in our system of government. The

President has the power and authority to remove, or retain, executive officers appointed by the President. The Supreme Court of the United States in a leading decision, *Myers v. United States*, 272 U.S. 52, 122 (1926), has held that this authority is incident to the power of appointment and is an exclusive power that cannot be infringed upon by the Congress.

I do not dispute Congressional authority to abolish an office or to specify appropriate standards by which the officers may serve. When an office is abolished, the tenure of the incumbent in that office ends. But the power of the Congress to terminate an office cannot be used as a back-door method of circumventing the President's power to remove. With its abolition and immediate re-creation of two offices, S. 518 is a device—in effect and perhaps in intent—to accomplish Congressional removal of the incumbents who lawfully hold those offices.

Disapproval of this legislation is also required because of the nature of the positions it would subject to Senate confirmation. For over 50 years the Office of Management and Budget and its predecessor agency, the Bureau of the Budget, has been headed by a Director ap-

pointed by the President without Senate confirmation.

The positions of Director and Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget were established in the Executive Office of the President to provide the President with advice and staff support in the performance of his budgetary and management responsibilities. These positions cannot reasonably be equated with Cabinet and subcabinet posts for which confirmation is appropriate.

The responsible exercise of the separate legislative and executive powers is a demonstration of the workability of the American system. But, if it is to remain workable, I must continue to insist on a strong delineation of power and authority, the basis of which is too fundamental to

allow to be undermined by S. 518.

The point was made most succinctly by James Madison in 1789:

"If there is a principle in our Constitution, indeed in any free constitution more sacred than another, it is that which separates the legislative, executive and judicial powers. If there is any point in which the separation of the legislative and executive powers ought to be maintained with great caution, it is that which relates to officers and offices."

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

May 18, 1973.

NOTE: The Senate voted to override the President's veto on May 22, 1973. On May 23, the House of Representatives sustained the veto.

160 Remarks at Armed Forces Day Ceremonies, Norfolk Naval Base, Virginia. May 19, 1973

Admiral Plate, Governor Holton, Members of the Congressional delegation, and all of the distinguished guests here on the platform, and all of the distinguished people in this audience today on Armed Forces Day:

Beginning on a personal note, let me say that this is a very proud day for Mrs. Nixon, for me, for America, and for the State of Virginia.

As you might imagine, there were a number of suggestions made by the Defense Department as to where the President should go on Armed Forces Day. We selected Norfolk, Virginia, for reasons that all of you understand, and the State of Virginia, it seems to me, is a very appropriate place for us to celebrate this day, because it was at Yorktown, just a few miles from here, that the Armed

Forces of the then very young country, the new United States, won the final victory that secured American independence. That happened in Virginia.

It was on this soil, and in the waters offshore, that some of the most epic battles of the War Between the States were waged. It was from this great port of Norfolk that fighting ships of the United States Navy have sailed the seas to the wars in crises of this century, most recently when ships like the *Independence*, which is behind us here, the *Newport News*, both of which served in the Gulf of Tonkin, and when the *Guam* joined the 6th Fleet during the Jordanian crisis 3 years ago.

Virginia has proudly been the home of some of America's greatest military commanders, from Washington to Robert E. Lee to the late "Sunny Jim" Vandergriest

of the Marines who was buried with the highest honors at Arlington just a few days ago.

And Virginia today has the distinction of having more of its Senators and Representatives serving on the two Armed Services Committees in Congress than any State of this Union except one. That delegation includes four members who are with us today: Senator [Harry F.] Byrd, Senator [William L.] Scott, Congressman [Robert W.] Daniel, and Congressman Bill Whitehurst.

You can see why Governor Holton always speaks with such pride of Virginia's great tradition in the field of the Armed Services.

Now, what does Armed Forces Day mean? Let us think now not just in terms of this ship, not just in terms of the men and women who are serving here in our Armed Forces but in terms of America and the world, for the rulebook says that—I speak as one who many years ago was in the Navy. As a matter of fact, I had what I, looking back, found was a very, rather subordinate position. I was a lieutenant junior grade, and if you think a lieutenant junior grade is important, ask a Navy chief, and he will tell you how unimportant he is.

Well, the rulebook says that the men and women who wear the uniform of our country are supposed to salute the Commander in Chief, and of course, anyone who is elected President of the United States is the Commander in Chief. But on this day, I, as your Commander in Chief, salute you, each and every American who serves in our Army, our Navy, our Air Force, our Marine Corps, and our Coast Guard. Your courage, your steadfastness are the backbone of America's in-

fluence for peace around the world. And I speak for all of America today—that is one of the great privileges of being President of this country—I speak for all of our fellow Americans when I say we owe you, those who serve in our Armed Forces, a debt of gratitude we can never fully repay.

For the first time in 12 years, we can observe Armed Forces Day with all of our fighting forces home from Vietnam and all of our courageous prisoners of war set free and here, back home in America.

There was and will continue to be for years to come much controversy about this longest war in America's history, but historians will record in the end that no military organization ever took on a more selfless task and completed it more honorably than the Armed Forces of the United States have done in the defense of 17 million people of South Vietnam. It was an honorable task, and they did it well, and we owe them a debt for how well they did it.

So today we pay a special, heartfelt tribute to all who made this achievement possible:

—to the more than 2 million men and women now serving in uniform;

—to the millions of veterans who have returned to civilian life;

—to those missing in action and those magnificent men who "toughed it out" in enemy prison camps; and above all,

—to the memory of those who gave their lives for their country.

Today, we are thankful, too, for the strengths and the sacrifices of America's military families. And today we are reminded and we do remind those young Americans who are completing their high school or college education—and I

speak to all of you all over the country, as you complete your high school or college education this spring—let me say to you the profession of serving this country in the new volunteer armed force of the 1970's offers a career in which any young man or woman can find great pride and satisfaction; be proud to wear the uniform of the United States of America.

Over the past several years, the chances for peace have grown immeasurably stronger, not only in Southeast Asia but all over the world. We have brought this long war in Vietnam to an end. After a generation of hostility, the United States has opened a new relationship with the leaders of one-fourth of all the people who live in the world, the People's Republic of China. We have negotiated far-reaching agreements with our longtime adversary the Soviet Union, including the first limitation of strategic nuclear arms. We have begun revitalizing our Atlantic partnership with Western Europe and our Pacific partnership with Japan.

In the explosive Middle East, we averted a major crisis in 1970. We have helped to establish a cease-fire which is now well into its third year.

There are still enormously difficult problems there and in other parts of the world, but we have come a long way over these past 5 years toward building a structure of peace in the world—much further simply than ending a long war, but building a structure that will avoid other wars, and that is what every American wants, and that is what we are working toward today.

I know that some might interpret the achievements I have just mentioned as the result of diplomacy, diplomacy from

the President and the Secretary of State and others who have responsibility. But that interpretation would be incomplete.

The positions that a head of state or a diplomat puts forward at the conference table are only as good as the national strength that stands behind those positions.

So it has been the respect of other countries for our military strength that has been vital to our many negotiating successes during the past 4 years. And that same military strength helps secure our own security and that of our friends as we go forward with them in building new partnerships.

What I am saying to you today is that a large share of the credit for America's progress toward building a structure of peace in the world goes to you, the men and women in uniform. You are the peace forces of the United States, because without you, we couldn't have made the progress we have made. They would not have respected us, and without strength, we would not have the respect which leads to progress. Let's keep that strength and never let it down, because our further hopes for peace also rely on you.

This year, the year 1973, we face a series of negotiations even more significant than those of the year 1972, negotiations that will help to determine the future of international peace and cooperation for the rest of this century and beyond.

Every time I see an audience like this, I look at everybody—the older people, particularly the people that I see over here in wheelchairs, and also the young people, those that are so young, with all of their years ahead—and my greatest hope is: Make this country a better coun-

try for them in the future, make this world a more peaceful world for them.

That is what leadership is all about. That is what we are dedicated to here today.

In just a few weeks, as you know, General Secretary Brezhnev of the Soviet Union will be in this country for a summit conference to build on the new negotiations that we have made in United States-Soviet relations in Moscow one year ago. We are ready to join with the Soviet leaders in efforts to seek additional ways to limit strategic nuclear arms, to expand mutually advantageous trade, and together with our allies, to work toward mutual and balanced reductions of the level of armed forces in Central Europe.

We are moving, as I have already indicated, toward normalization of our relations with the People's Republic of China, now that our two nations are opening permanent liaison offices in Peking and in Washington.

We are committed to wide-ranging talks with our friends in Europe and in Japan, with particular emphasis on placing the international economy on a more secure and equitable footing.

Because all of that is at stake in the critical period ahead, we must reject the well-intentioned but misguided suggestions that because of the progress we have made toward peace, this is the time to slash America's defenses by billions of dollars.

There could be no more certain formula for failure in the negotiations that I have just talked about, no more dangerous invitation for other powers to break the peace, than for us to send the President of the United States to the conference table as the head of the second strongest

nation in the world. Let that never happen in the United States of America.

Let me put it quite bluntly, particularly in the presence of my colleagues from the House and the Senate, those distinguished Virginians who presently serve there and who happen to be also on the Armed Services Committees. Often when votes come up as to whether America will be strong enough to keep its commitments or be so weak that it will not command respect in the world, those who vote to cut our arms are said to be for peace and those who vote for strength are said to be for war.

I want to put it right on the line today, bluntly: A vote for a weak America is a vote against peace. A vote for a strong America is a vote for peace, because a strong America will always keep the peace.

If the United States were to cut back unilaterally in the strength of our Armed Forces without obtaining reciprocal actions or commitments in return, that action—and I speak with measured tones—that action of unilaterally cutting our strength before we have a mutual agreement with the other side to cut theirs as well will completely torpedo the chances for any successful negotiations, and those who vote to cut that strength will be destroying the chances, the best chance we have had since World War II, to build an era of peace. And so, support those men and women who have the courage in the Congress to vote for a strong America, rather than to vote for a weak America. We need a strong America if we are going to have peace.

Let me turn to that area of the world in which we need that strength so much—Southeast Asia.

After the long ordeal we have been

through, I can realize how so many Americans say, "We want to do no more"—just 100 days after the cease-fire agreements were signed in Paris. These agreements which preserve both the honor of the United States and the freedom of South Vietnam were achieved in principle through a combination of diplomacy and strength. They can only be maintained and upheld through that same combination—diplomacy and strength.

Now, so far there has been considerable progress in carrying out the provisions of the peace agreement that we signed just 100 days ago in Paris. Our troops, our prisoners are home, violence in South Vietnam is declining, the cease-fire has been extended to Laos.

But compliance with the agreement is still gravely deficient in many respects. The cooperation which North Vietnam promised to give us in making a full accounting for Americans listed as missing in action has not been satisfactory. And I can assure you that we must and will insist that this promise, this pledge, this solemn agreement be kept, because just as America never broke faith with our prisoners of war, I can assure you today we will not break faith with those who are reported missing in action. They must all be accounted for by the North Vietnamese.

North Vietnam, as you have probably read, has also persisted in violations of the Paris agreements. They have, for example, refused to withdraw thousands of troops from Cambodia and Laos. They have poured huge amounts of military equipment into these areas and into South Vietnam. And I say to you, my friends, today, it would be a crime against the memory of those Americans who made the ultimate sacrifice for peace in

Indochina, a serious blow to this country's ability to lead constructively elsewhere in the world, for us to stand by and permit the peace settlement that we reached in Paris to be systematically destroyed by violations such as this.

That is why we are continuing to take the necessary measures to insist that all parties to the agreement keep their word, live up to their obligations. A peace agreement that is only a piece of paper is something that we are not interested in.

We want a peace agreement that is adhered to. We are adhering to the agreement. We expect the other side to adhere to that agreement.

It should be clearly understood by everyone concerned in this country and abroad that our policy is not aimed at continuing the war in Vietnam or renewing the war that has been ended. Rather, the aim of our policy is to preserve and strengthen the peace, a peace which we achieved at great cost in the past, which holds such promise in the future.

During the homecoming ceremonies for our returning prisoners of war several weeks ago, you may recall that one of the men had a small American flag which he had made while he was in prison. He carried it out to freedom with him. His name was Major Robert Peel, United States Air Force. When his turn came to speak, he held up that small flag and said, "We never lost faith in the American people, and we knew these colors wouldn't run."

We can be proud today that all during the long struggle in Vietnam, these colors—and there they are, see them there, gloriously flying in the wind—these colors didn't run from America's commitment to freedom and peace in the world. And let us resolve today, they are

not going to start running now, not in Southeast Asia, not anywhere around the globe, wherever people put their trust in America.

I have seen virtually all of the world—not to every country but to most of them. I have seen hundreds of millions of people—young people like those I see here today, as well as their parents. And as I see them, I know that the hopes for all the people in the world—not just the 200 million Americans, but of 3 billion people in the world—the hopes of all the world's children for peace—they rest right here and nowhere else. They rest in our hands, in America's hands, and believe me, those hopes rest in good hands, in good hands.

And that whole world today is watching to see whether the Star-Spangled

Banner still waves over the land of the free and the home of the brave. Well, together let us prove that it does. Let us so conduct ourselves at home that we truly remain the land of the free. And let us so meet our responsibilities in the world as to show that we are still, more than ever, the home of the brave.

And then we can look to the future with confidence that Armed Forces Day in the years to come will be not only a day of pride but also a day of peace for America and for all the people of the world.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:12 p.m. at pier 12 on the naval base.

Adm. Douglas C. Plate was Deputy to the Commander in Chief, Atlantic Fleet.

On the same day, the White House released an advance text of the President's remarks.

161 Statement Announcing a Broadened Management Role for the General Services Administration, and Selection of Administrator and Deputy Administrator. *May 22, 1973*

ONE OF the great challenges of governing well today is to make the institutions of government an efficient servant of the people, rather than simply a mammoth machine running by its own momentum. It is a task that demands all of the modern management skills we can muster.

In creating the Office of Management and Budget in 1970, I took a major step toward upgrading the effectiveness of management in the Federal executive branch. My proposals to consolidate and streamline the domestic Cabinet departments point in this same direction.

I am now taking additional action to improve the caliber of management in the Federal Government. I have directed that

the General Services Administration assume a broader management role by becoming the President's principal instrument for developing better systems for providing administrative support to all executive branch activities.

This shift of responsibilities is being accomplished as follows:

—By Executive order [11717], I have transferred to the General Services Administration many functions previously exercised by the Office of Management and Budget in the areas of financial management systems development, procurement, contracting, property management, and automatic data processing management. GSA now has overall

leadership responsibility for developing Government-wide policy in these areas and for seeing that such policy is carried out within the departments and agencies. It has assumed these responsibilities under the broad policy oversight of the Office of Management and Budget, drawing upon OMB's assistance in resolving major policy issues.

—I am also transferring from OMB to GSA the Relocation Assistance Implementation Committee, which provides Government-wide leadership in assuring uniform, fair, and equitable treatment of persons displaced by Federal or federally assisted programs. The Committee will be chaired by the GSA Administrator.

—Finally, now that Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1973 has been cleared by the Congress to take effect on July 1, transferring to the President all functions presently vested by statute in the Office of Emergency Preparedness or its Director, many of the functions of that agency will be delegated to the General Services Administration. These will include functions in the areas of civil defense, emergency preparedness planning, continuity of civil government, resources planning and analysis, and strategic materials stockpile planning—many of which are closely related to functions already performed by GSA.

All these changes will equip the General Services Administration to act as a strong partner of the Office of Manage-

ment and Budget and the Civil Service Commission in carrying forward a coordinated effort to improve Federal management.

GSA's broad new mission calls for strong, experienced leadership in the top command. I am pleased to announce my intention to nominate Arthur F. Sampson for the post of Administrator of the expanded agency. Mr. Sampson has already served with distinction as Acting Administrator. Dwight A. Ink, a career official whose wide Federal executive experience includes service as an Assistant Director of OMB since the establishment of that office, will become Deputy Administrator of GSA.

In addition, I will expect all other Federal department and agency heads and their organizations to cooperate fully with GSA as it undertakes its new responsibilities.

By imposing greater order on fragmented and overlapping Federal management efforts and by establishing greater uniformity of administrative processes throughout the executive branch, the reorganized General Services Administration should make a significant contribution toward cutting redtape and achieving a more economical, effective, and responsive Federal Government.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released an announcement containing biographical data on Mr. Sampson. The announcement is printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 9, p. 692).

162 Statements About the Watergate Investigations.

May 22, 1973

RECENT news accounts growing out of testimony in the Watergate investigations have given grossly misleading impressions of many of the facts, as they relate both to my own role and to certain unrelated activities involving national security.

Already, on the basis of second- and third-hand hearsay testimony by persons either convicted or themselves under investigation in the case, I have found myself accused of involvement in activities I never heard of until I read about them in news accounts.

These impressions could also lead to a serious misunderstanding of those national security activities which, though totally unrelated to Watergate, have become entangled in the case. They could lead to further compromise of sensitive national security information.

I will not abandon my responsibilities. I will continue to do the job I was elected to do.

In the accompanying statement, I have set forth the facts as I know them as they relate to my own role.

With regard to the specific allegations that have been made, I can and do state categorically:

1. I had no prior knowledge of the Watergate operation.
2. I took no part in, nor was I aware of, any subsequent efforts that may have been made to cover up Watergate.
3. At no time did I authorize any offer of executive clemency for the Watergate defendants, nor did I know of any such offer.
4. I did not know, until the time of my own investigation, of any effort to

provide the Watergate defendants with funds.

5. At no time did I attempt, or did I authorize others to attempt, to implicate the CIA in the Watergate matter.
6. It was not until the time of my own investigation that I learned of the break-in at the office of Mr. Ellsberg's psychiatrist, and I specifically authorized the furnishing of this information to Judge Byrne.
7. I neither authorized nor encouraged subordinates to engage in illegal or improper campaign tactics.

In the accompanying statement, I have sought to provide the background that may place recent allegations in perspective. I have specifically stated that executive privilege will not be invoked as to any testimony concerning possible criminal conduct or discussions of possible criminal conduct, in the matters under investigation. I want the public to learn the truth about Watergate and those guilty of any illegal actions brought to justice.

Allegations surrounding the Watergate affair have so escalated that I feel a further statement from the President is required at this time.

A climate of sensationalism has developed in which even second- or third-hand hearsay charges are headlined as fact and repeated as fact.

Important national security operations which themselves had no connection with Watergate have become entangled in the case.

As a result, some national security in-

formation has already been made public through court orders, through the subpoenaing of documents, and through testimony witnesses have given in judicial and Congressional proceedings. Other sensitive documents are now threatened with disclosure. Continued silence about those operations would compromise rather than protect them and would also serve to perpetuate a grossly distorted view—which recent partial disclosures have given—of the nature and purpose of those operations.

The purpose of this statement is threefold:

—First, to set forth the facts about my own relationship to the Watergate matter;

—Second, to place in some perspective some of the more sensational—and inaccurate—of the charges that have filled the headlines in recent days, and also some of the matters that are currently being discussed in Senate testimony and elsewhere;

—Third, to draw the distinction between national security operations and the Watergate case. To put the other matters in perspective, it will be necessary to describe the national security operations first.

In citing these national security matters, it is not my intention to place a national security “cover” on Watergate, but rather to separate them out from Watergate—and at the same time to explain the context in which certain actions took place that were later misconstrued or misused.

Long before the Watergate break-in, three important national security operations took place which have subsequently become entangled in the Watergate case.

—The first operation, begun in 1969,

was a program of wiretaps. All were legal, under the authorities then existing. They were undertaken to find and stop serious national security leaks.

—The second operation was a reassessment, which I ordered in 1970, of the adequacy of internal security measures. This resulted in a plan and a directive to strengthen our intelligence operations. They were protested by Mr. Hoover, and as a result of his protest, they were not put into effect.

—The third operation was the establishment, in 1971, of a Special Investigations Unit in the White House. Its primary mission was to plug leaks of vital security information. I also directed this group to prepare an accurate history of certain crucial national security matters which occurred under prior administrations, on which the Government’s records were incomplete.

Here is the background of these three security operations initiated in my Administration.

1969 WIRETAPS

By mid-1969, my Administration had begun a number of highly sensitive foreign policy initiatives. They were aimed at ending the war in Vietnam, achieving a settlement in the Middle East, limiting nuclear arms, and establishing new relationships among the great powers. These involved highly secret diplomacy. They were closely interrelated. Leaks of secret information about any one could endanger all.

Exactly that happened. News accounts appeared in 1969, which were obviously based on leaks—some of them extensive and detailed—by people having access

to the most highly classified security materials.

There was no way to carry forward these diplomatic initiatives unless further leaks could be prevented. This required finding the source of the leaks.

In order to do this, a special program of wiretaps was instituted in mid-1969 and terminated in February 1971. Fewer than 20 taps, of varying duration, were involved. They produced important leads that made it possible to tighten the security of highly sensitive materials. I authorized this entire program. Each individual tap was undertaken in accordance with procedures legal at the time and in accord with longstanding precedent.

The persons who were subject to these wiretaps were determined through coordination among the Director of the FBI, my Assistant for National Security Affairs, and the Attorney General. Those wiretapped were selected on the basis of access to the information leaked, material in security files, and evidence that developed as the inquiry proceeded.

Information thus obtained was made available to senior officials responsible for national security matters in order to curtail further leaks.

THE 1970 INTELLIGENCE PLAN

In the spring and summer of 1970, another security problem reached critical proportions. In March a wave of bombings and explosions struck college campuses and cities. There were 400 bomb threats in one 24-hour period in New York City. Rioting and violence on college campuses reached a new peak after the Cambodian operation and the tragedies at Kent State and Jackson State. The

1969-70 school year brought nearly 1,800 campus demonstrations and nearly 250 cases of arson on campus. Many colleges closed. Gun battles between guerrilla-style groups and police were taking place. Some of the disruptive activities were receiving foreign support.

Complicating the task of maintaining security was the fact that, in 1966, certain types of undercover FBI operations that had been conducted for many years had been suspended. This also had substantially impaired our ability to collect foreign intelligence information. At the same time, the relationships between the FBI and other intelligence agencies had been deteriorating. By May 1970, FBI Director Hoover shut off his agency's liaison with the CIA altogether.

On June 5, 1970, I met with the Director of the FBI (Mr. Hoover), the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (Mr. Richard Helms), the Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency (Gen. Donald V. Bennett), and the Director of the National Security Agency (Adm. Noel Gayler). We discussed the urgent need for better intelligence operations. I appointed Director Hoover as chairman of an inter-agency committee to prepare recommendations.

On June 25, the committee submitted a report which included specific options for expanded intelligence operations, and on July 23 the agencies were notified by memorandum of the options approved. After reconsideration, however, prompted by the opposition of Director Hoover, the agencies were notified 5 days later, on July 28, that the approval had been rescinded. The options initially approved had included resumption of certain intelligence operations which had been sus-

pended in 1966. These in turn had include authorization for surreptitious entry—breaking and entering, in effect—on specified categories of targets in specified situations related to national security.

Because the approval was withdrawn before it had been implemented, the net result was that the plan for expanded intelligence activities never went into effect.

The documents spelling out this 1970 plan are extremely sensitive. They include—and are based upon—assessments of certain foreign intelligence capabilities and procedures, which of course must remain secret. It was this unused plan and related documents that John Dean removed from the White House and placed in a safe deposit box, giving the keys to Judge Sirica. The same plan, still unused, is being headlined today.

Coordination among our intelligence agencies continued to fall short of our national security needs. In July 1970, having earlier discontinued the FBI's liaison with the CIA, Director Hoover ended the FBI's normal liaison with all other agencies except the White House. To help remedy this, an Intelligence Evaluation Committee was created in December 1970. Its members included representatives of the White House, CIA, FBI, NSA, the Departments of Justice, Treasury, and Defense, and the Secret Service.

The Intelligence Evaluation Committee and its staff were instructed to improve coordination among the intelligence community and to prepare evaluations and estimates of domestic intelligence. I understand that its activities are now under investigation. I did not authorize nor do I have any knowledge of any illegal activity by this Committee. If it went beyond its charter and did engage in any illegal

activities, it was totally without my knowledge or authority.

THE SPECIAL INVESTIGATIONS UNIT

On Sunday, June 13, 1971, the New York Times published the first installment of what came to be known as "The Pentagon Papers." Not until a few hours before publication did any responsible Government official know that they had been stolen. Most officials did not know they existed. No senior official of the Government had read them or knew with certainty what they contained.

All the Government knew, at first, was that the papers comprised 47 volumes and some 7,000 pages, which had been taken from the most sensitive files of the Departments of State and Defense and the CIA, covering military and diplomatic moves in a war that was still going on.

Moreover, a majority of the documents published with the first three installments in the Times had not been included in the 47-volume study—raising serious questions about what and how much else might have been taken.

There was every reason to believe this was a security leak of unprecedented proportions.

It created a situation in which the ability of the Government to carry on foreign relations even in the best of circumstances could have been severely compromised. Other governments no longer knew whether they could deal with the United States in confidence. Against the background of the delicate negotiations the United States was then involved in on a number of fronts—with regard to Vietnam, China, the Middle East, nuclear arms limitations, U.S.-Soviet relations,

and others—in which the utmost degree of confidentiality was vital, it posed a threat so grave as to require extraordinary actions.

Therefore during the week following the Pentagon Papers publication, I approved the creation of a Special Investigations Unit within the White House—which later came to be known as the “plumbers.” This was a small group at the White House whose principal purpose was to stop security leaks and to investigate other sensitive security matters. I looked to John Ehrlichman for the supervision of this group.

Edgar Krogh, Mr. Ehrlichman’s assistant, was put in charge. David Young was added to this unit, as were E. Howard Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy.

The unit operated under extremely tight security rules. Its existence and functions were known only to a very few persons at the White House. These included Messrs. Haldeman, Ehrlichman, and Dean.

At about the time the unit was created, Daniel Ellsberg was identified as the person who had given the Pentagon Papers to the New York Times. I told Mr. Krogh that as a matter of first priority, the unit should find out all it could about Mr. Ellsberg’s associates and his motives. Because of the extreme gravity of the situation, and not then knowing what additional national secrets Mr. Ellsberg might disclose, I did impress upon Mr. Krogh the vital importance to the national security of his assignment. I did not authorize and had no knowledge of any illegal means to be used to achieve this goal.

However, because of the emphasis I put on the crucial importance of protecting the national security, I can under-

stand how highly motivated individuals could have felt justified in engaging in specific activities that I would have disapproved had they been brought to my attention.

Consequently, as President, I must and do assume responsibility for such actions despite the fact that I at no time approved or had knowledge of them.

I also assigned the unit a number of other investigatory matters, dealing in part with compiling an accurate record of events related to the Vietnam war, on which the Government’s records were inadequate (many previous records having been removed with the change of administrations) and which bore directly on the negotiations then in progress. Additional assignments included tracing down other national security leaks, including one that seriously compromised the U.S. negotiating position in the SALT talks.

The work of the unit tapered off around the end of 1971. The nature of its work was such that it involved matters that, from a national security standpoint, were highly sensitive then and remain so today.

These intelligence activities had no connection with the break-in of the Democratic headquarters, or the aftermath.

I considered it my responsibility to see that the Watergate investigation did not impinge adversely upon the national security area. For example, on April 18, 1973, when I learned that Mr. Hunt, a former member of the Special Investigations Unit at the White House, was to be questioned by the U.S. Attorney, I directed Assistant Attorney General Petersen to pursue every issue involving Watergate but to confine his investigation to Watergate and related matters and to stay out of national security matters. Subse-

quently, on April 25, 1973, Attorney General Kleindienst informed me that because the Government had clear evidence that Mr. Hunt was involved in the break-in of the office of the psychiatrist who had treated Mr. Ellsberg, he, the Attorney General, believed that despite the fact that no evidence had been obtained from Hunt's acts, a report should nevertheless be made to the court trying the Ellsberg case. I concurred, and directed that the information be transmitted to Judge Byrne immediately.

WATERGATE

The burglary and bugging of the Democratic National Committee headquarters came as a complete surprise to me. I had no inkling that any such illegal activities had been planned by persons associated with my campaign; if I had known, I would not have permitted it. My immediate reaction was that those guilty should be brought to justice, and, with the five burglars themselves already in custody, I assumed that they would be.

Within a few days, however, I was advised that there was a possibility of CIA involvement in some way.

It did seem to me possible that, because of the involvement of former CIA personnel, and because of some of their apparent associations, the investigation could lead to the uncovering of covert CIA operations totally unrelated to the Watergate break-in.

In addition, by this time, the name of Mr. Hunt had surfaced in connection with Watergate, and I was alerted to the fact that he had previously been a member of the Special Investigations Unit in the White House. Therefore, I was also concerned that the Watergate investiga-

tion might well lead to an inquiry into the activities of the Special Investigations Unit itself.

In this area, I felt it was important to avoid disclosure of the details of the national security matters with which the group was concerned. I knew that once the existence of the group became known, it would lead inexorably to a discussion of these matters, some of which remain, even today, highly sensitive.

I wanted justice done with regard to Watergate; but in the scale of national priorities with which I had to deal—and not at that time having any idea of the extent of political abuse which Watergate reflected—I also had to be deeply concerned with ensuring that neither the covert operations of the CIA nor the operations of the Special Investigations Unit should be compromised. Therefore, I instructed Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman to ensure that the investigation of the break-in not expose either an unrelated covert operation of the CIA or the activities of the White House investigations unit—and to see that this was personally coordinated between General Walters, the Deputy Director of the CIA, and Mr. Gray of the FBI. It was certainly not my intent, nor my wish, that the investigation of the Watergate break-in or of related acts be impeded in any way.

On July 6, 1972, I telephoned the Acting Director of the FBI, L. Patrick Gray, to congratulate him on his successful handling of the hijacking of a Pacific Southwest Airlines plane the previous day. During the conversation Mr. Gray discussed with me the progress of the Watergate investigation, and I asked him whether he had talked with General Walters. Mr. Gray said that he had, and that General Walters had assured him that the CIA

was not involved. In the discussion, Mr. Gray suggested that the matter of Watergate might lead higher. I told him to press ahead with his investigation.

It now seems that later, through whatever complex of individual motives and possible misunderstandings, there were apparently wide-ranging efforts to limit the investigation or to conceal the possible involvement of members of the Administration and the campaign committee.

I was not aware of any such efforts at the time. Neither, until after I began my own investigation, was I aware of any fundraising for defendants convicted of the break-in at Democratic headquarters, much less authorize any such fundraising. Nor did I authorize any offer of executive clemency for any of the defendants.

In the weeks and months that followed Watergate, I asked for, and received, repeated assurances that Mr. Dean's own investigation (which included reviewing files and sitting in on FBI interviews with White House personnel) had cleared everyone then employed by the White House of involvement.

In summary, then:

(1) I had no prior knowledge of the Watergate bugging operation, or of any illegal surveillance activities for political purposes.

(2) Long prior to the 1972 campaign, I did set in motion certain internal security measures, including legal wiretaps, which I felt were necessary from a national security standpoint and, in the climate then prevailing, also necessary from a domestic security standpoint.

(3) People who had been involved in the national security operations later, without my knowledge or approval, undertook illegal activities in the political campaign of 1972.

(4) Elements of the early post-Watergate reports led me to suspect, incorrectly, that the CIA had been in some way involved. They also led me to surmise, correctly, that since persons originally recruited for covert national security activities had participated in Watergate, an unrestricted investigation of Watergate might lead to and expose those covert national security operations.

(5) I sought to prevent the exposure of these covert national security activities, while encouraging those conducting the investigation to pursue their inquiry into the Watergate itself. I so instructed my staff, the Attorney General, and the Acting Director of the FBI.

(6) I also specifically instructed Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman to ensure that the FBI would not carry its investigation into areas that might compromise these covert national security activities, or those of the CIA.

(7) At no time did I authorize or know about any offer of executive clemency for the Watergate defendants. Neither did I know until the time of my own investigation of any efforts to provide them with funds.

CONCLUSION

With hindsight, it is apparent that I should have given more heed to the warning signals I received along the way about a Watergate coverup and less to the reassurances.

With hindsight, several other things also become clear:

—With respect to campaign practices, and also with respect to campaign finances, it should now be obvious that no campaign in history has ever been subjected to the kind of intensive and search-

ing inquiry that has been focused on the campaign waged in my behalf in 1972.

It is clear that unethical, as well as illegal, activities took place in the course of that campaign.

None of these took place with my specific approval or knowledge. To the extent that I may in any way have contributed to the climate in which they took place, I did not intend to; to the extent that I failed to prevent them, I should have been more vigilant.

It was to help ensure against any repetition of this in the future that last week I proposed the establishment of a top-level, bipartisan, independent commission to recommend a comprehensive reform of campaign laws and practices. Given the priority I believe it deserves, such reform should be possible before the next Congressional elections in 1974.

—It now appears that there were persons who may have gone beyond my directives, and sought to expand on my efforts to protect the national security operations in order to cover up any involvement they or certain others might have had in Watergate. The extent to which this is true, and who may have participated and to what degree, are questions that it would not be proper to address here. The proper forum for settling these matters is in the courts.

—To the extent that I have been able to determine what probably happened in the tangled course of this affair, on the basis of my own recollections and of the conflicting accounts and evidence that I have seen, it would appear that one factor at work was that at critical points various people, each with his own perspective and his own responsibilities, saw the same situation with different eyes and heard the same words with different ears.

What might have seemed insignificant to one seemed significant to another; what one saw in terms of public responsibility, another saw in terms of political opportunity; and mixed through it all, I am sure, was a concern on the part of many that the Watergate scandal should not be allowed to get in the way of what the Administration sought to achieve.

The truth about Watergate should be brought out—in an orderly way, recognizing that the safeguards of judicial procedure are designed to find the truth, not to hide the truth.

With his selection of Archibald Cox—who served both President Kennedy and President Johnson as Solicitor General—as the special supervisory prosecutor for matters related to the case, Attorney General-designate Richardson has demonstrated his own determination to see the truth brought out. In this effort he has my full support.

Considering the number of persons involved in this case whose testimony might be subject to a claim of executive privilege, I recognize that a clear definition of that claim has become central to the effort to arrive at the truth.

Accordingly, executive privilege will not be invoked as to any testimony concerning possible criminal conduct or discussions of possible criminal conduct, in the matters presently under investigation, including the Watergate affair and the alleged coverup.

I want to emphasize that this statement is limited to my own recollections of what I said and did relating to security and to the Watergate. I have specifically avoided any attempt to explain what other parties may have said and done. My own information on those other matters is fragmentary, and to some extent contra-

dictory. Additional information may be forthcoming of which I am unaware. It is also my understanding that the information which has been conveyed to me has also become available to those prosecuting these matters. Under such circumstances, it would be prejudicial and unfair of me to render my opinions on the activities of others; those judgments must be left to the judicial process, our best hope for achieving the just result that we all seek.

As more information is developed, I have no doubt that more questions will be raised. To the extent that I am able, I shall also seek to set forth the facts as known to me with respect to those questions.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the President's statements by Leonard Garment, Special Consultant and Acting Counsel to the President, and J. Fred Buzhardt, Special Counsel to the President.

163 Remarks at a Reception for Returned Prisoners of War. May 24, 1973

Gentlemen:

As you can imagine, during my term as President of the United States and also before that as Vice President, and in other offices, I have spoken to many distinguished audiences. I can say to you today that this is the most distinguished group I have ever addressed, and I have never been prouder than I am at this moment to address this group.

I say that not simply because you are here and because the whole Nation shares those views—as you know, some of you, I am sure, who have traveled a bit around the Nation since you have returned home—but I say it because I feel very deeply at this moment, when we have a culmination of the program which finally has all of you returned to the United States, that this is one of those critical moments in history that can change the world, and we need your help.

We do not talk to you today, and I do not talk to you today, simply in terms of thanking you, as I do, for what you have gone through for your country, but I think all of you would prefer to think of what you can do now, how more you can serve.

We need you. The Nation needs you. I want to tell you why.

Before doing so, I want to fill you in for just a moment about the program for the balance of this afternoon and this evening.

As you probably know, we have a rather large dinner tonight out on the White House lawn. They get the statistics for me, and they tell me it is the biggest sit-down dinner they have ever had at the White House—1,300 people. Let me tell you there are a lot of people mad because they have not been invited, but we are just having you and a few leaders from Congress and two or three Cabinet officers and that is all.

The normal custom at a White House dinner, as you know, is for a receiving line, and we considered that. But then I timed that out, and if Mrs. Nixon and I were to stand and shake hands with all 1,300 guests—you, your wives or your mothers or the other guests you have with you—it would take exactly 3 hours and 20 minutes. That is assuming we didn't chat as you went through the line.

Now, by the time we went through 3

hours and 20 minutes, it would be after dinner. You missed enough meals in Hanoi without missing one in the White House tonight.

I would be delighted, of course, to meet all of your guests. Mrs. Nixon is up on the eighth floor—which, incidentally, is a much more elegant room than this one—with your wives, having tea, and she will meet all of them. I have met many of them, these marvelous, marvelous women, your wives and mothers and others who have waited for you and stood by you and by their Nation during the period of your captivity.

And I thought after I finished my remarks, which will be in the nature of a briefing, that to the extent that time permits, I would like to meet those of you who are here.

Now, it will take quite a bit of time, and some of you—of course, I don't think we have any refreshments, it is a little early yet, but coffee maybe—in the meantime, I would like to meet as many of you as I possibly can, because a great number did write and wire me upon your return that you would like to drop by the White House and just say hello, and there is nothing I would like more.

So, if you have the time, I have the time. Just remember we must get through in time for dinner which begins around 6:30, as far as you are concerned.

Now, let me come to the briefing and why I decided to have a briefing. Incidentally, we had first thought it would be a classified briefing, but while we knew there was no problem insofar as leaks as far as this group was concerned, our friends in the press very vigorously objected, and they said, "Look, with 600 there, let us come, too."

So, welcome. We are glad to have our

members of the press here. This will be on the record.

I will, however, speak quite bluntly about our foreign policy and our defense policy. I will try to tell you as much as I can without divulging any classified information, and I hope that you will take to heart some of the things that I say and, particularly, pick up the challenge that I am going to give you at the conclusion of my remarks today.

I begin with the question: Was it worth it? And I look over this group, and I remember having talked to a half dozen of you in my office. I think of what you went through, and I think of what you have come back to. And when you ask that question, was it worth it, you can think in personal terms, or you can think in much broader terms.

You could say, oh yes, it was worth it because we proved that we could tough it through. And thank God you did, because your faith meant a great deal to us.

But I would like to put it in the larger sense. Your sacrifice and the sacrifice of all of your colleagues and comrades who died in Vietnam, and the sacrifice of all who have served in Vietnam, will have been worth it only if we build a world of peace now. That is what it was all about.

We didn't go to Vietnam for the purpose of conquering North Vietnam. We didn't begin this war. We haven't begun any war in this century, as you know. That is the greatness of U.S. foreign policy. We make our mistakes, but we always have as our motives defending peace, not breaking it, defending freedom, not destroying it.

But when we think in terms of whether your sacrifice then was worth it, we have to think then about the broader aspects

of peace, whether or not the world you come back to, the America you come back to, is a better world or is it, shall we say, a world that is not as safe as when you went to Hanoi or whatever area you were kept in captivity.

I cannot put it in the context of 6½ or 7 years, which some of you, of course, have been away. But I can put it in the context of the years I have been in this office. And perhaps we can see in perspective where we have been and where we are, but more important, where we are going to go.

First, when I came into this office 4½ years ago, 300 a week were being killed in action in Vietnam. There was no plan to end the war, no hope that it was going to be ended. Many of you were already prisoners of war. You had no hope.

Looking at the world scene, the United States had no communication whatever, in any meaningful sense, with the leaders of one-fourth of all the people in the world, those who govern the People's Republic of China. We were in constant confrontation with the Soviet Union, the other super power on the Earth, with no thought or even hope that there was a chance for arms control or trade or a lessening of tension between these two great super powers.

There were other troubled areas in the world. Some of them still are troubled. But looking at those three areas and seeing what has happened since, and then looking at the United States, we see some progress has been made.

Also 4½ years ago, this Nation was torn by riots. Hundreds of campuses were in flames. The American people seemed to have lost their way. There was a desire to move away from responsibilities in the world. There was a lack of national pride,

a lack of patriotism. I don't mean among all the people, not even among a majority, but it was there. There was a crisis in terms of whether America, the greatest hope for peace in the world today, would dash that hope or whether it would be worthy of that hope. That was the situation 4½ years ago.

Now in describing that situation, I do not speak critically of those who preceded me in this office. President Eisenhower, John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson loved this country. They worked for peace as I have tried to work for peace. They felt for you as I feel for you.

What I am simply saying is that in January of 1969 we did have a critical situation, and we started to move on it. And how I wish we could have moved faster. I remember that first Christmas in '69. I met with a group of the representatives of the League of Families down in the library,¹ and I talked to these wonderful, remarkable women, and I saw their faith and their courage and their love of country, and I heard them tell me that their husbands had not gone to Vietnam simply for the purpose of getting back. In other words, they rejected totally the idea of "Get out, if you will give us our prisoners."

They said, in effect, and they didn't put it this way, but one of you put it very well, "Bring our men home, but bring them home on their feet and not on their knees." And that is what we have done.

And so that was our goal over those 4 years. That is why we couldn't achieve it perhaps quite as fast as we would have liked.

But the year 1972 saw remarkable progress, as you know. The year 1972,

¹ See 1969 volume, Item 484.

moving into 1973, in January, saw the return of all Americans from Vietnam, all of our combat forces, the return of all of our prisoners of war, the end of the American involvement in Vietnam, a peace agreement which, if adhered to, will mean peace for Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

That was one accomplishment. That is the one that most people talk about. They say, "Thank God that war is over. Thank God we have got peace."

But in a broader sense, other events took place that will have even more meaning to the world and to peace than your return and the end of the war in Vietnam.

China, for example. That initiative, which was undertaken in early 1972, began in '71, the negotiations, has finally started communication between the leaders of the People's Republic of China and the leaders of the United States of America. Oh, it doesn't mean they aren't still Communists and that we are not still people who love freedom, but it does mean that instead of having hanging over us, looking down the road 10, 15, 20 years from now, a possible confrontation with a nation of the most able people in the world, armed with nuclear weapons equal to our own, instead of having that, there is a chance, a very good chance now, that we will have negotiations with them rather than confrontation, and that is the key to peace in the Pacific.

And then the second development was the meetings with the Soviet leaders. This did not happen just over a period of 1972. We worked for the whole 4 years. But it culminated in the summit in Moscow. You perhaps heard something about it since your return. But looking at that summit agreement, a great deal of emphasis can be placed on the aspects of

trade and our cooperation in space and other areas which are important, but the most significant development, undoubtedly, was the first step, and a very important step, in limiting the arms race in the nuclear field.

We have, therefore, an agreement with the Soviet Union on defensive nuclear weapons, where we are both limited, and we are moving now toward getting a limitation in the offensive field.

And so those were the developments that occurred in the year 1972.

The other day I was talking to a Congressman. He is a Congressman who has always voted for strong national defense. He said, "Mr. President, give me an answer to my constituents to this question. They say, 'Since we have made such great progress towards peace, we have ended the war in Vietnam, we have had this initiative with China and this initiative with the Soviet Union, why can't we now reduce our defenses regardless of what the other side does and turn that money that we take away from defense to the very urgent problems at home?'"

Let me tell you, gentlemen, there is nothing I would like to do more. A President never likes to veto a bill when it is going to help somebody anyplace in this country—our schools or our hospitals or anything that you say.

But on the other hand, when we talk now about national defense, let me tell you what the challenge is—and you can help in this respect—and what the danger is, a mortal danger that we face insofar as reduction of our defenses is concerned.

First, our defense budget has been reduced. With a new volunteer armed force, considering the increased costs and the like, we find that it is approximately a third reduction of what it was in 1968.

But second, we must also look at this situation: When they say, "Now that we have made all this progress in 1972 towards peace, let's reduce our defenses regardless of what the other side does," what you are doing, in effect, is advocating changing a game plan that has worked.

Let me put it this way: We wouldn't have ended the war in Vietnam with honor, we wouldn't have had the initiative with China, and we would not have had, without question, the arms control and other agreements with the Soviet Union, had the United States not been strong and respected.

Strength without respect is meaningless. That was another reason why this war had to be ended on an honorable basis, because otherwise we would have lost respect, not only of our allies and the neutrals but also of our potential adversaries in the world.

But when we see what has happened then, we find that the Soviet Union, at the present time, is preparing to come to the United States for a return summit visit in just a few weeks. We are going to have some very intensive negotiations. They are even more important than the negotiations we had last year, although those were the first and, therefore, the most newsworthy, because they will move in arms control and other fields of enormous importance to the future of the world.

But, gentlemen, let me tell you, in the event that the President of the United States goes into meetings with the Soviet leaders, with the Congress of the United States having unilaterally cut our defenses, then all hope for an arms control agreement is completely destroyed. Because when you really get down to it in

the field of international diplomacy—and this is true in all fields in life—you can't get something from anybody else unless you have something to give.

And I say to you, we must never send the President of the United States into any negotiation with anybody as the head of the second strongest nation of the world.

Now, gentlemen, if you should go out and make that kind of a statement, you sometimes may find people say to you what they say to me: "Those who are for a strong defense are for war, and those who are for disarmament are for peace." It is just the other way around. Disarmament can lead to peace only if it is mutual. But let the day never come when we disarm and the other side arms, because that will enormously increase the danger of war.

Let me describe it in more specific terms. For example, in the field of offensive nuclear weapons, we are ready, and we believe they are ready, for an agreement in which we will mutually agree that we will have a limitation on the development of offensive nuclear weapons.

But in the event, before we go into the negotiations, we already have reduced our own strength in that area, then their incentive for making a deal is completely out the window, and we are second and they are first.

Let's go further. Many of you have served in Europe, I know, and you know one of the points that is going to come up in this Congress will be the problem with regard to what we do about our forces in Europe. And Americans, 25 years after World War II, justifiably are concerned about the fact that we carry such a heavy load in Europe.

Very well-intentioned men in the House

and the Senate, therefore, say it is time for us to bring our men home—half of them or a third of them or a fourth of them, or what have you—regardless of what the other side does.

But here again, let's look at what would happen. In the fall we are going to have very significant negotiations with the Warsaw Pact countries for a mutual reduction of forces in Europe, a reduction on our side and on theirs. As long as it is a mutual reduction, the stability which is essential for peace in that critical area of the world will be maintained.

But if, on the other hand, before we go into those negotiations this fall, the United States unilaterally reduces its forces, all incentive that the Warsaw Pact forces and that the Soviet Union would have to reduce theirs is gone, and you would create that imbalance which would enormously increase instability and the chances for war.

So, what I am saying to you is this: I am for limitation of armaments, and I know every one of you is. I am for, certainly in the nuclear field, doing everything that we can to reduce that danger that is hanging over the world today.

But I also know that it is vitally important that in this field of limitation of armaments that we remember that the United States of America is not a threat to the peace of the world.

I have traveled in most of the countries of the world. I have been to the Communist countries and to the free countries. I have yet to talk to a world leader who believes that the United States of America threatens his peace or his freedom. A strong United States is a force for peace; a weak United States means that the peace will be threatened.

And so, that is why I say at this point,

not that we want to be strong in order to dominate anybody else—that period was long gone, if it ever did exist in our own minds—but what we need to recognize is that we now have a balance in the world. We must maintain that balance. And that is why, let us keep our defenses up.

Oh, take the fat off, wherever we possibly can, but keep them up and be sure in negotiations we go down only if the other side goes down, and if we do that, then we contribute to the peace of the world in which we are all so very much interested.

One other subject that is somewhat sensitive that I will touch upon only briefly, that I would like to ask for your support on, is with regard to the security of the kind of negotiations that we have had.

I want to be quite blunt. Had we not had secrecy, had we not had secret negotiations with the North Vietnamese, had we not had secret negotiations prior to the Soviet summit, had we not had secret negotiations over a period of time with the Chinese leaders, let me say quite bluntly, there would have been no China initiative, there would have been no limitation of arms for the Soviet Union and no summit, and had we not had that kind of security and that kind of secrecy that allowed for the kind of exchange that is essential, you men would still be in Hanoi rather than Washington today.

And let me say, I think it is time in this country to quit making national heroes out of those who steal secrets and publish them in the newspapers.

Because, gentlemen, you see, in order to continue these great initiatives for peace, we must have confidentiality, we must have secret communications. It isn't that we are trying to keep anything from

the American people that the American people should know. It isn't that we are trying to keep something from the press that the press should print. But it is that what we are trying to do is to accomplish our goal, make a deal. And when we are dealing with potential adversaries, those negotiations must have the highest degree of confidentiality.

And I can assure you that in my term of office as President in the first 4 years, and also in this second 4 years, I am going to meet my responsibility to protect the national security of the United States of America insofar as our secrets are concerned.

And by our secrets, what I am saying here is not that we are concerned about every little dribble here and there, but what I am concerned about is the highest classified documents in our National Security Council files, in the State Department, in the Defense Department, which if they get out, for example, in our arms control negotiations with the Soviets, would let them know our position before we ever got to the table. They don't tell us theirs. They have no problem keeping their secrets.

I don't want, and you don't want, their system and that kind of control, but I say it is time for a new sense of responsibility in this country and a new sense of dedication of everybody in the bureaucracy that if a document is classified, keep it classified.

Now, gentlemen, I turn to the challenge for the future. I have talked about the need for strength if we are going to have a mutual reduction of armaments in the world and, therefore, of the threat to peace in the world. I have talked about the need for national security where our

highly classified documents are concerned, so we can continue these enormously important initiatives for peace.

I now want to talk about why the United States, after all that it has done for the world in World War II, after the billions that it has poured out since World War II, its sacrifices in Korea, its sacrifices in Vietnam, why we, the American people, have to continue to carry this load.

As I said earlier, believe me, as President, what a relief it would be to say, "Now that we have peace in Vietnam, we have a new relationship with China and Russia, we can simply turn away from the problems of the world and turn to the problems at home."

I can assure you gentlemen that if we were to follow that course, we would find very soon that we would be living in a terribly dangerous world. The world is safer today than it was 4½ years ago. It can be more safe in the years ahead. But that will only happen provided we follow the course that I have tried to lay out to you here today.

As I look to that future, therefore, it is vitally important that the United States continue to play the world role.

Let's look at just this century. We don't need to go back any further than that. I can imagine some of you in those long hours of captivity were thinking back over several centuries. But in any event, looking back just over this century, World War I, the United States could stand aside. After all, there was Britain, there was France, two great powers who thought as we did about the world, and they could carry the load. And then we came in toward the end. In World War II, the United States, for a time, could stand aside because Britain was still

strong, and France at the beginning had some strength, but eventually we had to come in.

But today, look at the world. Among the free nations of the world there is no one else, not the Japanese, as you well know, even though they have the economic strength, they do not have the military strength and cannot be allowed to acquire it under their constitution; and not one nation in Europe, by itself, or Europe collectively, has the strength to be the peacemaker in the world.

So, it is all right here. It is in America. It is in that Oval Office, whoever is there, and it is there for the foreseeable future. In other words, the United States must maintain its strength in order to play a role between the great powers of the world and among the great powers of the world of reducing the danger of war, because our ideals and our goals—subject as they can be to much criticism as far as tactics are concerned in the world scene—our ideals and our goals are for a world of peace. Our ideals and our goals are for a world in which we reduce the burden of arms, and therefore, it is vitally important that this Nation that has that kind of ideals and that kind of goals maintains its strength so that we can play that role.

But maintaining the strength alone is not enough. It must be respected. And that means that we must continue to have a policy which commands respect throughout the world. We must continue to insist on adherence to agreements that are made. We must continue to let the world know that while we have no aggressive intentions anyplace in the world, we will stand by our treaty commitments wherever they are in the world.

That, you see, is the language of peace rather than the language of bugging out of the world and turning to what people wistfully might think to be a fortress America. But let me tell you, fortress America might have been before World War II a concept that was viable. Today it is ridiculous. We cannot be apart from the world, not when weapons that can destroy us are 30 minutes away.

And so, we must play this role. And rather than playing it in terms of whining about it and complaining about it, let us do it proudly, because what greater mission could a people have than to say that in these years—the seventies—of 1971–2–3–4–5 and 6, when we reach our 200th birthday, the United States of America played a great role in the world and made the world safer, not only for ourselves but for everybody in the world. That is the stake, that is the challenge we must meet.

Today then, I ask for your support, obviously, for a strong national defense. That is like the preacher talking to the choir. But I know, as far as you are concerned, you will be for that, and I hope so many of you will stay in our Armed Forces. We need you.

But also, beyond that, I ask for your support in helping to develop the national spirit, the faith that we need in order to meet our responsibilities in the world. You have already contributed enormously to that by your statements on your return, by what you have said, what you have done, and I am sure you can contribute more to it in the future.

But the young people of America need to hear the truth. They will believe you. They will believe you, because you have suffered so much for this country and have

proved that you will do anything that you can to do what is best for America, not just for yourselves.

Because at this particular point, America is the richest country in the world; militarily, it is the strongest and will always have that potential because of its wealth. The only question is whether we face up to our world responsibilities, whether we have the faith, the patriotism, the willingness to lead in this critical period.

Gentlemen, by what you did and what you said on your return, you have helped turn this country around. You have helped reinstall faith where there was doubt before. And for what you have

done by your faith, you have built up America's faith. This Nation and the world will always be in your debt.

Those first 4 years in the office were not easy ones for me in the international front, fighting for an adequate defense budget, fighting for a responsible foreign policy, but looking toward the balance of the second 4 years, let me say I feel better, because out in this room, I think I have got some allies, and I will appreciate your help.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:34 p.m. in the West Auditorium of the Department of State.

164 Remarks of Welcome at a Dinner Honoring Returned Prisoners of War. May 24, 1973

Ladies and gentlemen:

Please be seated, and in a moment you will stand again.

As all of you know, this is the largest dinner ever held at the White House, and that in itself would make it important. I think you should also know that in this great house the most distinguished men and women of the world have been entertained. Emperors and kings and presidents and leaders from virtually every nation of the world have been honored here, and of course, they have honored this house by being here.

But I know that I speak for all of the American people when I say that never has the White House been more proud than it is tonight because of the guests we have tonight.

And our program will begin with an

invocation by, I understand, the honorary chaplain, Chaplain [Charles R.] Gillespie [Jr.]. I, incidentally, was wondering if we had picked the right chaplain when we selected him. I was just hoping we could have gotten that one that Patton had that worked out the business so that we had that clear day during the Battle of the Bulge.

But since we can't get him, the honorary chaplain of the POW Camp in Hanoi, Captain Gillespie, will give the invocation, and then the chorus, the POW Chorus, will sing the POW Hymn, which was composed in the camp, and they, I understand, will come up here on the stage and sing it.

So, Mr. Gillespie first.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:40 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House.

165 Toasts at a Dinner Honoring Returned Prisoners of War. *May 24, 1973*

IT IS always the custom at the dinner at the White House to have a toast to the honored guest. The difficulty tonight is that there are so many honored guests that we would be drinking all night and into the middle of the day. Somebody said, "What is wrong with that?"

But tonight, as I was thinking of a toast to propose, before doing so, I would like all of us to join, I think, in a round of applause for the marvelous White House staff and all of these service organizations that have put this dinner on tonight.

And now to come to the moment of the toast, I think you would be interested to know the advice I got from some of the senior officers when I asked them how the toasts should be proposed. And to a man, each one of them said, "Do not propose it to us. We have been toasted, and we appreciate the great welcome we have received." And most of them referred to the missing in action, to those who have been killed in action, to those who have served in Vietnam, to those who are serving today all over the world, to those who wear the uniform of the United States proudly, as they have worn it so proudly.

Of course, I could go on and on about the men that these strong men and stout-hearted men would like for us to recognize. I think there is one group, and I will not propose the toast to them tonight, because I have another group that I think deserves that accolade, but one group that I would like to mention particularly.

The most difficult decision that I have made since being President was on December 18 of last year. And there were many occasions in that 10-day period

after the decision was made when I wondered whether anyone in this country really supported it. But I can tell you this: After having met each one of our honored guests this evening, after having talked to them, I think that all of us would like to join in a round of applause for the brave men that took those B-52's in and did the job, because as all of you know, if they hadn't done it, you wouldn't be here tonight.

And now I do come to the moment, and I propose the toast. It is traditional on occasion to propose the toast to a lady rather than to a man, and on this occasion I think of the First Lady and of many first ladies. Of course, traditionally the wife of the President is the First Lady of this country.

I can tell you, as I look back over those months and years that we have met with the wives and mothers of those of you who were prisoners of war, they were and are the bravest, most magnificent women I have ever met in my life.

And now, if they will give me my official toasting glass, I will propose the toast.

If all of the gentlemen will please rise—tonight, as President of the United States, I designate every one of the women here, the wives, the mothers, and others who are guests of our POW's, as First Ladies.

Gentlemen, to the First Ladies of America—the First Ladies.

Now, to respond to the toast, we will call on the ranking officer, and as I recall, he was a colonel the last time I met him, so we will call him a colonel at the moment, but before he gets through, he will be a lot higher than that. Colonel Flynn.
[At this point Brig. Gen. John P. Flynn, USAF,

responded to the President's toast. The President then resumed speaking.]

Thank you very much. As a matter of fact, when Colonel Flynn was speaking, I heard that he had already made brigadier general.

I also thought, after his very generous remarks, that I should respond appropriately, and so, Brigadier General Flynn, I want you to know that with the authority vested in me as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, for the balance of this evening you are a full general of the Army.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, we come to the real reason that it was essential to bring you back and bring this war to a conclusion before the end of this year. The reason is that I made a promise to Bob Hope.

Bob Hope told me, when he was in the White House a few months ago—this was before we knew you were going to return—that he had spent the last 20 Christmases outside of the United States, and the last 12 of them in Vietnam, and he said, "Mr. President, next Christmas I would like to spend Christmas with [Mrs.] Dolores [Hope] at home."

Bob, you are recognized.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House.

On May 22 and 24, 1973, the White House released fact sheets on the dinner for the POW's.

Brigadier General Flynn responded to the President's toast as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, Mr. Vice President, Mrs. Agnew, distinguished guests, fellow returnees and your lovely ladies:

I know that I have some sympathy from the returnees, being sandwiched in between the President of the United States and Bob Hope.

But, sir, in a more serious vein, I would like to express our appreciation for being here. We have often said that we were privileged to serve our country under difficult circum-

stances. This evening, sir, we would like to state that we are privileged indeed to be here as your guests. We regret only that our comrades could not return with us.

Sir, I would like to state for all of us that we never lost faith in your integrity or your courage or the courage of our people in the country or of our services.

I would like to state, too, that we do not consider ourselves a unique group of men. Rather, we are a random selection of fate. We consider we are representative of what our services produce today, but more importantly, our services are drawn from a civilian community and we are proud to be citizens of the United States.

Mr. President, concerning your decision on December 18, I would like to assure you, sir, that we knew you were in a very lonely position. The decision was contested, but I would like to also report to you that when we heard heavy bombs impacting in Hanoi, we started to go and pack our bags, because we knew we were going home, and we were going home with honor.

Now, sir, in recognition of your fortitude, and your perseverance under fire, the returnees would like to present to you a token of our esteem to you, sir.

[At this point, a plaque was presented to the President. Brigadier General Flynn then resumed speaking.]

And finally, Mr. President and ladies and gentlemen, we would like to demonstrate a custom which was derived in Hanoi when we had achieved communal living, that deals with the toasts. This is the toast which was given in each of the rooms within the Hanoi prison.

Mr. Vice,¹ would you propose a toast, please.

CAPT. HOWARD E. RUTLEDGE, USN. I propose a toast to our most courageous Commander in Chief, the President of the United States.

¹ In a servicewide tradition, the lowest-ranking officer present at a dining-in or mess night was usually designated its vice president, "Mr. Vice," and was called upon at some time to propose a toast.

166 Message to King Hassan of Morocco Congratulating
the Organization of African Unity on Its 10th Anniversary.
May 25, 1973

Your Majesty:

To the distinguished leaders of Africa assembling in Addis Ababa to observe the Tenth Anniversary of the Organization of African Unity, I extend my warm personal greetings and best wishes of the American people on this occasion. The United States has followed closely and with deep admiration the accomplishments of the Organization of African Unity in promoting peace and progress on that continent. We share your aspirations for the progress and development of

Africa and for the dignity and well-being of all African peoples. We look forward to a continuing close relationship between the United States and the countries of your continent. To all member nations and their leaders, we extend our warm congratulations on past accomplishments and our very best wishes for the future.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: King Hassan was President of the Organization of African Unity.

167 Remarks at the Swearing In of Elliot L. Richardson
as Attorney General. *May 25, 1973*

Ladies and gentlemen:

As you know, we are gathered here today for the purpose of swearing in Elliot Richardson as the Attorney General of the United States.

I was talking to the Chief Justice before the ceremony, and he was reminding me of the fact that it was just 4 years and 4 days ago that in this room I nominated him as the Chief Justice of the United States. And in a totally nonpartisan way, I believe we should pay our respect to the Chief Justice for those 4 years that he has served.

There is very little I can say about Elliot Richardson to this distinguished assemblage, because those who are not members of the official family are members of his family, and I am sure that all of them think just as highly of him as I

do and as the Senate indicated in its overwhelming vote of approval.

I would say first that no man has held the office of Attorney General who comes with better qualifications, from a legal standpoint, and also with qualifications in the whole area of the government, which is very important to the chief law enforcement officer of this country.

In the whole area of government, for example, Elliot Richardson has served—and I first met him on those occasions—in the Eisenhower Administration as Under Secretary of HEW. In this Administration he has been the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Secretary of Defense, and now will be the Attorney General. He has also been Under Secretary of State, and I will announce today, incidentally, that due to the fact

that he has these unusual qualifications, of having been an Under Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense, that I have invited him to be a member of the National Security Council so that he can give us the benefit of his judgment on the critical national security issues involving foreign policy where he has such great expertise and experience.

Now, in the law enforcement field, just to remind some of you that may have forgotten how much he has done, President Eisenhower appointed him to be a U.S. Attorney in Massachusetts. He made a distinguished record in a fight against organized crime, so distinguished, as a matter of fact, that he went on to elective victories in the State of Massachusetts. And in that case, he was elected both to the office of lieutenant governor and also to the office of attorney general of his State.

As a matter of fact, I was just thinking of his background and how distinguished it is, the years that he has spent in political and public life, and I was thinking of my own, and I was thinking of how similar it was in some ways and how different in others. And it is different, very different in one way. He has been able to do something that I have never been able to do. He has carried Massachusetts twice.

But not simply because of that political success and not simply because of his broad experience in government and his experience in the law, with his magnificent record at the Harvard Law School and then as a law clerk to two of the great judges of the Court, but because of the man he is, of his character, I think he will be one of the finest men, one of the ablest men ever to hold the office of Attorney General of the United States.

I am very proud to present him. And the Chief Justice will now administer the oath.

[At this point, Chief Justice of the United States Warren E. Burger administered the oath of office. The President then resumed speaking.]

The Attorney General has not been able to make any public statements about his new position until the Senate in its wisdom finally approved him or gave its advice and consent to the President for his approval in nomination.

But after all of those days of silence, except before a Senate committee, I think we would all like to have a few words from the Attorney General of the United States.

[At this point, Attorney General Richardson responded to the President's remarks. The President then resumed speaking.]

The Attorney General and Mrs. Richardson would like to meet all of you who do not have any great matters pending before the courts at the moment or to discuss with the Attorney General, in the State Dining Room, and there will be coffee served. And while most of you have known him before, you have not known him as the Attorney General of the United States, and we are proud to have him as our guest in that capacity today.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:35 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

Attorney General Richardson responded to the President's remarks as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, Mr. Chief Justice Burger, Mrs. Burger, my Cabinet colleagues, Members of the Senate and of the House, friends from Massachusetts, from the Department of State, from the Department of HEW, from the Department of Defense, from the Department of Justice, friends:

First, Mr. President, I would like to say that

I shall forever be grateful to you for giving me the opportunity to serve in the Department of Defense. It was a brief chapter, to be sure, and yet a memorable one. No one who has had the privilege of being part of that Department can ever forget the sense of participation with patriotic and dedicated people who have devoted their lives to concerns greater than themselves.

You spoke a moment ago, Mr. President, of the wisdom of the Senate. I am grateful to that wisdom for having seen to it that I would still be Secretary of Defense on that unforgettable evening here at the White House last night, when the prisoners of war and their wives were here. That was a very proud moment for me, simply to realize that I was a part of the defense establishment of the United States and that these were men who belonged to it. Certainly no one who has seen them and heard them, least of all no one who has heard them express their feeling for you, can ever forget it.

It is going to be confusing for a little while, because I don't think it has been very often that a man has left the Department of Defense to acquire the title of General. The hardest thing, of course, about transitions from job to job is the severance of relations, or at least their interruption, and the good thing about these experiences has always been that there has been an opportunity to come to know and to develop associations with people who are devoting themselves to the public interest and who are decent, honorable, capable people, whose greatest rewards and satis-

factions lie in the awareness that their lives are devoted to the public interest.

I have been more privileged than most to have seen such individuals in many government settings.

So, while one of the worst things about a transition is the interruption of relations, one of the best is the opportunity to develop new ones. I look forward to the associations that I shall be developing with the dedicated career professionals of the Department of Justice.

As a lawyer, I look forward also to renewing my own participation in a legal job in a department whose concern is with the law and with the administration of justice. The first concern of the administration of justice must, of course, be the individual. The second concern is the truth. The first of these demands fairness. The second demands fearlessness. I shall do my utmost to be faithful to both.

This is a time, of course, when the institutions of our government are under stress, and yet, I would suggest to you, and I know you will agree with me, that this is not because their structure is not sound. It is sound, and it is strong, and it will endure.

If there are flaws, they are in ourselves, and our task must be one therefore not of redesign, but of renewal, of reaffirmation—reaffirmation especially of those standards for ourselves in which all of us believe.

I am grateful, Mr. President, for the charge you have given me to take part in that task of renewal and reaffirmation. Thank you very much.

168 Memorial Day Message. *May 28, 1973*

THIS MEMORIAL DAY, 1973, is an occasion for all of us to express special gratitude for the sacrifices of those brave men who have given their lives to protect America's freedom over the past two centuries.

Today, as we honor the memory of our wartime dead, we are able for the first time in 12 years to do so as a peacetime

nation, with all of our fighting forces home from Vietnam and all our prisoners set free, their heads held high. The men and women who fell in America's wars, from Bunker Hill to Khe Sanh and Hué, have brought the promise of lasting peace on Earth closer for us all. Let us prove that their heroism was not in vain. Let us work together to erect a new structure of

peace upon the firm foundations they fought so nobly to build.

NOTE: The President recorded the message for use on radio. The text was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

169 Toasts of the President, President Kristján Eldjárn of Iceland, and President Georges Pompidou of France at a Dinner in Reykjavik. May 31, 1973

Mr. President and Mrs. Eldjárn, President Pompidou, Mr. Prime Minister,¹ and all of our distinguished guests:

This is a very historic moment for me, both personally and in my official capacity, because I am the first American President ever to visit this country.

I want to thank you, Mr. President, and your wife for the gracious hospitality that you have extended to us on this occasion and also for all of our visit.

I would remind you that it was several years ago in 1956 that as Vice President, along with Mr. Rogers, we visited your country. It was in the dead of winter at Christmastime. The snow was 12 feet high. It was the coldest winter, I think, in history. And now we are here on one of the most glorious days at the beginning of summer.

But whatever the differences in the weather, whether it be in the cold of winter or in the beautiful warmth of summer, there is one thing that does not change, and that is the warmth of an Icelandic welcome. We thank you for that. We have seen it on every occasion, and we have seen it tonight.

As we come to your capital, we are aware, of course, of the proud tradition of this country and of its modern signifi-

cance as well. We realize that this house in which we have dinner tonight is older than the White House, which for America is a very old house.

We also know that you are a member of our Atlantic community, and in a sense, you are in the center of it. That is why it was a very appropriate place for President Pompidou and me to meet. Each of us came halfway, but I should point out to President Pompidou, I came a little more than halfway, because his trip was only 4 hours and mine was 5½. Now, whether I came more than halfway in our discussions will remain to be seen.

Also, I would like to say on this occasion that I have appreciated the opportunity to again have very serious and constructive talks with President Pompidou. In these meetings, and in others we have had, we have carried on a continuing and comprehensive European-American dialog.

Now, that dialog is designed to strengthen our relationship, to reinvigorate it.

France, as everybody knows, is America's oldest ally, and it is an ally with whom we have stood side-by-side on many occasions. Lafayette, in the very early days of our country, once told George Washington that Franco-American friendship would live forever. But we know that even the oldest and staunchest alliance, even the oldest and staunchest

¹ Olafur Jóhannesson was Prime Minister of Iceland.

friendship must constantly be renewed if it is to be of the greatest possible effectiveness in our changing world.

President Pompidou put it very well when he said that we believe we can achieve genuine European-American unity only while respecting the individual personality of each sovereign nation. That is my philosophy as well.

Within our unity there can be individuality, and if there is not individuality, that unity will mean nothing in the world in which we presently live, in which so many proud peoples play a part.

Looking at our present situation, as President Pompidou and I agreed today, it is our interests that unite us. We have so many things in common: our common political heritage, our common cultural tradition, our common concern for the security of the Atlantic community.

And so, what differences we have—which are inevitable even among friends—pale into insignificance as they are compared with those great interests which do unite us in this great community which we share.

I am confident that the conversations we have had on this occasion will result in an even closer appreciation of our common interests and of our common objectives and also a greater determination to see that those interests and those objectives are always foremost and that the tactics designed to meet them will be only supplemental to those interests.

It is in this spirit of European-American friendship—French, Icelandic, American friendship—that I offer a toast this evening, a toast which has never been offered before, because such a meeting as this never occurred before and may never occur again.

A toast to the President of Iceland, a

toast to the Prime Minister of Iceland, and a toast to the President of France and to this great community which we are proud to share together.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:41 p.m. in Bessastadir, the residence of the President of Iceland, in Reykjavik, in response to toasts proposed by President Eldjárn and President Pompidou.

President Eldjárn spoke in Icelandic and President Pompidou spoke in French. Translations of their toasts follow:

PRESIDENT ELDJÁRN

It is a great pleasure for myself and my wife to bid you and your companions welcome to this house.

It is clear to the Icelandic people that your meeting in this country is worldwide news. It focuses world attention on our country in a special manner. This is to our liking, for we wish to make our country known among others, to broaden their knowledge of our nation, its struggle for survival and its social and cultural aims as well as our historical and natural rights to this country with all its resources. We believe that your stay in this country will contribute to the strengthening of an understanding of our situation and our endeavors.

In Iceland we attach much importance to the fact that a democratic way of thinking is rooted with us and based on an ancient foundation, even reaching back to the age of the settlement when our ancestors discovered and inhabited this country which had remained unknown and uninhabited. We are agreed in wishing to strengthen equality and justice among the people in our society. You, our distinguished guests, are leaders of two large and powerful nations which have contributed in a historic manner to paving the way for modern conception of freedom and the rights of man. The Icelandic nation, like others, has thanks to tender for this cultural influence. I would recall this on the present occasion and also the fact that our nation has at least since last century been in considerable direct contact with your nations and derived a fertile influence from them in many fields, among others in the arts and literature. During the past decades we have had extensive relations in the international

arena which leave us with memories of lasting values which will be recalled in future. I would make an expression of my respect for your great nations.

It is necessary for every nation to follow the development of international affairs as closely as possible. We in Iceland are fully desirous of doing so. Your meeting and discussions here in our midst will add further strength to this our will. I would like to express the sincere wish that our country may offer you desirable facilities for your discussions, that your stay and that of your companions will give you pleasure, and that you will leave us with good memories of this your visit to Iceland. I would echo the wish of all people of good will to the effect that your meeting in Iceland may result in blessings for the world which we all jointly inhabit.

I drink your toast, Messrs. Presidents, wishing happiness and welfare to yourselves and your nations.

PRESIDENT POMPIDOU

I am moved indeed by the kind words you have spoken and by the welcome we have received in Reykjavik. We already knew how much your people has always married a deep sense of hospitality with its virtues of character and drive. We witness it again today.

Together with my gratitude, I would like to express the pleasure and honor I feel in being here, the first French head of state to come to Iceland. One could hardly find a better example of sincere friendship and cloudless relationship as they exist between our two countries. They originated in a remote past, as you know well, Mr. President, being an archeologist and historian. Since the very start, they have been placed under the aegis of cultural relations, and so they remain today. Is it not symbolic, in this connection, that Hálldor Laxness, your Nobel Prize winner, whose works are very popular in France, is also the author of a remarkable adaptation of *Candide*? I could not claim to be complete, but I shall recall that in the 19th century our relations were enriched by very close contacts between ports of Iceland and Brittany. As you know, Pierre Loti found there the subject of one of his best books. One could not fail also to recall the memory of Commandant Charcot and the part he took in the discovery of Arctic regions.

Nowadays our exchanges are diversifying. In the economic, scientific, and technological fields they develop in a way which, for my part, I sincerely hope will be continued.

Our foreign policy options also bring us together. In the last war, Iceland unfortunately lost hundreds of her best sailors. We were allies in the past, and we still are within the Atlantic Alliance. In trade, Iceland and the European Community have signed an agreement, and I hope that the conditions will soon be fulfilled for its complete implementation. Furthermore, we sit side by side in the Council of Europe, in OECD, the United Nations, and for several months now at the Helsinki preparatory multilateral discussions on the European Conference on Security and Cooperation. In these several forums, thanks to a thousand years practice of democracy on their own soil and to the determination of their stand, Iceland representatives offer a constant example of the part a country can play in the world, whatever its size or power, a country concerned both with asserting its own personality and being opened to the largest cooperation.

Such manifold participation of Iceland in international life stems from a very old tradition. Around the year 1000, Leif the Happy, son of Eric the Red, was the first European to reach the New World, in North Newfoundland. About the same period, Saemundur Sigfusson, one of the most famous scholars in the Sagas era, was in Paris. Mr. President of the United States, we have both made conversely Leif's and Saemundur's journeys in order to meet in Reykjavik. I dare say it is of excellent augury for successful talks.

The ocean wind blowing on our meetings at the Azores a year and a half ago and now in Iceland is perhaps but the breeze of friendship uniting our two countries for quite some time now Born on the battlefields of the War of Independence, consecrated in two World Wars by the brotherhood of arms, felicitously strengthened in the numerous activities of peace, this friendship is today as fruitful and necessary as ever.

Doubtless, there are several and swift changes on the face of the world. Many of them, among the most decisive ones, are due to your initiative, Mr. President.

As world relations alter, Europe gradually

and patiently discovers the road towards unity, a unity which is necessary but not thereby easier to achieve. There, again, there is marked progress.

Would it mean that relations between the U.S. and Europe, and more specifically the U.S. and France, have lost some of their urgency or interest? Certainly not. We know the place of Europe in your concern. For our part, however favorable may developments be in the world situation, we believe that it is still too fraught with uncertainties for the need for our alliance to decline.

Happily enough, my dear sirs and Presidents, wide is the pattern of all kinds of links to be established between free and active peoples. It comes as no surprise that the ever-changing needs in the international situation should often raise new problems. It is life itself which puts forth new challenges. It is up to us to stand up to them by overcoming them, that is, by placing them in the perspective of our

future.

Such is, fellow Presidents, my strongest wish. It is therefore with confidence and friendship that I drink this toast in honor of His Excellency, Mr. Kristján Eldjárn, President of the Republic of Iceland, in honor of His Excellency, Mr. Richard Nixon, President of the United States, and to the prosperity of our three countries.

On the same day, the White House released an advance text of the President's remarks.

On May 29 and 31, 1973, the White House released transcripts of news briefings on the President's meetings with President Pompidou, and other matters of foreign policy by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. The news briefing of May 31, released in Reykjavik, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 719).

170 Letter Accepting the Resignation of Herbert G. Klein as Director of Communications for the Executive Branch. *June 5, 1973*

Dear Herb:

It is with deepest personal regret that I accept your resignation as Director of Communications for the Executive Branch, effective July 1, 1973, as you requested. I have known during the past year, of course, that you felt it necessary to leave Government in order to continue your career in the media, and I am grateful for your willingness to remain in your position beyond the deadline you had originally set.

Over the years, I have watched you grow professionally as a newsman and as a loyal friend, who has performed with utmost skill as an assistant to me, both in government and in my campaigns. I have long admired your skills and your loyalty, and it has come as no surprise to

me that you have been so highly esteemed by both the media and by those of us in the Administration.

As Director of Communications, you have contributed enormously to improving communication skills within the government. You have traveled countless miles to meet with editors and broadcasters in all fifty states, discussing with them this Administration's approach to the problems of the day and of the future. You have ably represented me and our government in twenty-six countries, including all the nations of Indochina, the People's Republic of China, and the Soviet Union. Most importantly, you can look back on your term in office as one which achieved the vital goal of effectively informing the American people about their

government. These accomplishments comprise a distinguished record of service to our Nation.

I am pleased to know that your new affiliation will take you back to our home state of California, and I feel certain that you will continue to make an important contribution there. Despite your departure from government, I hope we will maintain the same close association that has meant so much to me throughout the years.

Pat joins me in sending our warmest best wishes to Marge and to you for every success and happiness in the future.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Herbert G. Klein, Director of Communications, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: Mr. Klein's letter of resignation, dated the same day and released with the President's letter, read as follows:

Dear Mr. President:

It was twenty-seven years ago when we first met in Alhambra, and throughout the almost three decades which now have passed, I have had a deep sense of appreciation for your friendship and a wholehearted admiration for your dedication to the service of our country.

These years have seen us together at some moments of bitter disappointment, but more often I've been fortunate enough to be with you at moments of triumph—to witness first hand your execution and development of decisions which have and continue to make history.

All these things make this the most difficult letter I have written, and yet, because of personal considerations, I request that you accept

my resignation as Director of Communications for the Executive Branch, effective July 1, 1973.

As you have known, pressure has been building for me to return to private enterprise. I request this resignation with a continuous sense of loyalty to you and to the principles and programs you are building for this country.

I am convinced that your leadership will leave an indelible stamp on history, both internationally and domestically. It has been a privilege to have had some part in assisting you.

I am very proud to have been the first Director of Communications in United States history, and I honestly feel that we have been able to serve the American people well at a time when policies necessarily are so complex that efforts to provide more information are vital to the Government process.

I am grateful for the full support you have given me, which, I believe, has enabled us to bring the White House closer to the editors, publishers and broadcasters of the country. We have also improved the efficiency of Government departments—even while decreasing the size of their public information forces.

In these times, a President must communicate with the people if he is to govern successfully, and the size of your victory in November is proof of the public understanding of Presidential policy.

I wish you and your wonderful family continued success in working toward your goals for a better Nation and a peaceful world.

You can count on me to provide personal assistance to you or our Government at any time.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

HERBERT G. KLEIN

*Director of Communications
for the Executive Branch*

[The Honorable Richard M. Nixon, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

171 Toasts of the President and President William R.
Tolbert, Jr., of Liberia. June 5, 1973

Mr. President, Mrs. Tolbert, and all of our distinguished guests:

Secretary Rogers and I were just remarking about the fact that 2 weeks from tonight in this room, and at this place, we will be welcoming Mr. Brezhnev, the leader of a great and powerful nation. And tonight, just 2 weeks before that visit, we welcome another very distinguished guest, President Tolbert.

When we met today, he said that he represented a very small country, but I think what this visit signifies to all of us is that at a time when the United States, we think quite properly, in the interest of peace for our children and all the generations to come, is developing a new relationship with the People's Republic of China and a new relationship with the Soviet Union, that we not forget our old friends.

Our first visitor in this room in the year 1973 was Prime Minister Heath, and as all of us know, it has been said for many, many years that we have a special relationship with Britain. I should point out tonight that we have, and that I particularly have, a very special relationship with Liberia and with our distinguished guest.

This is true not only because for 150 years we have enjoyed the closest relations but is true also for very personal reasons. President Tolbert and I served together as Vice Presidents, and when people serve as Vice Presidents, they learn a great deal.

Little did we dream that one day we would serve together as Presidents. Of course, all Vice Presidents dream of being President, but few make it. And I suppose this is one of those rare cases in

history when two men who have served as Vice President meet together as President. And so that makes our relationship very special.

It is very special for another reason. We share the same view of the world, not only of the necessity to develop a new and peaceful relation between the great powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, the United States and Europe, the United States and Peking and Japan, but also the necessity to think of the world as it will be 25 years from now, 50 years from now. We think of the new nations of Africa, and we think of the older nations. And we think of our friend, President Tolbert, and the leadership that he is giving to all of those new nations trying to develop a way to bring progress to their people, bring it with freedom and at the same time maintaining their independence.

I could simply say in presenting him to you tonight that it would be enough to mention him alone, but I must not forget his wife.

When I was in Liberia—and my wife, who has been there since, last year on a good will trip—but when we were there together in 1957, I remember going, Mr. President, out into the countryside. You were Vice President at that time, and we met a paramount chief, and he was a very old man, and he was very kind to me and proceeded to designate me as a paramount chief. And he told me that one of the rights of a paramount chief was to have as many wives as he liked. I have only one wife, President Tolbert has only one, and she is a lovely lady, and we are glad to have her here.

So as we drink our toast tonight, let us think of the relations between Liberia and America that go back so many years. Let us think of the broader concept of the relations between the United States and all the new states of Africa that have had their independence over the past 10 to 15 years. And let us think finally of our very good friend, President Tolbert, one who has been a friend of this country from the time he has been in public life, and one who is now a leader of Africa and, being a leader of Africa, one who speaks for the best that is in Africa and also the best for us, too.

To President Tolbert. Mr. President.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:52 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

President Tolbert responded as follows:

President Nixon, Mrs. Nixon, distinguished ladies and gentlemen:

In a world of demanding challenges, there is responsibility enough for everyone, and all must welcome the opportunity to change for the better the tenor of human life. In line with this vision, therefore, men in open relief are moving away from years of protracted confrontation into an era of reconciliation and responsibility.

We seem now, after so long, actually to be building that better world, and there is no greater builder than you, Mr. President. That is why it is so fulfilling to come here to the White House to break bread and sip wine together, even though I sip water, with men and women who, in fact, must share a deep sense of dedication to the welfare of this planet.

It is also fulfilling to be here because we know that we are in the company of good, old friends. Our trip has been a long one, starting on the west coast of Africa, speeding on that chartered aircraft, really speeding. We first attended in Ethiopia the 10th anniversary celebration of the Organization of African Unity. Then a few days ago we arrived on the west coast of America, having been invited to speak to the graduating class of California State University at San Francisco.

Our Government has had a 10-year contract

with that institution under which we have been building together a consolidated school system for our capital city, Monrovia.

From the west coast of the United States, another jet craft symbolizing the Spirit of '76 brought us to this place and this time. And tonight we are gathered here in this most significant, historic setting to savor a few moments of quiet intimacy with friends we have known and highly esteemed for a long time.

Richard Nixon and I first met when he served President Eisenhower as a faithful Vice President, and in that capacity he visited Liberia. Again, it was my pleasure to enjoy his company when he paid a private visit to our country. Even as a private citizen, his interest and affection for Africa continued to be positively demonstrated.

Over the interim years our contacts have remained most cordial and fruitful, and no moment in this long relationship was more pleasant than when we had the singular honor of receiving Mrs. Nixon, the charming wife of our dear friend, at my inauguration in Monrovia in January of 1972, on which occasion she indeed represented you, Mr. President, with warmth and distinction. Her visit to Liberia and to the Republics of the Ivory Coast and Ghana, so widely heralded in various news reports, will long be cherished in the hearts of African people.

So Mrs. Tolbert and I are extremely delighted to be here, and we highly appreciate and are grateful to our friends, President and Mrs. Nixon, for this splendid opportunity.

At one single setting we can recognize that the record of long, private friendship with historic Americans is inclusive of a longer national relationship between our two countries, and we can declare with sincerity that our exhilaration in the company of old friends is matched in intensity only by our steadfast quest for new aspirations and new destinies.

At the celebration of its Bicentennial in 1976, the United States of America will be only 71 years older than the Republic of Liberia, her traditional ally in Africa. Throughout the years, the relationship between our two countries has been repeatedly described as unique, as special. We befittingly acknowledge the special quality of that relationship.

After all, the whole concept of the founding

of Liberia as an asylum for black men was born in the minds of Americans, and where else do you have a capital city of one country named after a President of another?

But what I ask now: What will be the nature of our special relationship in the future, and very special relationship at that? Will it mean more than strategic expediency? Will it mean more than unwavering support at every international forum, or will the friendship between the United States and Liberia come to rest, in fact, upon a solid fulcrum of purpose, of progress, and of continuity as we face the future?

President Nixon has stated, and we are heartened by his statement, that in the years ahead the United States will not only maintain old friendships, but will also reach out for new relationships. We are particularly heartened by that, because as old and trusted friends, we hope the United States and Liberia will indeed continue in very special ways to reach out for each other.

In Liberia, however, we are determined today to take the first steps in a new direction: to help ourselves, to lift ourselves. And speed is truly the symbol of the new Liberia. For while in other developing countries men would speak of the revolution, in the Republic of Liberia our people are seeking a speedy evolution.

Today, Liberians are impatient to proceed with the work of development and progress. They are impatient with illiteracy, with poverty, with hunger, with disease, with the irritating old problems of social imbalance.

Liberians can no longer tolerate the living conditions of people, young and old, who must sleep on mats laid on floors of clay. They find it intolerable that their children must walk for miles in the rain to inadequate rural schools. They find it even agonizing that a majority of the children cannot go into school at all. They are truly frustrated by the effects of economic strangulation.

But there is a compelling question which arises here. That question is: how? How do we fulfill the urgent aspirations of our people? How will we order our national priorities? Just how will we obtain the necessary facilities for accelerated development so urgently needed?

There is a twofold answer, Mr. President. Realistically, we must, with appropriate appre-

ciation, encourage and effectively utilize any development cooperation and assistance that is available to us. Then, with greater faith in the supreme source, we must self-reliantly come to depend more and more upon ourselves.

We believe the time has truly come to create new structures and to activate the latent resources of our institutions and peoples so that we may eventually transform their lives.

Recently in Liberia, we launched a new effort, the National Fund-Raising Rally. We called upon our people to consider together the urgent goals of their own development. We called upon them to rekindle the pioneering spirit of self-reliance. We called upon our people to reawaken within themselves a new national consciousness. And they have responded, Mr. President.

On a sunny day a few weeks ago, after 9 months of voluntary contributions, yielding about \$4.5 million, the people of Liberia undertook simultaneous groundbreaking ceremonies across the country for the construction of farm-to-market roads, for schools, for hospitals, and for clinics.

It was much more than a symbolic venture. These people have truly inspired themselves with this unprecedented effort to create a more decent and respectable way of life, thus enhancing their human dignity.

But in the largest sense, we understand, too, that our praise and our resolve are the heart of this whole matter. We have seized the faith to uphold the free heritage of a small but proud nation. We have assumed the responsibility to preserve that heritage, not only for Liberia but also for citizens of the world, for the fate of mankind is our challenge.

When Richard and Pat Nixon visit Liberia again—and we hope they soon do—they will find an energized republic on the move. They will meet a nation not looking only beyond the horizon for ideas and resources but working primarily herself with imagination, with zest, and with zeal, with creativity and productivity, to uplift the standard of human life.

Richard and Pat Nixon will meet a republic caught up in the spirit of pride, of real independence, and of self-reliance, a manifestation of the unique American spirit, somehow securely embedded in the African dream.

Men of all times have dreamed dreams,

some simple, some fantastic, some utterly unimaginable.

As I propose a toast to the President of these great United States, I wonder if my grandfather, D. Frank Tolbert—freed over a century ago by the signature of a man who occupied the seat that Richard Nixon, the noble architect of peace, now occupies—I wonder if D. Frank Tolbert could have dreamed that his grandson would ever have had the honor of

being toasted in this place by so great a personality as you, Mr. President?

Thank God it happened to me, the representative of a grateful people committed to work together with all men of good will in structuring a better world for all men to live together in peace, with justice, happiness, and with human dignity.

Ladies and gentlemen, the President of the United States.

172 Message to Captain Charles Conrad, Jr., USN, Commander of the Skylab 1 Crew. June 7, 1973

ON BEHALF of the American people I congratulate and commend you and your crew on your successful effort to repair the world's first true space station.

In the 2 weeks since you left the Earth, you have more than fulfilled the prophecy of your parting words, "We can fix anything." All of us now have new courage that man can work in space to control his environment, improve his cir-

cumstances, and exert his will even as he does on Earth.

NOTE: The message was relayed to Skylab 1 astronauts Captain Conrad, Comdr. Joseph P. Kerwin, USN, and Comdr. Paul J. Weitz, USN, by officials at the Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center at Houston, Tex.

By deploying a jammed solar-panel wing which converts sunlight to electricity, the astronauts had made possible a more efficient operation of the scientific capabilities of the space station.

173 Remarks at Commencement Exercises of Florida Technological University, Orlando, Florida. June 8, 1973

Dr. Millican, members of the graduating class of 1973, members of the faculty, all of the parents and others here who are here to congratulate the members of the graduating class, and all of our very distinguished guests:

First, may I express to Dr. Millican and to all of you my appreciation for your very warm welcome. I got the message with regard to the length of my speech. That is why I am not going to read the one that Dr. Millican had prepared and was going to deliver.

DR. CHARLES N. MILLICAN. Mr. President, I am not sure this is appropriate, but let us do it anyway. You do not have to use that speech at all, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. No, I will read it, but not here.

DR. MILLICAN. In the local news media, there have been two or three comments about my getting bumped as the commencement speaker and being replaced by you, sir, but I cannot think of a better pinch-hitter than the President of the United States.

THE PRESIDENT. Dr. Millican, I appreciate that reference, but I never made the baseball team when I was in school.

On this particular occasion, I also want to pay my respects to this county, which is Orange County, Florida. I live in Orange County, California. Both have been very good to me during the years that I have been in political life.

I also want to pay my respects to one of the brightest, rising stars in the American political scene, Congressman Lou Frey. I trust that many in this graduating class will be entering public life. I hope you don't run against him. I can only say, though, that whether Democrat or Republican, he is the kind of progressive, strong leader that we like in the Congress of the United States.

On this occasion, too, I would like to go directly to a point that will be of interest to the graduating class, because this is your first commencement, and I have addressed many, and I would like to refer to what commencement addresses are usually like.

They go to one extreme or the other, and I have heard both. Either a commencement address is filled with very profound pronouncements about how pessimistic the future is going to be for the graduating class or it is filled with euphoric comments with regard to how great the opportunities are for the class. And in both cases, of course, they tilt too far in one direction or the other.

I am going to try to avoid both extremes, to be quite candid with you today about your opportunities and also the problems. But in view of the fact that there is somewhat of a tendency to have our television sets inundated with what is wrong with America, which, of course, is their responsibility where they feel that,

I think perhaps it would be well to start with this proposition: about what is perhaps right about this country, and I would say we have grave problems at home and abroad, and we are capable of solving them.

But I want you to know that I have visited most of the countries of the world. I have seen most of the systems of government of the world, and I have lived through four wars that America has been engaged in in this century.

I can say very honestly to every member of this graduating class: If I were to pick a time in the whole history of the world in which to live, if I were to pick a country in which I would like to live in all this world, there is no country I would rather live in and there is no time I would rather be graduating from college than 1973, the United States of America.

I understand that this class has something very much in common with both Mrs. Nixon and me: Most of you helped to work your way through college and the university. Also, I understand that about a third of the members of this class have something in common with many of us: You are veterans, have served in the armed services.

So, I begin with why this is a good time to be alive, and why it is a good time to be alive in America, by pointing out how this class, the class of '73, has some enormous advantages that your predecessors have not had for many years.

First, we can be thankful this is the first graduating class in 12 years that will graduate from college or a university in a year in which the United States is not engaged in war in Vietnam.

Second, this is the first graduating class in 32 years where the young men of this

class will not be subject to a draft. If you want to go into volunteer service, you can.

Of course, those are points that come right home to each of you. They affect your future, your lives.

But let us put it in a broader scope. The People's Republic of China, its Government, rules one-fourth of all the people in the world. This is the first class in 21 years that can look to the future with the thought that those people, one-fourth of all the people in the world, will not be cut off from us with isolation and with the thought that we may be able to work out a means of communication which will avoid a confrontation in the years ahead, which could be disastrous not only for us but for all the world.

What I am saying to you very simply is this: There are great differences between our system and that of the People's Republic of China. But we live in a world in which nations with different systems either have to learn to live with their differences or they die with them, and that is why we went to China. And we believe that that is what the American people want. They want to negotiate our differences and not fight about our differences.

We look at another side of the world. In one week Mr. Brezhnev will be visiting the United States, returning the visit that I paid to the Soviet Union just a year ago. He has indicated, just a few days ago, that it was his view that the world was closer to an enduring and lasting peace than ever before.

I would state it this way: I believe that if we do what we can do, if America meets its responsibilities, and if we get cooperation from other nations like the Soviet Union, that you, this graduating class, have the chance to be the first generation in this century to grow up without a war.

And that is the goal that we intend to achieve.

All of you know that we have already negotiated a treaty with regard to the limitation of defensive nuclear weapons. We will be negotiating other agreements with the Soviet Union on the occasion of this visit. They will be very significant. They will not settle the differences between our systems, which will continue to exist as long as they believe one thing and we believe something else.

But what they do mean to all of us, and what they mean particularly to you, is again that the United States, one great super power, and the Soviet Union, the other great super power, instead of confronting each other, instead of rubbing against each other in critical portions of the world with the chance of that escalating into war—not small, but nuclear war—where the United States and the Soviet Union are learning more and more to talk with each other, to negotiate with each other to settle our differences—it is not going to be easy, not for them, not for us, but we have established now a means by which we can move in that direction.

And you, you are the fortunate ones that will have the opportunity to have the fruits of these great initiatives we have undertaken toward the People's Republic of China, toward the Soviet Union. And also, you are the fortunate ones that will have the opportunity in the years ahead to carry forward with those initiatives, because peace is never instant; peace can never be assumed to be lasting.

It is just as essential to work for peace as it is to work, as we do have to work, in war, even more so. It is more difficult to build a peace than it is to wage a war, and that is the great challenge that we have accepted in our generation and that

you will have the chance to carry on in yours. I will not go into detail as to how that challenge will be met. I will cover only one point that should be of great interest to every member of this class.

Because of the progress we have made toward a more peaceful world—the opening to China, the negotiations with the Soviet Union, the ending of the war in Vietnam—there are many well-intentioned people who honestly feel that under these circumstances the United States could very safely, unilaterally, regardless of what the Soviet Union or other nations do, simply reduce our Armed Forces.

Let me say this: There is no objective to which I am more committed than to reduce the danger of war, no objective to which I am more committed than to reduce the burden of armaments in the world. But I do know this: It must be mutual if we are to carry on the kind of policy that will lead to real peace, because if the United States unilaterally reduces its strength, and another great power does not reduce its strength, that does not increase the possibilities for peace; it increases the dangers to the peace.

Let me put it a little more directly. We will be negotiating with the Soviet leaders on a mutual reduction of nuclear offensive weapons within about a week. This fall we will be negotiating with the Warsaw Pact nations with regard to a mutual reduction of our forces in Europe. This is an objective to which we will dedicate ourselves.

But let me say that if, before those negotiations begin, we say to those with whom we are negotiating, "Regardless of what you do, we are going to reduce," their incentive to negotiate is gone. I am saying to you very simply: Keep America strong, having in mind that a strong

America is no threat to the peace; it is a guarantee to the peace. Keep America strong and never send the President of the United States to the negotiating table as the head of the second strongest nation in the world.

I assume that that will be described as jingoistic talk. So be it. I am simply saying that that is the way to reduce the dangers which confront the world, because we, with the power that we have got—whatever mistakes we have made over this past century—we have no designs on any other country, we do not want to conquer any other country, we do not want to dominate any other country. And therefore, let us keep our strength so that we can mutually reduce that danger of both the burden of armaments and danger of war which otherwise would hang over the world.

I come now to a second point. For the United States to meet this enormous challenge of building the structure of peace in the world, we not only need military strength but we need to be strong economically. Here we have some problems, just as we have in the field of foreign policy. One of those problems everyone is quite aware of, the problem of rising prices.

We have a situation, for example, where we have a boom in this country at the present time. You in this graduating class are going to find more job opportunities at higher wages than any graduating class in our history. But, on the other hand, we have a situation where, because of that boom and because of other factors, prices go up, and that places an enormous burden on the family budget.

Now, what can we do about that? Government, of course, can act, and we shall act, where we think it is responsible to do

so and where it will be effective, to hold down the inflation. But putting it in a more positive way, when we consider why prices, for example for food, have gone up and what we can do about it, we can see that this is not something to look upon as an enormous burden, but as an opportunity.

All over the world today people are living better. Oh, there are many terribly poor people in the world, including some in the United States, but they live better. As a result, the demand for meat, the demand for grain, the demand for everything has gone up worldwide.

The United States, instead of talking about surpluses, as we used to just 5 or 6 years ago, now is talking about shortages in all of these areas. But it is good that people demand more. The only answer, then, is: How do we produce more?

Let me give you an example. I have traveled a great deal in Latin America, the great countries there like Brazil and Argentina. And what I found is this, as I traveled in those great countries: Their leaders have told me that they now have a population of about 250 million people, and yet they have hunger in many parts of their country, like in northern Brazil. On the other hand, if the genius of the American agricultural system, our ability not only to grow but to distribute, could be communicated to Latin America, that continent could support 600 million people. And so it is around the world.

What I want to say, and what we have to bear in mind, is this, and all of you, I think, will be particularly interested in this technological factor: The long-term answer to the problem of inflation is to produce more. In the field of food, we can and we must do so. But what we must remember is that America here leads the

way, and therefore, what our farmers do, what our distributors do, what we are able to communicate to other countries, can answer this worldwide need for food, which is a demand which we should all welcome, because it means that less people in the future will have the problem of hunger.

This is no time for any Malthusian pessimism about the future. There is a problem, but we have the means to deal with it.

I come to a second problem that you have heard about, the energy crisis, the problem of whether we are going to have to ration gasoline, the problem of whether, if you live in the Northeast, whether or not you are going to have fuel oil, and so forth down the line. Looking at the energy problem and why it exists, that problem does not exist because of a fall-off in production; it exists because the people of the world, including the people of the United States, are living better. They need more energy. They need more gasoline. They need more oil. They need energy from other sources that must be developed, whether it is in the nuclear field, the new use of energy from coal, others that the experts in this class probably are far more familiar with than I am.

What I am saying here is that when we look at the demand, that is a positive factor. One personal example. In 1953, when Mrs. Nixon and I first visited Asia, we were in 19 countries and we were there in the very hot season. There was only one air-conditioned room. I remember it very well. It was the bedroom of the Ambassador in Bangkok, and we spent a lot of time in there. Otherwise, there were none.

Now it is difficult to go to Asia and to stay in a hotel, or even a residence, which

is not air-conditioned, if that residence, of course, is owned by someone who can afford it. Now, what does that mean? That air-conditioning is the end of all things? Not at all.

What it does mean is that the increased demand for energy, whether it is in Asia or Europe or the United States, is a good thing. Now, what we need is the technology to fill that demand, and we can do it—new methods, for example, for developing the resources of the world.

You read, for example, about the Soviet gas deal. There are reserves in the Soviet Union, and in Alaska, and in the North Sea that are infinitely greater than any that have ever been discovered before in the field of gas, but that is not all.

I mention nuclear energy. I mention the use of coal. In all of this area we can move forward. We have a temporary problem, but long-term we have an opportunity, an opportunity to fill the demands of all the people of the world, including particularly the underdeveloped world, for a better standard of life.

Let me turn to environment. I know that every college class and university class is concerned about the environment, and you should be. You fortunately don't have, in Florida, much smog. That is one difference between Orange County, Florida, and Orange County, California. We have some out there.

But we see the Skylab on our television. The genius that could send men to the Moon, the genius that could produce the Skylab, the genius that built America into the strongest and most productive nation in the world, the science, scientists, the technicians, all of the engineers, all of those that could do that, certainly they can find the way to clean the air and clean the water and do the other things that

will build a better environment in America.

We have started, and we will continue. So, this is a problem, but it is an opportunity. And I say Americans will, when they have a problem, they will solve it because we have the genius to solve it, the same genius that built America and made us what we are today.

So, as I look to the future of the American economy, we are, of course, the most productive, the richest nation in the world. We can continue to be, and we shall continue to be.

But, there is a third element, in addition to the military strength and the economic strength, that we must have if America is to maintain its position of world leadership, which is so essential for the peace of the world. And that is something I would describe as the American spirit.

There were many in this country who had doubts about that spirit during the long agony of the war in Vietnam. As it came to an end, even, there were many who did not have those doubts lifted. But then something quite wonderful happened.

As our men came back from those POW camps, who had been there 5 years, 6 years, 7 years—and I shook hands with every one of them at the White House just a few days ago—as they came back, standing straight, saluting the flag of the United States, saying, "God bless America," we realized that our people, the American people, have the strength and the character to lead the world, as we will lead the world toward peace, in these years ahead.

We can be thankful that America could produce such men and, may I add, that America could produce such women as

their wives and their mothers, who stood by them through the period that they were gone.

Now, having spoken of the challenge of world leadership, the necessity to keep an economy strong, there is a nagging thought that often is raised at commencement addresses: Why does America have to carry this burden? Wouldn't it be better, some say, if we could grow up in a nation that didn't have to be a world leader, where we could simply look inward to our own problems, where it didn't matter whether the United States played a role in Europe, or with the Soviets, or with the Chinese, or in Asia, or in Latin America, or what have you?

The answer is, my friends: Some might think it would be better, but if the United States, in the foreseeable future, does not play a role, the danger to the United States and to other nations will be infinitely greater than it is today.

No nation can be an island, and particularly the United States cannot "bug out" of its responsibilities in the world because we are a power for peace, and the last few years have demonstrated, we have proved, that we deserve respect and that the world can have our confidence.

So, as a graduate looking forward to the years ahead, one way you could look ahead would be to say, "Away with these burdens. Let me just turn to the problems that I have at home."

Another way you could look ahead is to say, "Let us deal with our problems at home, but let us always be not simply moaning about the problems of world

leadership, but let us be proud that in our generation we, right now, have the chance to do something that no generation of Americans has ever had the chance to do: to build a lasting structure of peace in the world."

I like the sound of the latter, and I think it is good for America insofar as its internal attitudes are concerned. President de Gaulle once said to me that France is never her true self unless she is engaged in a great enterprise. If you forget everything else I have said, remember that. No individual, no nation, no organization can ever be its true self unless it is engaged in an enterprise bigger than itself, in a great enterprise.

To members of this class and all of you listening today, building the peace of the world is a great enterprise. Building a prosperity without war and without inflation is a great enterprise. Building a better environment is a great enterprise. Building the spirit of America to meet these challenges is a great enterprise.

I say to you, members of the graduating class, there are problems. But we have the means, you have the means in your hands, to solve those problems. And I conclude, as I began, by saying, in the whole history of the world, in all the nations of the world, there has never been a time when I would rather be a graduate than in the year 1973 in the United States of America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:35 a.m.

Dr. Charles N. Millican was president of Florida Technological University.

174 Address to the Nation Announcing Price Control Measures. *June 13, 1973*

Good evening:

I want to talk to you tonight about some strong actions that I have ordered today with regard to the American economy—actions which will be important to you in terms of the wages you earn and the prices you pay.

But first, since we have been hearing so much about what is wrong with our economy over the past few months, let us look at some of the things that are right about the American economy.

We can be proud that the American economy is by far the freest, the strongest, and the most productive economy in the world. It gives us the highest standard of living in the world. We are in the middle of one of the biggest, strongest booms in our history. More Americans have jobs today than ever before. The average worker is earning more today than ever before. Your income buys more today than ever before.

In August 1971, I announced the New Economic Policy. Since then, the Nation's output has increased by a phenomenal 11½ percent—a more rapid growth than in any comparable period in the last 21 years. Four and a half million new civilian jobs have been created—and that is more than in any comparable period in our whole history. At the same time, real per capita disposable income—that means what you have left to spend after taxes and after inflation—has risen by 7½ percent in that period. This means that in terms of what your money will actually buy, in the past year and a half your annual income has increased by the equivalent of 4-weeks' pay.

Now, when we consider these facts, we

can see that in terms of jobs, of income, of growth, we are enjoying one of the best periods in our history.

We have every reason to be optimistic about the future.

But there is one great problem that rightly concerns every one of us, and that is, as you know, rising prices, and especially rising food prices. By the end of last year, we had brought the rate of inflation in the United States down to 3.4 percent. That gave us the best record in 1972 of any industrial country in the world. But now prices are going up at unacceptably high rates.

The greatest part of this increase is due to rising food prices. This has been caused in large measure by increased demand at home and abroad, by crop failures abroad, and as many people in various areas of the country know, by some of the worst weather for crops and livestock that we have ever experienced. But whatever the reasons, every American family is confronted with a real and pressing problem of higher prices. And I have decided that the time has come to take strong and effective action to deal with that problem.

Effective immediately, therefore, I am ordering a freeze on prices.¹ This freeze will hold prices at levels no higher than those charged during the first 8 days of June. It will cover all prices paid by consumers. The only prices not covered will be those of unprocessed agricultural products at the farm levels, and rents.

Wages, interest, and dividends will remain under their present control systems during the freeze. Now, the reason I de-

¹ By Executive Order 11723 of June 13, 1973.

cided not to freeze wages is that the wage settlements reached under the rules of Phase III have not been a significant cause of the increase in prices. And as long as wage settlements continue to be responsible and noninflationary, a wage freeze will not be imposed.

The freeze will last for a maximum of 60 days. This time will be used to develop and put into place a new and more effective system of controls which will follow the freeze. This new Phase IV [set] of controls will be designed to contain the forces that have sent prices so rapidly upward in the past few months. It will involve tighter standards and more mandatory compliance procedures than under Phase III. It will recognize the need for wages and prices to be treated consistently with one another.

In addition to food prices, I have received reports from various parts of the country of many instances of sharp increases in the price of gasoline. And therefore, I have specifically directed the Cost of Living Council to develop new Phase IV measures that will stabilize both the prices at the retail level of food and the price of gasoline at your service station.

In announcing these actions, there is one point I want to emphasize to every one of you listening tonight. The Phase IV that follows the freeze will not be designed to get us permanently into a controlled economy. On the contrary, it will be designed as a better way to get us out of a controlled economy, to return as quickly as possible to the free market system.

We are not going to put the American economy into a straitjacket. We are not going to control the boom in a way that would lead to a bust. We are not going

to follow the advice of those who have proposed actions that would lead inevitably to a permanent system of price and wage controls, and also rationing.

Such actions would bring good headlines tomorrow, and bad headaches 6 months from now for every American family in terms of rationing, black markets, and eventually a recession that would mean more unemployment.

It is your prosperity that is at stake. It is your job that is at stake.

The actions I have directed today are designed to deal with the rise in the cost of living without jeopardizing your prosperity or your job.

Because the key to curbing food prices lies in increasing supplies, I am not freezing the price of unprocessed agricultural products at the farm level. This would reduce supplies instead of increasing them. It would eventually result in even higher prices for the foods you buy at the supermarket.

Beginning in 1972, we embarked on a comprehensive new program for increasing food supplies. Among many other measures, this has included opening up 40 million more acres for crop production. In the months ahead, as these new crops are harvested, they will help hold prices down. But unfortunately, this is not yet helping in terms of the prices you pay at the supermarket today, or the prices you will be paying tomorrow.

One of the major reasons for the rise in food prices at home is that there is now an unprecedented demand abroad for the products of America's farms. Over the long run, increased food exports will be a vital factor in raising farm income, in improving our balance of payments, in supporting America's position of leadership in the world. In the short term, how-

ever, when we have shortages and sharply rising prices of food here at home, I have made this basic decision: In allocating the products of America's farms between markets abroad and those in the United States, we must put the American consumer first.

Therefore, I have decided that a new system for export controls on food products is needed—a system designed to hold the price of animal feedstuffs and other grains in the American market to levels that will make it possible to produce meat and eggs and milk at prices you can afford.

I shall ask the Congress, on an urgent basis, to give me the new and more flexible authority needed to impose such a system. In exercising such authority, this will be my policy: We will keep the export commitments we have made as a nation. We shall also consult with other countries to seek their cooperation in resolving the worldwide problem of rising food prices. But we will not let foreign sales price meat and eggs off the American table.

I have also taken another action today to stop the rise in the cost of living. I have ordered the Internal Revenue Service to begin immediately a thoroughgoing audit of the books of companies which have raised their prices more than 1½ percent above the January ceiling.

The purpose of the audit will be to find out whether these increases were justified by rising costs. If they were not, the prices will be rolled back.

The battle against inflation is everybody's business. I have told you what the Administration will do. There is also a vital role for the Congress, as I explained to the Congressional leaders just a few moments ago.

The most important single thing the Congress can do in holding down the cost

of living is to hold down the cost of government. For my part, I shall continue to veto spending bills that we cannot afford, no matter how noble-sounding their names may be. If these budget-busters become law, the money would come out of your pocket—in higher prices, higher taxes, or both.

There are several specific recommendations I have already made to the Congress that will be important in holding down prices in the future. I again urge quick action on all of these proposals.

Congress should give the President authority to reduce tariffs in selected cases in order to increase supplies of scarce goods and thereby hold down their prices. This action will help on such scarce items as meat, plywood, and zinc. And in particular, the tariff we now have on imported meat should be removed.

Congress should provide authority to dispose of more surplus commodities now held in Government stockpiles.

Congress should let us go ahead quickly with the Alaska pipeline so that we can combat the shortage of oil and gasoline we otherwise will have. I will also soon send to the Congress a major new set of proposals on energy, spelling out new actions I believe are necessary to help us meet our energy needs and thereby lessen pressures on fuel prices.

In its consideration of new farm legislation, it is vital that the Congress put high production ahead of high prices, so that farm prosperity will not be at the cost of higher prices for the consumer. If the Congress sends me a farm bill or any other bill that I consider inflationary, I shall veto that bill.

Beyond what the Administration can do, beyond what the Congress can do, there is a great deal you can do. The next

60 days can decide the question of whether we shall have a continuing inflation that leads to a recession or whether we deal responsibly with our present problems and so go forward with a vigorous prosperity and a swift return to a free market.

You can help, by giving your Senators and Congressmen your support when they make the difficult decisions to hold back on unnecessary Government spending.

You can help, by saying no to those who would impose a permanent system of controls on this great, productive economy of ours which is the wonder of the world.

Let there be no mistake: If our economy is to remain dynamic, we must never slip into the temptation of imagining that in the long run, controls can substitute for a free economy or permit us to escape the need for discipline in fiscal and monetary policy. We must not let controls become a narcotic; we must not become addicted.

There are all sorts of seemingly simple gimmicks that would give the appearance or offer the promise of controlling inflation, but that would carry a dangerous risk of bringing on a recession, and that would not be effective in controlling inflation. Rigid, permanent controls always look better on paper than they do in practice.

We must never go down that road, which would lead us to economic disaster.

We have a great deal to be thankful for as Americans tonight. We are the best-clothed, best-fed, best-housed people in the world; we are the envy of every nation in that respect. This year, for the first time in 12 years, we are at peace in Vietnam—and our courageous prisoners of war have returned to their homes. This year, for the first time in a generation, no American is being drafted into the Armed Forces. This year, we find our

prospects brighter than at any time in the modern era for a lasting peace and for the abundant prosperity such a peace can make possible.

Next Monday, I will meet at the summit here in Washington with General Secretary Brezhnev of the Soviet Union. Based on the months of preparatory work that has been done for this meeting, and based on the extensive consultation and correspondence we have had, much of it quite recently, I can confidently predict tonight that out of our meetings will come major new progress toward reducing both the burden of arms and the danger of war and toward a better and more rewarding relationship between the world's two most powerful nations.

Today, in America, we have a magnificent opportunity. We hold the future—our future—in our hands. By standing together, by working together, by joining in bold yet sensible policies to meet our temporary problems without sacrificing our lasting strengths, we can achieve what America has not had since President Eisenhower was in this office: full prosperity without war and without inflation.

This is a great goal, and working together, we can and we will achieve that goal.

Thank you and good evening.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:30 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

On the same day, the White House released an advance text of the address, a fact sheet, and the transcript of a news briefing on the program of price controls by Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz.

Prior to the address, the President met separately with members of the Cabinet and the bipartisan leadership of the Congress to discuss the contents of the address.

175 Remarks at the Unveiling of the Cornerstone of the
Everett McKinley Dirksen Congressional Leadership
Research Center, Pekin, Illinois. June 15, 1973

Mrs. Dirksen, Governor Walker, my colleagues from the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States, and all of our very distinguished guests on this occasion:

Before Senator Dirksen died, I often talked to him about the foreign policy of the United States, and I told him that sometime during my term of office I hoped that we would be able to open a new relationship with the People's Republic of China and that I would be able to visit Peking. And the Senator, with that wonderful sense of humor of his, said, "Well, you know, Dick, I am sure Peking, China, is a great place, but you have really never seen anything until you have seen Pekin, Illinois."

After your very warm welcome today—and we give our distinguished chaplain the credit for the fact that the rain just stopped—I can say that I am very happy that while I was unable to visit Pekin, Illinois, while Senator Dirksen lived, that finally I have been able to come here. We are grateful for your welcome, and I hope sometime we can come back when this center is finished.

Some of you may recall the ceremony in the Rotunda of the Capitol when I paid the respects of the Nation to Senator Dirksen in a eulogy,¹ and in those remarks I recalled the remarks of Daniel Webster in which he said, "Our great men are the common property of the country." And the passage of time has shown us how very true this is. For the memory of Everett

Dirksen continues to live in every corner of America today. In death, as in life, he belongs to all of us.

I said then that it would be difficult to think of Washington without him. Well, in 4 years we have learned that he has not really left us. His great voice continues to echo through the halls of American government. What he did and said in nearly 40 years of public service continues to shape the future of America.

In recent years, our concern for the political past has led to creation of great Presidential libraries, as you know, and three of them are located here in the Middle West: the Hoover Library in Iowa, the Truman Library in Missouri, and the Eisenhower Library in Kansas. It is very fitting, and the people of Pekin should be very proud, that a new research center now is to be dedicated here in America's heartland for the study of Congressional history, and that it is to be named for one of the most beloved and influential Congressional leaders of this century.

This center will house Congressional papers going back to 1932, the year Everett Dirksen first entered Congress, and here the records of old controversies will become the raw materials for new discoveries.

Too often, those of us who studied the history of this country have viewed America's history through the single lens of the Presidency, and we see our past solely as a succession of Presidential administrations. As one who served on both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue—as a Member of both

¹ See 1969 volume, Item 359.

Houses and the Presidency—I welcome the new balance that this center can bring to our understanding of American government.

When you study Everett Dirksen's life, it teaches us many things. In the first place, his career symbolizes the importance of a constructive, cooperative relationship between the Congress and the President, a relationship of mutual respect and mutual accommodation.

Some of the great moments in the recent history of this country came when Everett Dirksen rose in the Senate on behalf of such a relationship. And whether the President's name was Roosevelt or Truman, Eisenhower or Kennedy, Johnson or Nixon, whether he was a Democrat or Republican, that, to him, was not the important thing. The important thing, as Everett Dirksen saw it, was that progress was better than deadlock and that neither the Congress nor the executive could travel very far without the other.

Too often we think that a strong executive must mean a weak legislature, and that a strong legislature must mean a weak executive. Everett Dirksen knew better than that. He believed in both a strong Congress and a strong President. And he knew the risk if they became rivals. But he also knew the potential if they became partners.

Both that risk and that potential still exist today on one crucial issue after another. Now, more than ever, we need to foster between the executive and the Congress a spirit of responsible partnership. And responsible partnership must rest on the foundation of mutual respect between the executive and the legislature. This doesn't mean that the two branches must soft pedal their disagreements. We have had strong differences in the past; we will

continue to have strong differences in the future.

We have fought hard for our positions. We will continue to fight for them. In fact, we have a duty to fight vigorously for those things we believe in; it is our constitutional responsibility. But as we battle for our views, let us remember that we can accommodate our positions without abandoning our principles.

Responsible partnership means recognizing that neither party can have his way all the time. It means developing a spirit of give and take—with both sides doing some giving and both sides doing some taking.

If we proceed in that spirit, then we will not regard our system of checks and balances as a source of frustration, but as an opportunity for consultation. Then the interaction between branches of the Government will not be seen as a process which dilutes and weakens policy, but as one that improves and strengthens it.

Senator Dirksen's life teaches us a great deal in another very important way. His life can help every one of us renew our pride in our country. Everett Dirksen believed in America. He often said that the only debt that was greater than the national debt was the debt that he owed to his country. And every one of us should agree with Everett Dirksen on that point.

He served this Nation through a time of remarkable challenge—through four wars, a great depression, through cold war tensions and domestic upheavals—but whatever the crisis, his faith in America never wavered a bit.

At a time when we are tempted to dwell on our Nation's problems, I believe Senator Dirksen would remind us of our Nation's strength, for he knew that unless we appreciate what is right about

America, we can't correct what is wrong. Our confidence in ourselves and our country does not mean that we should overlook our problems. To the contrary, it should help us look at our problems more realistically, to solve them more effectively.

Let me give you one example that we have discussed in the past few days. We have a serious problem with inflation in this country. We are moving ahead decisively to meet it at the national level, but we are doing so not by turning our economical system upside down, but by building on the strengths of that system. Why? Because when we look at what is right about America, we can be thankful that we have the best jobs, the best wages, the greatest opportunities of any system in the world and in history, and let us not spoil that in the United States of America.

None of us likes inflation. None of us, when he goes to the supermarket or the grocery store, likes to see those prices going up. But inflation, as we all know, is a by-product of prosperity. Our booming economy—we are in the biggest boom in America's history—has encouraged people to buy more than they have ever bought before, and because supplies have been short, the demands have brought the prices up. So we are putting the brakes on these prices. But in applying the brakes, we have been careful not to throw our whole economy into a disastrous skid which could drive us off that highway to progress for America.

That is why 2 days ago I imposed a temporary freeze on prices and pledged that a new Phase IV would be set up after the freeze. But, as I emphasized then, that new Phase IV will be designed to get us out of a controlled economy and not to pull us further in. We must not destroy

the freedom and flexibility that are the key to America's prosperity. We must not control the boom in a way that would lead to a bust, because over the long run, the answer to rising prices does not lie in rigid controls. The best way to hold down the family budget is to hold down the Federal budget and by working to expand the supply of needed goods.

I think if Everett Dirksen were here today, he would also say we should be confident about our political system, because he was proud to be known as a politician, and he gave new luster to that profession.

We live in a time when many people are cynical about politics and politicians. Such times have occurred before. In this profession, as in any, there is much that could be improved. But there is also very much to admire. And it would be a tragedy if we allowed the mistakes of a few to obscure the virtues of most who are in the profession of politics or if we let our disappointment with some aspects of the system turn into despair with the system as a whole.

The American system is working, and we can be proud of that system. The way to make it work better is to bring more good people into it. And Everett Dirksen would tell us today—the cynics of the day—not to shun the system, but to share in it, to enter the political arena and to fight for their ideals. That is what he would say today.

As I look over this great audience here today and at those on the platform, I see one of Senator Dirksen's two grandchildren here. Her name is Cissy [Cynthia Baker]. That is a nickname, but that is what he always called her, and that is what I remember. As I see her, I am reminded, as many of you must be re-

minded, of one of the most famous speeches he ever made—and he made so very many—a speech in which he talked about those grandchildren, the two of them, and their generation of Americans.

It was on the Senate floor in 1962. Listen to what he said: “I have a couple of grandchildren in Tennessee. They are growing up. They will be the custodians and trustees of this country when they grow up. I want them to have a country free, solvent, and secure, like the one their granddad had. Along with it, I want to vouchsafe to them as a legacy the last best hope of peace. What greater contribution can we make to those who will come after us than to enable them to summon up out of their souls all the talent the Lord gave them in an atmosphere of peace to achieve whatever a free country has to offer.”

I only regret that Senator Dirksen could not have lived to this day, because he believed in peace; he knew that it was not easy to attain or easy to retain once you got it. But I am sure that on this particular day, as he looked over the developments of particularly the last year, he would say, “My grandchildren, all the children of America, have a better chance for peace today than in any generation in this century.”

For example, think of where we are. For the first time in 12 years, America is at peace in Vietnam, and we can be thankful for that. For the first time in 8 years, all of our prisoners of war are home here in America. We can be thankful for that.

And as I see so many of high school age, in their teens and, perhaps, early twenties—for the first time in a generation, no young American will be drafted for the armed services. He can volunteer.

Now, those points I anticipated would

all be applauded. Let me say to you, however, Senator Dirksen would have recognized that those achievements, great as they are—ending a difficult war, ending the draft—from the standpoint of his grandchildren and all of our children, are not nearly as important as two other significant developments of the last year.

I return again to Peking, China. I point out the fact that in February of last year, we opened a dialog with the leaders of the People's Republic of China. Many of my friends, many of Everett Dirksen's friends, didn't approve of that, because it is a Communist country, the leaders are Communists. We do not agree with their philosophy. But I made that move because I was thinking not just of this generation but of the next generation.

I made that move because one-fourth of all the people in the world live in the People's Republic of China. I made that move because those people who live there are among the ablest people in the world. And I knew that unless we in the United States moved to a dialog with them now, that there would be a deadly danger to peace and freedom in the years ahead. Now we are in a situation where we are talking about our differences and not fighting about them. That is vitally important, and it is also important in another way.

We must not think of that visit as designed solely to avoid war in the Pacific, but we must also think of its positive terms. Just a few days ago I welcomed 12 Chinese doctors who were here on an exchange visit. Two were women; 10 were men. Their interest, among many other things, was in our program to find a cure for cancer, or cures for various types of cancer. I told them about our program, and as I talked to them and as I thought of their

genius and all they represented, it occurred to me that we are going to spend millions, hundreds of millions of dollars, and the best brains of America will be trying to find a cure for that deadly disease, as well as others. But how much better it is for those who are trying to find the cures for the deadly diseases that afflict mankind to share their knowledge with each other, to work together, because as far as we are concerned, if the genius that finds that cure is Chinese, fine; if he is Latin American, fine; if he is American, fine; because it will belong to the whole world, and it is good that we are now having that kind of association where we are sharing our knowledge with them in working against the common scourges of mankind.

The other event that Senator Dirksen would have recognized as being even more important than the ending of a difficult war and the ending of a draft is the second visit we will be having at the summit with Mr. Brezhnev in just 3 days. You remember the visit a year ago. More significant agreements were entered into at that time than we have ever had with the Soviet Union.

We anticipate that this next summit, which will last for a week, will also produce significant agreements. There will be some hard bargaining, and we are not making any easy predictions. But based on the attitude of Mr. Brezhnev, and my attitude, which we know from much correspondence and months of preparation, I can say to you today that you can have great hope that as a result of this meeting, the two great super powers of the world will make progress toward reducing the danger of war, and also progress toward limiting that deadly burden of nuclear

arms which weights us down, and them, and other nations as well.

We will also make progress toward communication with the Soviets, and cooperation, progress not at the expense of any of our philosophies—they are Communist and we believe in a free system—and progress that will be made in our talks not at the expense of any other nation, neither its independence, its freedom, or in any other respect.

But let's look at what would have been the situation had we not met last year or this year. The United States would continue to develop its deadly power in the nuclear field. The Soviet Union would. We would continue to have those areas of the world where, as a result of rubbing together, the spark might come out which could bring a military confrontation.

We have reduced that danger now, and so I say to you today, because of these two great events—opening a dialog with the People's Republic of China and continuing a policy of negotiation with the leaders of the Soviet Union—Everett Dirksen's hope, his dream, expressed in that great Senate speech in 1962, that his grandchildren could grow up in a world of peace, has a much better chance to be realized.

I simply conclude by saying this: Every President, every Senator, every Congressman, I am sure, and every Governor is asked what he wants most, what legacy would he like to leave. And I would answer that question as Senator Dirksen did in his letter to his grandchildren: I want this country to be free. I want this country to be prosperous. I want every individual in this country to have an equal opportunity to go as high as his talents will take him. But above all, I want the children

of America and the children of the world to grow up in peace.

We have had four wars in this century. Every generation has had a war, and now it is time that America, as the leader of the free world, help develop the policies that not only have ended one war but which will reduce the possibility of conflict between the great powers as far as future wars are concerned.

This will require, on our part, strength, because a strong America is a guarantee of peace, and a weak America would risk the peace. It requires, on our part, respect for America, and it requires on our part something that we best describe by the word "character." Whether America, at this critical time in the world's history, carrying the burdens that we do, whether we continue to exert world leadership, or whether we turn away from those responsibilities and leave a vacuum which others might be very willing to fill. I believe we have that character. You saw it today in

Mr. Newell.² Six years in a prison camp. Some were there 7 years, some 8, some 4; yet they came back to America, almost all of them, heads high, saluting the flag, loving this country.

I say thank God that America has produced such men, and with that kind of character we will provide the leadership that the world needs, which will keep freedom for America and allow our children and grandchildren to grow up in peace.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. at the site of the new research center and Pekin Public Library. An advance text of his remarks was released on the same day.

Following the ceremonies, the President and Mrs. Nixon visited Mrs. Lillie Carver, 97-year-old mother of Mrs. Everett McKinley Dirksen, at her home in Pekin, Ill.

² S. Sgt. Stanley A. Newell, USA, of Pekin, had participated earlier in the cornerstone unveiling ceremonies.

176 Telephone Conversation With the Commander of the Skylab 1 Crew. *June 17, 1973*

THE PRESIDENT. Hello.

CAPT. CHARLES "PETE" CONRAD, JR., USN. Hello, sir. How are you?

THE PRESIDENT. Fine. Is this Pete Conrad?

CAPTAIN CONRAD. Yes, sir. All of us are listening.

THE PRESIDENT. Nice to talk to you again, and Commander Kerwin and Commander Weitz are there with you, right?

CAPTAIN CONRAD. Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I just want you to know that everybody here has been following what you have been doing, and

I guess the way I could summarize this project is that it proves that man still matters. With all the technical machines, and so forth, that you had to work with, it proved that when there were difficulties, that the ingenuity of men in space is what really mattered, and you have made us all very proud with the way you handled some difficult problems in this project.

CAPTAIN CONRAD. Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. You will be returning on the 22d, I understand.

CAPTAIN CONRAD. Yes, sir. We are counting every day. That is, I think, Day 173. We are working on Day 168.

THE PRESIDENT. I see. Well, I will be out in California at that time, and after you have splashed down, I hope to welcome the three of you, perhaps. Maybe you can come up to San Clemente and we will say hello.

CAPTAIN CONRAD. Wonderful. I am sitting here talking to you right now, coming up on the coast of California, looking out the window at the full Moon.

THE PRESIDENT. Is that right?

Let me also say that this is Father's Day.

I understand each of you is a father, so congratulations.

CAPTAIN CONRAD. Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. We will look forward to seeing you after you get back.

CAPTAIN CONRAD. Yes, sir. And thank you very much for the call.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you, Pete.

NOTE: The telephone conversation began at 10:09 a.m. The President spoke from the study in his residence at Key Biscayne, Fla. The crew was aboard the Skylab space station, which was in orbit 275 miles above the Earth.

177 Remarks of Welcome to Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. June 18, 1973

Mr. General Secretary and all of our distinguished guests:

Mr. Brezhnev, it is a very great honor for me to welcome you on your first visit to the United States. It was just a year ago that we met in Moscow, and on that occasion we entered into a number of agreements that changed the relationship between our two great countries in a very profound way.

What has happened since those agreements have been entered into, and the preparations that have been made over many, many months, the correspondence that we have had, and other meetings, lead me to conclude that this year at the summit in Washington, we will not only build on the foundation that we laid last year but that we have the opportunity to make even greater progress than we made last year toward the goals that we share in common—the goals of better relations between our two governments, a better life for our people, the Russian people, the American people, and above all, the

goal that goes beyond our two countries, but to the whole world, the goal of lifting the burden of armaments from the world and building a structure of peace.

As you know, Mr. General Secretary, these television cameras mean that right now millions in America and millions in the Soviet Union are seeing us as we appear together and as we speak.

I could also add that not only are the Russian people, the Soviet people, and the American people watching but all the world is watching as we meet on this occasion, because the people of the world know that if the leaders of the two most powerful nations of the world can work together and their governments can work together, the chance for a world of peace is infinitely increased.

The hopes of the world rest with us at this time in the meetings that we will have. I am confident, Mr. General Secretary, that in our meetings this week we shall not disappoint those hopes.

We wish you a good stay in our country,

but above all, on this, which is a trip of such great significance to our two peoples and to the world, we trust that at the end, not only the Soviet people and the American people but the people of the world will look on this event as a great step forward in the goal we all want: not only peace between our two countries but peace and progress for all the people of the world.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:10 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where General Secretary Brezhnev was given a formal welcome with full military honors. The General Secretary responded in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. The welcoming ceremony was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television in the United States and in the Soviet Union.

The General Secretary's translated remarks follow:

Esteemed Mr. President, esteemed Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen:

I am happy to have a new meeting with you, Mr. President, and I thank you for the warm words addressed to us, representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

This is my first visit to your country, my first direct acquaintance with America and the American people. We have made a long journey from Moscow to Washington. Our two capitals are separated by over 6,000 miles.

But international politics has its own concepts of relativity not covered by Einstein's theory. The distances between our countries are shrinking, not only because we travel aboard modern aircraft following a well-charted route but also because we share one great goal, which is to ensure a lasting peace for the peoples of our countries and to strengthen security on our planet.

One year ago, in Moscow, we jointly took a major step in that direction. The results of our first meeting laid a good and reliable foundation for peaceful relations between our two countries.

But even then we both took the view that, building on that foundation, we should move further ahead. During the past year a good beginning has been made in that sense. And now we regard our visit to the United States and the forthcoming meetings with you as an expression of our common determination to make a new contribution to what was jointly initiated.

I and my comrades, who have come with me, are prepared to work hard to ensure that the talks we will have with you, Mr. President, and with other American statesmen, justify the hopes of our peoples and serve the interests of a peaceful future for all mankind.

For activities in connection with General Secretary Brezhnev's visit which are not reflected in items printed in this volume, see Appendix B entries for June 16-24.

178 Toasts of the President and General Secretary Brezhnev of the U.S.S.R. June 18, 1973

Mr. General Secretary, members of the Soviet delegation, and all of our distinguished guests and friends:

As all of these lights were turned on, the General Secretary, with his delightful sense of humor, said, "At the end of the dinner, Mr. President, you decided to fry our guests."

As all of you came through the receiving line tonight, the General Secretary

noted that you came from all parts of the country, from both political parties, from business, from labor, from all segments of our society. And the question that he asked on several occasions was whether the individuals concerned supported the new initiatives with regard to Soviet-American friendship and cooperation which we have undertaken. And I would like to say to our very distinguished guest

tonight that, not only in this room but across this country, regardless of political party, regardless of whatever the organization may be, the overwhelming number of Americans support the objective of Soviet-American friendship.

Now, I am told that in the Ukraine, where we were so very well received on our visit to Kiev last year, and where our guest of honor this evening lived as a young man, there is a proverb which says, "Praise the day in the evening."

I take this bit of advice as my text this evening for a few reflections on the first day of the very important week of meetings and also on the first year of a historic new departure in the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The results of our discussions today allow us to praise, indeed, our day today. We have resumed the talks that ended just over a year ago. We have resumed those talks on a new foundation of significant accomplishments in reshaping relations between our two peoples and between our two countries. Our common starting point was the document that you, Mr. Brezhnev, and I signed on May 29, 1972, in which we agreed on basic principles of our relations and the agreements to limit strategic weapons. On this basis, a year ago, we set a course toward a more constructive and mutually beneficial relationship.

We have been able to embark on this course because we have recognized certain fundamental factors. We have recognized that despite the differences in our ideology and our social systems, we can develop normal relations. We have agreed that in the nuclear age, there is no alternative to a policy of peace for any nation. We have recognized that we have special responsibilities to work for the removal of the

danger of war, and of nuclear war in particular. We have accepted the great task of limiting strategic arms. We have recognized that our responsibilities include the scrupulous respect for the rights of all countries, large or small.

Today, in the discussions we have had, we have reconfirmed these principles. We have laid the groundwork for a significant improvement in our relations that will result from the discussions and agreements undertaken this week.

We receive you and your colleagues tonight and for this week with the firm intention of building on our past successes. A year ago, when I reported to the Congress upon my return from the Soviet Union, I described the principles we had agreed to as a roadmap—a map which would be useful only if both our two countries followed it faithfully. Tonight, looking back over the first 12 months of our journey along the route which that map marks out, I believe there is good reason to be encouraged. Now we have another profound opportunity to advance along this course that we set for ourselves in Moscow a year ago.

It is America's hope that the coming days of our meetings will carry forward the promising start that we have made on this first day.

Our two peoples want peace. We have a special responsibility to insure that our relations—relations between the two strongest countries in the world—are directed firmly toward world peace.

Our success will come to be measured not only in years but in decades and in generations and probably centuries.

Mr. General Secretary, many American Presidents and many very distinguished foreign leaders over a period of 180 years have dined together in this room, and they

have worked together for peace within these walls. But none of them, I believe, have borne a heavier responsibility or faced a more magnificent opportunity than we do today and this week.

The question is: Shall the world's two strongest nations constantly confront one another in areas which might lead to war, or shall we work together for peace? The world watches and listens this week to see what our answer is to that question. Mr. General Secretary, I know that your answer, based on our acquaintanceship and our discussions today and a year ago, is the same as mine to that question. We shall be worthy of the hopes of people everywhere that the world's two strongest nations will work together for the cause of peace and friendship among all peoples, regardless of differences in political philosophy.

So to all of our distinguished guests, will you join me in a toast to the General Secretary, his colleagues, to the friendship of the Soviet and American peoples, and peace between our countries and among all nations.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. General Secretary Brezhnev responded in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

An advance text of the exchange of toasts was released on the same day.

The General Secretary's translated remarks follow:

Esteemed Mr. President, esteemed Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen:

Permit me, first of all, to thank you, Mr. President, for the invitation to visit your country, for the kind words you have just said here, and for the hospitality you are according us on the soil of the United States.

Taking this opportunity, I should like to say that it gives me great satisfaction to be able to continue my talks with you, aimed at the further

improvement of Soviet-American relations initiated in Moscow in May of last year.

The time that has elapsed since our Moscow meeting has, I feel, convincingly confirmed the correctness of the jointly taken line of invigorating the relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., and of reshaping them in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence which were set out in the document you and I signed a year ago. I trust you will agree, Mr. President, that we are on the right track, as it is one that meets the fundamental interests of the peoples of our countries and of all mankind.

And what has already been done and is being done to give effect to the basic principles of mutual relations between our countries laid down in Moscow is of no small significance. Life is the best counsellor. The results of the past year suggest the direction for further advance. They inspire us to take, in the course of this meeting, new major steps and give Soviet-American relations greater stability and, thereby, increase the contribution of our countries to the cause of peace and international détente.

Of course, the reshaping of Soviet-American relations is not an easy task. And the crux of the matter lies not only in the fact that the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. have different social systems. What is also required is to overcome the inertia of the "cold war" and its after-effects in international affairs, and in the minds of men.

However, mankind's development requires positive and constructive ideas. I am convinced, therefore, that the more persistently and speedily we move towards the mutually advantageous development of Soviet-American relations, the more tangible will be the great benefits of this for the peoples of our countries, and the greater will be the number of those in favor of such a development, and they are known to be in the majority even today. That is why we are in favor of building relations between the Soviet Union and the United States on a properly large scale and a long-term basis.

We have come here to Washington with a firm desire to give, together with the leaders of the United States, a new and powerful impetus to the development of Soviet-American relations along precisely those lines, and this fully accords with the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress of our Party. In its Resolution,

the Congress stressed in the most definite terms the Soviet Union's readiness to develop relations with the United States of America, proceeding from the assumption that this meets both the interests of the Soviet and American peoples and the interests of universal peace.

I would like our American partners and all Americans to be fully aware that this decision by the supreme forum of our Party, the ruling party of the Soviet Union, reflects the fundamental position of principle of the Soviet Government and of our entire people in matters bearing on relations with the United States of America. And that determines the policy we are pursuing.

In today's discussion with the President, I spoke of the favorable feelings of our people in all parts of the country as regards the decisions taken last year during our summit meeting in Moscow, and I spoke of the friendly feelings, the desire of the Soviet people, for friendship with the United States.

Now, Mr. President, the peoples are indeed expecting a great deal from our new meeting. And I believe it is our duty to live up to these expectations. The first discussions we have had with you here at the White House do, I feel, confirm that this is the mutual desire of both sides.

And I would venture in this connection to express the hope, and even the confidence, that our present meeting will play an important role in further strengthening mutually advantageous cooperation between our countries and in improving the international climate as a whole.

And let me make one more point. It is well known that the initiated process of bettering Soviet-American relations is evoking a broad response throughout the world. Most comments indicate that the peoples and the governments of other countries are welcoming this improvement. And this is quite natural. They see in it

an encouraging factor for the invigoration of the international situation as a whole, and a major contribution by the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. to a stronger universal peace.

It is absolutely clear to anyone who is at least slightly familiar with the real course of events, and with the real nature of the development of Soviet-American relations, that their improvement in no way prejudices the interests of any third country.

Naturally, the development of good relations between the Soviet Union and the United States will have, and already has, no small a bearing on world affairs. But this influence is one that promotes the strengthening of peace, security, and international cooperation. In building through joint effort a new structure of peaceful relations, we have no intention of turning it into a secluded mansion completely fenced off from the outside world. We want to keep this spacious edifice open to all those who cherish the peace and well-being of mankind.

Mr. President, present-day political realities show in practice how arduous and toilsome can at times be the tasks involved in carrying out the foreign policy of nations. But when our thoughts and practical deeds are directed towards achieving the noble goals of peace, the burden is not oppressive, but rather gives strength and confidence.

The start of our negotiations—and I have in mind both their content and the atmosphere in which they are proceeding—gives reason to hope that their results will be fruitful and will become a new landmark in Soviet-American relations.

Ladies and gentlemen, permit me to offer a toast to the health of the President of the United States of America and Mrs. Nixon, to the health of all the members of the American Government present here, to all Americans who support the great and noble cause of peace among nations.

179 Statement About Signing Three Bills Providing for Health Care, Economic Development in Rural Areas, and Airport Construction. *June 19, 1973*

LAST week in Pekin, Ill., I called for a new spirit of "responsible partnership" between the executive and legislative branches—a partnership of give and take, one in which "we can accommodate our positions without abandoning our principles."

Yesterday I signed into law three authorization bills which reflect that sense of partnership.

These bills touch upon a wide range of domestic concerns, including health care, economic development in rural areas, and airport construction. Each measure differs somewhat from my own request, but each one also represents an effort by the Congress to strike a reasonable compromise with the Administration.

While the authorization levels are higher than I believe desirable, they will not damage our overall fiscal position if the Congress now follows my budget recommendations in the appropriations process.

So long as the Congress follows a responsible course in the passage of future spending bills, I will cooperate in the spirit of partnership.

But as we go forward, let there be no mistake about one fundamental point: If bills come to my desk which are irresponsible and would break open the Federal budget, forcing more inflation upon the American people, I will veto them. That has been my stand in the past, and it will continue to be my position in the future.

There is no issue of greater concern to the Nation today than the rising cost of the family budget, and there is no better way for the Government to conquer this problem than to keep a lid on the Federal budget. There can be no compromising of that principle.

EXTENSION OF HEALTH PROGRAMS

The first of these bills, S. 1136, is the "Health Programs Extension Act of 1973." It revises and extends a dozen health programs through June 1974.

The Administration and the Congress agree that several of these efforts should be continued, including formula and project grants for health services, comprehensive health planning, health services research and development, and health statistics activities.

We disagree, however, on other programs. Among these are hospital construction subsidies, new long-term mental health center grants, regional medical programs, and subsidies to allied health and public health training. I believe that these programs spend public monies less effectively than they should be spent, and in my 1974 budget I called for their elimination. While S. 1136 continues these programs, it does so for only 1 year instead of the usual 3–5 year extension period. It also calls for a comprehensive review of the health authorities in this bill during the coming year.

I continue to believe that it is essential

to put all of our health expenditures to a vigorous test, eliminating programs which are ineffective or are no longer needed because they have achieved their goal. This was the approach I used in determining my budget requests, and I am hopeful that the Congress will employ this same approach in reviewing these programs during the next 12 months.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

A second bill which I have signed is H.R. 2246, which provides for an additional year of funding for the Economic Development Administration (EDA).

The public controversy over the Economic Development Administration is now many months old. This program began as an experiment in 1965 to create permanent employment opportunities in economically depressed areas. I am convinced that this program has done little to help the poor, and it clearly overlaps other Federal programs.

As a result, last October I vetoed a measure authorizing more than \$1.2 billion for this effort. This year, in my new budget, I proposed that EDA be phased out by June 30, 1973, and that we replace it with more focused and consolidated efforts to stimulate economic development.

The bill which I have now signed authorizes \$430 million for the Economic Development Administration over the coming fiscal year, a considerable reduction compared to the legislation which I vetoed last year.

However, even as I sign this bill, I will continue to give vigorous support to a major overhaul of our economic development effort. Examples of other programs

that can replace EDA activities which have been recently enacted or are awaiting Congressional action are the Rural Development Act of 1972, the Better Communities Act, the Indian Tribal Government Grant Program, and the Federal Water Pollution Control Act Amendments of 1972. In the near future, I shall also send to the Congress the new Responsive Governments Act which will increase State and local participation in the planning and management of the many Federal grant programs now in existence.

I also plan to submit to the Congress a budget amendment which would fund the Economic Development Administration at a level of approximately \$200 million during this transition year. While this amount is less than the level authorized by H.R. 2246, it is worth noting that traditionally, EDA appropriations are approximately one-third of authorizations. This reduced appropriation request is also the maximum additional spending we can afford while keeping within the constraints of our budget and providing for an effective transition to our new programs.

This amendment would provide adequate funding for four purposes: assisting communities affected by the reduction of military bases to make an orderly transition to other economic activities; awarding of grants for public works, planning, and technical assistance under traditional EDA operations; assisting Indian economic development; and assisting in providing funds for economic development activities planned by regional commissions. I continue to believe the supporting role in regional commission activities must be shifted from the Federal Government to State government,

but I am willing to continue a limited amount of Federal funding for their projects during this one year of transition.

CONSTRUCTION AND IMPROVEMENT OF AIRPORTS

The third bill which I signed into law yesterday is S. 38, the Airport Development Acceleration Act of 1973.

Both the Congress and the executive agree that the Federal Government should continue to assist in the construction of new airports and in the improvement of existing airports. The only question is how much we should spend.

In my most recent budget, I recommended an annual level of \$280 million. The Senate then passed a measure setting the tab at \$420 million. The compromise which has been worked out in S. 38 is an

authorization level of \$310 million.

A second feature of this bill, prohibiting the collection of "head taxes" at nearly all airports, has already raised a storm of protests among local governments which will lose a source of revenue. I previously favored a moratorium rather than a prohibition on the taxes, so that we could study them more closely. Because of the special interest which local governments have in this issue, I am directing the Secretary of Transportation to conduct an immediate study of the effect of the prohibition and to submit his recommendations to me no later than July 1, 1974.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 1136, H.R. 2246, and S. 38, approved June 18, 1973, are Public Law 93-45 (87 Stat. 91), Public Law 93-46 (87 Stat. 96), and Public Law 93-44 (87 Stat. 88), respectively.

180 Letter to the United Nations Secretary General About West Africa Drought Relief Measures. *June 21, 1973*

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

I fully share the concerns which you have expressed to Ambassador Scali for the millions of persons who are suffering from the terrible drought in the Sahelian nations of West and Central Africa. For many months reports from United States and United Nations representatives and from the governments themselves have related graphically the growing effects of the worst drought of this century in the African Sahel. Those of us who have been spared this scourge have been responding to the crisis, but more must be done, as you have said. The United States stands prepared to commit further resources as needs are identified.

As you know, the United States response has been carried out on several fronts. We have increased the amounts of food-grains destined for these nations through both American programs and the World Food Programs. By mid-summer, 156,000 tons of grain valued at nearly \$19 million will have arrived in West African ports or in the interior states of Mali, Upper Volta, Niger and Chad. Two million dollars in disaster relief funds have also been made available. United States Air Force aircraft, and those of other donors, are airlifting grain to stricken nomads and farmers in remote districts of Mali and Chad. Animal feed and vaccines are being distributed to save as much livestock

as possible. Medicines are being provided to combat malnutrition and potential epidemics. In response to a request from Director General Boerma, the Agency for International Development has provided a logistical planning expert to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and our staffs in West Africa are being augmented to improve our ability to deliver what is needed to the right place at the right time.

We share your concern that the problems of dealing with the immediate emergency will become even more difficult as the rains begin and road transport problems increase. We therefore stand ready to provide further support for internal transport, as specified needs are identified.

As you have recognized, this region is faced not only with the immediate needs of feeding the hungry but also of rehabilitating water and forage resources, livestock herds and grain producing facilities to permit a long range recovery from the devastating effects of the drought. This effort will require close collaboration

among African leaders and the donor community. As specific rehabilitation needs are more clearly identified, and as it becomes clearer what others are ready to do, the United States will be prepared to provide additional assistance for the Sahel to help overcome the profound effects of this tragedy.

In order to coordinate more effectively our emergency relief efforts and to plan our part in a rehabilitation program, I intend to designate Mr. Maurice J. Williams as a Special United States Coordinator. He will cooperate closely in his work with Director General Boerma and with other governments—so that the work of relief and rehabilitation can go forward as expeditiously as possible.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[His Excellency Dr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the United Nations, United Nations, New York 10017]

NOTE: The text of the letter, dated June 20, 1973, was issued by the White House on the following day.

181 Toasts of the President and General Secretary Brezhnev at a Dinner at the Soviet Embassy. June 21, 1973

Mr. General Secretary, our hosts from the Soviet Union, and all of our friends from the United States:

We want to express our appreciation to you, Mr. General Secretary, and to our hosts for this splendid dinner. There is a saying in our country on occasion when one is a guest, "Make yourself at home." Tonight we had that somewhat reversed, because Mrs. Dobrynin told me that all the things that were served tonight, including the wines in this magnificent ban-

quet, were brought from the Soviet Union. So we had a chance this evening to be, in a sense, in the Soviet Union, and we thank her for her thoughtfulness in giving us that opportunity.

On this occasion, I am reminded of the fact that it marks several events. This is the last day that Secretary Rogers will be 59 years of age. He will be 60 tomorrow, so we wish him a happy birthday in advance.

Also, Mr. General Secretary, this hap-

pens to be the 33d wedding anniversary for Mrs. Nixon and me, and we appreciate your arranging this dinner on this occasion.

And, of course, as you know, all over the world, June 21 is the longest day in the year. I remember just a little over a year ago a very long day, almost as long as the longest day in the year. Just before midnight, Mr. General Secretary, you and I signed the first agreement on limiting nuclear arms in the Kremlin. To show how our relations have moved forward since that time, we signed the second agreement with regard to limiting nuclear arms at 12:30, in the middle of the day, today.

And in addition to that, as you pointed out in your remarks, we signed a parallel agreement with regard to cooperation in the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

You have spoken eloquently about these two agreements. There is little I can add except to say that all of us know that this enormous source of nuclear power can either destroy the world or it can build a new world with the peaceful energy which can be unleashed for the benefit of all mankind.

Today we have taken a very important step in limiting the power of destruction and in unleashing the power of creation.

As idealistic men—and I know, Mr. General Secretary, from our long talks in Moscow and the talks we have had at Camp David and here in Washington, we both share the ideal of building a world of peace—we are pleased with the progress we have made so far in the agreements that we have signed in limitation of nuclear arms. But as practical men—as we are both practical men—we realize that we have taken two steps, but there is still

a long way to go. We recognize that we must dedicate ourselves toward going further in not only limiting this great power of destruction but also of eventually, we trust, reducing the burden of arms which bears down so heavily on the world and on our two peoples.

This will not come easily. It will come only after extensive negotiation. But with continued contact, with continued discussion such as the kind of discussions that we have had on this occasion and in Moscow a year ago, we can move forward in that direction between our two countries and thereby set an example for other countries in the world. And for that reason, it is with a great deal of pleasure that I accept the very generous invitation you have extended for me to return to Moscow next year for a third meeting.

In that third meeting I will, of course, look forward to what will be my fifth visit to the Soviet Union, to see more of your country and to meet more of your people. But also I shall look forward again to the kind of discussions we have had on this occasion and concrete results toward the goal that we have dedicated ourselves to jointly on this occasion—the goal of not only better relations between our two countries, not only peace between our two countries, but recognizing the rights of all countries, large and small, to live in a world of peace without threat from any of their neighbors.

It is this goal to which we are dedicated. And if our two great countries can set an example in this direction and have concrete results following it in the various meetings that we will have, perhaps annually, it means that a great step will be taken toward the objective that we all share.

I would not for one moment suggest to

this audience, or to those who may be listening on television or radio, that one meeting or two meetings at the summit brings instant peace, instant relaxation of tensions, and instant reduction or limitation of arms.

But I do know this: that these two summit meetings have brought us closer together, have brought greater understanding of our differences and greater determination to reduce those differences, and certainly, at the very least, to solve those differences without confrontation. And this, indeed, is an historic change in the relations between our two countries which the General Secretary and I are dedicated to continue.

And now, ladies and gentlemen here in the Soviet Embassy, it is my privilege to return the toast that the General Secretary has given.

On this occasion, I, in addition to asking you to drink to his health—he obviously being our host, being the ranking guest—I think it is appropriate also to drink to the health of those who have been in this city so many years, as the Ambassador, Ambassador Dobrynin, and Mrs. Dobrynin, to Foreign Minister Gromyko, who has also been in our city and knows our country so well, and so many others of our Soviet guests. You have made us feel, tonight, most welcome. And we can only say that as we drink to your health, we drink to it not simply in the casual way that one raises a glass of champagne, be it California or New York or French or, in this case, Russian champagne, but we drink to your health, having in mind what you have said and what I have tried to reaffirm: the desire of the two strongest nations in the world, through their top leaders, to work together for peace rather than for continued

confrontation which could lead to destruction.

This is a goal worthy of great nations and it is a goal that we are proud, Mr. General Secretary, to work with you so that we can achieve it for the benefit of the Soviet people, of the American people, and all of the people of this world.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, since we can't repeat all those words in raising our glasses, may I suggest, to Mr. Brezhnev and to Mrs. Brezhnev, who could not be here but who talked on the telephone with him today, to their children, and all of our children.

Mr. Brezhnev.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 11 p.m. in the Golden Hall of the Soviet Embassy in response to a toast proposed by the General Secretary.

General Secretary Brezhnev spoke in Russian. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

Esteemed Mr. President, Esteemed Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen, comrades:

Tonight it is my very pleasant duty to welcome you, Mr. President, and your wife, and members of the U.S. Government, and other distinguished American guests here at the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

On behalf of my comrades and myself, I would like first of all to cordially thank you personally, Mr. President and Mrs. Nixon, and other members of your family, for the warmth and consideration with which you have been surrounding us from the very start of our visit to your country.

At the same time, I would like to say that we are grateful to all Americans who have shown their friendly feelings toward us and taken a lively interest in our visit and our negotiations. In all this, we see a confirmation of the respect harbored by the people of the United States toward Soviet people and evidence of the mutual desire of our two peoples to live together in peace and friendship.

An awareness of our high duty and responsibility is permeating the entire course of

our meetings. Our talks bear the hallmark of a vigorous pace, a broad scope, and a businesslike and constructive spirit. Each day, all this is yielding tangible results, bringing us closer to the jointly set objectives of securing a further major advance in the development of Soviet-American relations, of lessening the threat of war, and of strengthening peace and security on our planet.

The contribution made by our two nations to the attainment of this paramount goal will undoubtedly raise Soviet-American relations to a new level. In May of last year, we agreed that in the nuclear age there is no alternative to conducting relations between our countries on the basis of peaceful coexistence. We can now confidently say that this fundamental principle is being increasingly imbued with concrete substance.

We are convinced that the results of our talks will strengthen still more the relations of peace and mutual trust between the Soviet Union and the United States. At the same time, new vistas will be opened for the constructive development of those relations.

The new step forward which it has proved possible to take through joint efforts in so vitally important and at once so complex a problem as the limitation of Soviet and American strategic arms is also something that cannot fail to cause satisfaction.

The agreement achieved on the basic principles for further negotiations on this problem contains everything to give a new impetus and a clear direction to joint work on important agreements designed not only to curb but also to reverse the race of the most formidable and costly types of rocket nuclear arms, and thus to permit our countries to switch more resources to constructive purposes and use them to better man's life.

Atomic energy, too, must ever-increasingly serve the aims of peace. The readiness of our two nations to promote that objective through joint efforts has been reflected in the agreement on cooperation in the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, which President Nixon and I also signed today.

In pursuance of the line jointly initiated during last year's meeting in Moscow, a new series of agreements on cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and the United States in several other fields of science, technology, and culture was

signed in the course of this visit. This we also value highly. It will give Soviet-American relations still greater diversity and stability. At the same time, we are sure the development of such cooperation will benefit other peoples, too, since it is aimed at solving problems that are important for all mankind.

Of course, in the relations between our two countries there are still quite a few outstanding problems and, I would say, some unfinished business. In particular, this relates to the sphere of strategic arms limitation and also to commercial and economic matters.

We are optimists, and we believe that the very course of events and an awareness of concrete interests will prompt the conclusion that the future of our relations rests on their comprehensive and mutually advantageous development for the benefit of the present and coming generations.

But I wish especially to emphasize that we are convinced that on the basis of growing mutual confidence, we can steadily move ahead. We want the further development of our relations to become a maximally stable process and, what is more, an irreversible one.

Mr. President, in our discussions—and we value their businesslike and constructive character—I have already had an opportunity to tell you—and I want to repeat this for the benefit of all the American guests present here tonight—that the Soviet Union's line at improving relations with the United States is not some temporary phenomenon. It is a firm and consistent line reflecting the permanent principles of Soviet foreign policy formulated by the great founder of the Soviet State, V. I. Lenin. It is a line that rests on the full support of our people.

Soviet people believe that most Americans, too, approve of the jointly initiated line aimed at strengthening peace and cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the United States.

Unfortunately, the tight schedule of our talks has not left me much of a chance to learn more about your great country and to get a closer look at the life of Americans. But the little I have managed to see seemed to me to be very interesting, indeed. To some extent, I hope to be able to fill in that gap when, at your invitation, Mr. President, we go to the west coast of the United States, to California, long

famous for the beauty of its nature and, more recently, for its surging industrial development.

I would like to use this very pleasant opportunity, when we are all together here at the Soviet Embassy, to confirm the invitation conveyed to you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government to make an official visit to the Soviet Union in 1974. I am confident that your new trip to the Soviet Union will also mark another important stage in the successful development of relations between our two countries. We will be happy to repay the hospitality shown to us by the President, the Government, and the people of the United States.

And permit me to express the hope that this time, Mr. President, you will familiarize yourself more closely with our country, and with its nature, and with the life of Soviet people.

The cause of developing Soviet-American relations is, indeed, moving forward. In 2 years, Soviet and American astronauts will fly into outer space to carry out the first major joint experiment in man's history. Now, they know that from up there in space, our planet looks even more beautiful, though small. It is big enough for us to live in peace, but too small to be subjected to the threat of nuclear war.

I shall be making no mistake if I say that the spirit of our talks, and the main direction of our joint efforts, were determined by an awareness of one major factor: Everything must be done for the peoples of the world to live free from war, to live in security, cooperation, and communication with one another. That is the imperative command of the times, and to that aim we must dedicate our joint efforts.

Allow me to propose this toast to the health of the President of the United States of America and Mrs. Nixon, to the further success of the great cause which we have succeeded in advancing during our present meeting, to the docking, on Earth as well as in outer space, of man's efforts and talents for the good of the peoples, to peace, friendship, and cooperation between the Soviet and American peoples, to peace throughout the world.

[At this point, the President responded to the General Secretary's toast. The General Secretary then resumed speaking.]

Mr. President, and ladies and gentlemen, and dear guests:

Believe me, I am not trying to make a new, long toast. [*Laughter*] But let me just add to the kind words said here by the President and to what I said a little earlier that great ideas bear fruit in the form of a great will and great energy and vigor, and I, therefore, want to assure you, Mr. President, and the American Government, and the American people—and I trust that the President will reciprocate my feelings—that we, for our part, will go on working towards this great goal that we have set ourselves with great vigor and energy—a great goal that we both mentioned in our remarks a little while ago.

And, therefore, permit me yet again, with great sincerity, to ask you to join me in a toast to the very good health of the President and to the great vigor of both our countries in our efforts to reach our goal of peace and cooperation.

182 Message to the Skylab 1 Crew Following Splashdown.

June 22, 1973

To Astronauts Conrad, Kerwin, and Weitz:

The successful completion of the first mission of Skylab is a source of intense pride for the American people. You have demonstrated that just as man can conquer the elements of Earth, he can cope with the exigencies of space. You have

given conclusive evidence that, even with the most advanced scientific and technological support in the world, the courage and resourcefulness of good men are still central to the success of the human adventure.

On behalf of the American people, I welcome you home from the Skylab space-

ship to spaceship Earth. I also look forward to seeing you at San Clemente on Sunday.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The message was relayed to the astronauts on board the recovery ship U.S.S. *Ticonderoga*.

183 Remarks at a Reception for General Secretary Brezhnev in San Clemente, California. June 23, 1973

Mr. General Secretary and all of our distinguished guests:

We have met in Washington and also at Camp David, and as this historic week is concluded, we think it is most appropriate that we meet here in California.

Mr. General Secretary, I told you a lot about California, our most populous State, our most diverse State. There are 20 million people that would like to be here tonight to welcome you, but these are representative of California, and they receive you, as you note, very warmly.

As you have pointed out, the name of this house is La Casa Pacifica, which means "The House of Peace," and in Russian, I just heard him translate it, that is *Dom Mira*.

The General Secretary thought this was a particularly appropriate place—this house and this State—on the Pacific, to have our concluding talks. We believe that the agreements that we have reached this week will contribute to the peaceful world that everybody here wants and that the General Secretary and I have been working for in our respective positions.

As we look back to this day, we hope that this name, "The House of Peace," will be a reality—a reality in terms of the agreements that have been reached and in terms of the promise those agreements mean for not just the Soviet people and the American people but for all the people of the world.

Mr. General Secretary, we are going to meet all the guests, but I should point out to our guests that we will have in our receiving line, in addition to Mrs. Nixon and the General Secretary, Foreign Minister Gromyko, Ambassador and Mrs. Dobrynin, both of whom have come from Washington, and Secretary of State and Mrs. Rogers.

Incidentally, the Secretary of State is celebrating his birthday, and nobody has celebrated his 60th birthday more often and in more auspicious places than the Secretary of State. We celebrated it Wednesday when the General Secretary toasted him 2 days in advance at Camp David. The next day we celebrated it in the Soviet Embassy at the brilliant dinner party that was given there when both the General Secretary and I toasted him, thinking that was either the day or the day before. We finally have learned from Mrs. Rogers that today is the day, so we say "Happy Birthday to the Secretary of State."

Then, finally, in this distinguished company, our leaders from political and business life, as well as some of the people that both of us have seen and admired on the screen. I find in my personal chats with the General Secretary that he likes western movies as well as some others, but he likes westerns in particular, and so do I. We have several western movie stars that you will recognize.

But because this is a house of peace, every one of them has checked his holster belt with the pistols at the door before he came in. [*Laughter*]

Thank you.

[At this point, General Secretary Brezhnev responded to the President's remarks. The President then resumed speaking.]

You will be interested to know that the General Secretary's speech on television, which was filmed right here at the Western White House this afternoon, will be carried Sunday night.¹ When I was in the Soviet Union, my remarks were carried to the Soviet audience, and his remarks will be carried to the American people.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5 p.m. at a pool-side reception at his home in San Clemente, Calif.

General Secretary Brezhnev spoke in Russian. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

Ladies and gentlemen:

I have spent already several days in the United States of America. Every day, President Nixon arranges for me and for the comrades who are accompanying me on this trip new surprises. I would also say that we are conducting very necessary and important negotiations, and we have already managed to sign quite important agreements which are confirming and consolidating the good, friendly relations which are existing between our peoples and between our states. And I might stress that especially significant in this respect is the agreement we have concluded yesterday on the prevention of nuclear war.

Every day, I meet old acquaintances in America, and I make new friendships, and this is a fact which is a fact of great pleasure.

¹ General Secretary Brezhnev's address to the American people was broadcast on nationwide radio and television at 6 p.m., on June 24, 1973. A text of his address is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 836).

And I would like to stress that it is important that today I am here in the home of the President and Mrs. Nixon, and I feel happy. We are continuing with our serious and beneficial work here, and we have spent many hours in business-like negotiations.

Today, here on the territory of California quite near to the home of the President, I have addressed the American people through American television. I am not sure when they will have this program, today or tomorrow, but when you see it, you will hear my thoughts and the thoughts of the Soviet people.

I would very much like that the name of this house, La Casa Pacifica, would be symbolic. I would very much like that our relations go down in history as relations of peace, of friendship, of mutual respect between our peoples so that there is no more war.

And in conclusion, I would like to express my gratitude to the President and Mrs. Nixon for this wonderful party which he arranged for us today. I believe that this gathering will permit me to acquaint myself with the representatives of various walks of life, of various professions, and I feel very happy and grateful.

And to all of you, I would like to wish good health, personal happiness, and success in all your endeavors.

Mr. President, I would also like to congratulate you and all the American people on the successful completion of the heroic space flight, on the occasion of the successful return of your astronauts, and I would like to wish them new successes in this very important area of human discovery and knowledge, and please convey my best greetings to them.

I would like to wish that our spacemen continue their cooperation. I would like to wish them new, brilliant successes in their wonderful profession which combines courage with science.

Of course, I cannot but mention what has happened here—by the way, I was the first who congratulated Secretary of State Rogers on his birthday, and now I am all confused. What is really the day when State Secretary Rogers was born? [*Laughter*] But anyway, I would like to say that I also congratulate Mr. Rogers and wish him all the best.

184 Remarks at the Conclusion of Discussions With General Secretary Brezhnev. June 24, 1973

Mr. General Secretary, all of our distinguished guests from the Soviet Union, and ladies and gentlemen:

Just last Monday, when you, Mr. General Secretary, arrived in Washington, I made the remark that in addition to the millions of people in the Soviet Union and in the United States who were seeing us on television, that millions more throughout the world were watching what we might do this week.

As we have just completed our visit by signing this joint communique, I think we can say with great satisfaction that in our actions this week, we have not disappointed the hopes of the people of the world.

First, we have built on the strong foundation that we laid a year ago in the relations between our two countries in adopting a number of significant agreements for cooperation. We have also built on the beginning that we made a year ago with regard to the limitation of nuclear arms. But the most significant agreement was the one we signed Friday, which was truly a landmark agreement, not only between the relations of our countries but also a landmark agreement for the whole world.

When the two strongest nations of the world agree not to use force or threats of force in their relations with each other, and also not to use force or threats of force in their relations with other nations, this action indeed gives profound hope to those throughout the world who want peace. Because there can only be true peace in the world in which the weak are as safe as the strong, and by our agree-

ments, we have dedicated ourselves to building that kind of world.

In speaking of this, I think, too, that the agreement that we have signed, all of the agreements, take on added meaning because of the personal relationship that we developed a year ago and that we have built on this year.

All who have studied history know that an agreement means nothing unless there is the will of the parties to keep it. And, Mr. General Secretary, as you know from our long talks at Camp David, in Washington, and here at San Clemente, we have the will to keep all the agreements we have made, and particularly the one that we signed Friday.

And having that will, it means that we are dedicating ourselves to build a new era not only of peace between our two great countries but of building an era in which there can be peace for all the people of the world.

When you return to the Soviet Union, I would appreciate it very much if you would extend to the millions of people in your country the good wishes, the friendship of the millions of people in the United States, because I am sure that there are many Americans who would like personally to give that message to your people. And you can tell them that the American people—not just the American leaders but the American people—welcome the opportunity to work with the people of the Soviet Union to build peace between each other and peace for the world.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:37 a.m. on the grounds of his residence in San Clemente, Calif.

General Secretary Brezhnev spoke in Russian. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:

Today, when our visit draws to an end and the day of our departure grows closer, I am very happy, indeed, to have this opportunity once again to express my gratitude to the President of the United States for the hospitality that was accorded to me and all my colleagues present here in California. It has been very pleasant, indeed, for me to be able to visit this wonderful part of the United States, and I want also to express my gratitude to all Californians and to all the people of the United States.

I had an opportunity to do so in the television address which, however, you will only be seeing tonight, so I do want to do that again, to express my gratitude again on this wonderful morning.

As we said at the start of our meeting, we must work hard in the interests of our peoples, in the interests of the great and noble aims of defending peace and developing friendly relations between our peoples, and we can now say quite safely that we certainly did that.

We have done some very serious work together, and we have achieved complete agreement on several important issues which are of prime concern to our peoples. And I can certainly say that all the people in the Soviet Union will welcome what has been achieved.

All of the agreements that we and our colleagues signed in the course of this week are important, but those that you and I signed, Mr. President, last Friday were particularly important. And they were indeed happy events not only for the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States. I am certain that all the people of the world will salute and welcome the agreements we signed.

In these very pleasant days spent in the United States, I had a very good opportunity to meet with some of your Senators, with representatives of the business community, and yesterday, I had the very great pleasure of meeting quite a few Californians belonging to various walks of life and various professions.

But apart from all the talks we had and all the formal meetings, I was very happy to note—and I was also told this by my colleagues who,

too, have been meeting with many Americans during this visit—and I am particularly happy that I was able a couple of days ago to chat briefly with a group of American correspondents—and everyone I talked to has said that they are happy over the results achieved during this visit.

And so, that is a source of very special joy. I am therefore leaving the United States with very good feelings and with the conviction that the agreements and documents we signed will be unanimously approved in the United States as they undoubtedly will in the Soviet Union, and that, moreover, they will be approved and welcomed by the nations of the entire world. And that is something that gives us added strength and new vigor and a desire to go on working hard, so that maybe in 6 or 8 months' time, as the President wishes, we will be able to meet again when the President comes to Moscow. And when we do that, we will move still further ahead the very important achievements started last year in May. And he will come to the Soviet Union confident that we will prepare and sign new and more important agreements which will develop all that was started so well last year in Moscow.

In conclusion, permit me once again to express my very sincere gratitude to you, Mr. President, to Mrs. Nixon, to all your colleagues, and to all those who have come here to be with us this morning. For that, I am indeed grateful, and so, as I leave you, I wish to say not farewell, but goodbye until we meet again.

Mr. President, you will agree with me if I say that in all of our work during this visit, you and your colleagues, American statesmen, just as I and all of my colleagues here did not strictly observe the rules of protocol, and we devoted the greater part of our time to hard work. In fact, suffice it to say that last night, we went on working until the early hours of this morning, and we did some very good work together.

But perhaps for that reason, I simply omitted to say one thing in my remarks and that is the following: The United States is a very great, a very big country, a country with a population of over 220 million people, and I and all my colleagues in Moscow, and those who are with me on this visit, would like to express our deep appreciation and gratitude to all Americans who support what we have done and are doing

and who take a correct view and correctly appreciate our policies and our line of conduct and who, in thus doing so, are helping us in our work. And I, therefore, trust that the peaceful policies pursued by the President and by the United States Government under him will be supported by the people.

It is a policy aimed at ensuring and strength-

ening peace, cooperation, and security in the interests of our two countries, but also, in the interests of all other nations, big and small, throughout the world, and for this, I wish to express my appreciation also.

I ask all of your colleagues, Mr. President, and mine, to draw up closer to us so that we could all be in this historic picture together.

185 Joint Communiqué Following Discussions With General Secretary Brezhnev. *June 25, 1973*

AT THE invitation of the President of the United States, Richard Nixon, extended during his official visit to the USSR in May 1972, and in accordance with a subsequent agreement, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Leonid I. Brezhnev, paid an official visit to the United States from June 18 to June 25. Mr. Brezhnev was accompanied by A. A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee, CPSU; N. S. Patolichev, Minister of Foreign Trade; B. P. Bugayev, Minister of Civil Aviation; G. E. Tsukanov and A. M. Aleksandrov, Assistants to the General Secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU; L. M. Zamyatin, General Director of TASS; E. I. Chazov, Deputy Minister of Public Health of the USSR; G. M. Korniyenko, Member of the Collegium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR; G. A. Arbatov, Director of the USA Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev held thorough and constructive discussions on the progress achieved in the development of US-Soviet relations and on a number of major international problems of mutual interest.

Also taking part in the conversations held in Washington, Camp David, and San Clemente, were:

On the American side William P. Rogers, Secretary of State; George P. Shultz, Secretary of the Treasury; Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

On the Soviet side A. A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee, CPSU; A. F. Dobrynin, Soviet Ambassador to the USA; N. S. Patolichev, Minister of Foreign Trade; B. P. Bugayev, Minister of Civil Aviation; A. M. Aleksandrov and G. E. Tsukanov, Assistants to the General Secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU; G. M. Korniyenko, Member of the Collegium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

I. THE GENERAL STATE OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS

Both Sides expressed their mutual satisfaction with the fact that the American-Soviet summit meeting in Moscow in May 1972 and the joint decisions taken there have resulted in a substantial advance in the strengthening of peaceful relations between the USA and the USSR and have created the basis for the further

development of broad and mutually beneficial cooperation in various fields of mutual interest to the peoples of both countries and in the interests of all mankind. They noted their satisfaction with the mutual effort to implement strictly and fully the treaties and agreements concluded between the USA and the USSR, and to expand areas of cooperation.

They agreed that the process of reshaping relations between the USA and the USSR on the basis of peaceful coexistence and equal security as set forth in the Basic Principles of Relations Between the USA and the USSR signed in Moscow on May 29, 1972 is progressing in an encouraging manner. They emphasized the great importance that each Side attaches to these Basic Principles. They reaffirmed their commitment to the continued scrupulous implementation and to the enhancement of the effectiveness of each of the provisions of that document.

Both Sides noted with satisfaction that the outcome of the US-Soviet meeting in Moscow in May 1972 was welcomed by other States and by world opinion as an important contribution to strengthening peace and international security, to curbing the arms race and to developing businesslike cooperation among States with different social systems.

Both Sides viewed the return visit to the USA of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, and the talks held during the visit as an expression of their mutual determination to continue the course toward a major improvement in US-Soviet relations.

Both Sides are convinced that the discussions they have just held represent a further milestone in the constructive development of their relations.

Convinced that such a development of American-Soviet relations serves the interests of both of their peoples and all of mankind, it was decided to take further major steps to give these relations maximum stability and to turn the development of friendship and cooperation between their peoples into a permanent factor for worldwide peace.

II. THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR AND THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC ARMAMENTS

Issues related to the maintenance and strengthening of international peace were a central point of the talks between President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev.

Conscious of the exceptional importance for all mankind of taking effective measures to that end, they discussed ways in which both Sides could work toward removing the danger of war, and especially nuclear war, between the USA and the USSR and between either party and other countries. Consequently, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Basic Principles of Relations of May 29, 1972, it was decided to conclude an Agreement Between the USA and the USSR on the Prevention of Nuclear War. That Agreement was signed by the President and the General Secretary on June 22, 1973. The text has been published separately.¹

¹ The text of the agreement is printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 9, p. 822). On June 22, 1973, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the agreement by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. The news briefing is printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 9, p. 823).

The President and the General Secretary, in appraising this Agreement, believe that it constitutes a historical landmark in Soviet-American relations and substantially strengthens the foundations of international security as a whole. The United States and the Soviet Union state their readiness to consider additional ways of strengthening peace and removing forever the danger of war, and particularly nuclear war.

In the course of the meetings, intensive discussions were held on questions of strategic arms limitation. In this connection both Sides emphasized the fundamental importance of the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms signed between the USA and the USSR in May 1972 which, for the first time in history, place actual limits on the most modern and most formidable types of armaments.

Having exchanged views on the progress in the implementation of these agreements, both Sides reaffirmed their intention to carry them out and their readiness to move ahead jointly toward an agreement on the further limitation of strategic arms.

Both Sides noted that progress has been made in the negotiations that resumed in November 1972, and that the prospects for reaching a permanent agreement on more complete measures limiting strategic offensive armaments are favorable.

Both Sides agreed that the progress made in the limitation of strategic armaments is an exceedingly important contribution to the strengthening of US-

Soviet relations and to world peace.

On the basis of their discussions, the President and the General Secretary signed on June 21, 1973, Basic Principles of Negotiations on the Further Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms. The text has been published separately.²

The USA and the USSR attach great importance to joining with all States in the cause of strengthening peace, reducing the burden of armaments, and reaching agreements on arms limitation and disarmament measures.

Considering the important role which an effective international agreement with respect to chemical weapons would play, the two Sides agreed to continue their efforts to conclude such an agreement in cooperation with other countries.

The two Sides agree to make every effort to facilitate the work of the Committee on Disarmament which has been meeting in Geneva. They will actively participate in negotiations aimed at working out new measures to curb and end the arms race. They reaffirm that the ultimate objective is general and complete disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, under strict international control. A world disarmament conference could play a role in this process at an appropriate time.

² The text of the document is printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 9, p. 812). On June 21, 1973, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the document by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. The news briefing is printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 9, p. 813).

III. INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS: THE REDUCTION OF TENSIONS AND STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev reviewed major questions of the current international situation. They gave special attention to the developments which have occurred since the time of the US-Soviet summit meeting in Moscow. It was noted with satisfaction that positive trends are developing in international relations toward the further relaxation of tensions and the strengthening of cooperative relations in the interests of peace. In the opinion of both Sides, the current process of improvement in the international situation creates new and favorable opportunities for reducing tensions, settling outstanding international issues, and creating a permanent structure of peace.

INDOCHINA

The two Sides expressed their deep satisfaction at the conclusion of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam, and also at the results of the International Conference on Vietnam which approved and supported that Agreement.

The two Sides are convinced that the conclusion of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam, and the subsequent signing of the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos, meet the fundamental interests and aspirations of the peoples of Vietnam and Laos and open up a possibility for establishing a lasting peace in Indochina, based on respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the countries of

that area. Both Sides emphasized that these agreements must be strictly implemented.

They further stressed the need to bring an early end to the military conflict in Cambodia in order to bring peace to the entire area of Indochina. They also reaffirmed their stand that the political futures of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia should be left to the respective peoples to determine, free from outside interference.

EUROPE

In the course of the talks both Sides noted with satisfaction that in Europe the process of relaxing tensions and developing cooperation is actively continuing and thereby contributing to international stability.

The two Sides expressed satisfaction with the further normalization of relations among European countries resulting from treaties and agreements signed in recent years, particularly between the USSR and the FRG [Federal Republic of Germany]. They also welcome the coming into force of the Quadripartite Agreement of September 3, 1971. They share the conviction that strict observance of the treaties and agreements that have been concluded will contribute to the security and well-being of all parties concerned.

They also welcome the prospect of United Nations membership this year for the FRG and the GDR [German Democratic Republic] and recall, in this connection, that the USA, USSR, UK and France have signed the Quadripartite Declaration of November 9, 1972, on this subject.

The USA and the USSR reaffirm their desire, guided by the appropriate provisions of the Joint US-USSR Communi-

que adopted in Moscow in May 1972, to continue their separate and joint contributions to strengthening peaceful relations in Europe. Both Sides affirm that ensuring a lasting peace in Europe is a paramount goal of their policies.

In this connection satisfaction was expressed with the fact that as a result of common efforts by many States, including the USA and the USSR, the preparatory work has been successfully completed for the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which will be convened on July 3, 1973. The USA and the USSR hold the view that the Conference will enhance the possibilities for strengthening European security and developing cooperation among the participating States. The USA and the USSR will conduct their policies so as to realize the goals of the Conference and bring about a new era of good relations in this part of the world.

Reflecting their continued positive attitude toward the Conference, both Sides will make efforts to bring the Conference to a successful conclusion at the earliest possible time. Both Sides proceed from the assumption that progress in the work of the Conference will produce possibilities for completing it at the highest level.

The USA and the USSR believe that the goal of strengthening stability and security in Europe would be further advanced if the relaxation of political tensions were accompanied by a reduction of military tensions in Central Europe. In this respect they attach great importance to the negotiations on the mutual reduction of forces and armaments and associated measures in Central Europe which will begin on October 30, 1973. Both Sides state their readiness to make, along with other States, their contribution to the achievement of mutually acceptable de-

cisions on the substance of this problem, based on the strict observance of the principle of the undiminished security of any of the parties.

MIDDLE EAST

The parties expressed their deep concern with the situation in the Middle East and exchanged opinions regarding ways of reaching a Middle East settlement.

Each of the parties set forth its position on this problem.

Both parties agreed to continue to exert their efforts to promote the quickest possible settlement in the Middle East. This settlement should be in accordance with the interests of all states in the area, be consistent with their independence and sovereignty and should take into due account the legitimate interests of the Palestinian people.

IV. COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The President and the General Secretary thoroughly reviewed the status of and prospects for commercial and economic ties between the USA and the USSR. Both Sides noted with satisfaction the progress achieved in the past year in the normalization and development of commercial and economic relations between them.

They agreed that mutually advantageous cooperation and peaceful relations would be strengthened by the creation of a permanent foundation of economic relationships.

They recall with satisfaction the various agreements on trade and commercial relations signed in the past year. Both Sides note that American-Soviet trade has

shown a substantial increase, and that there are favorable prospects for a continued rise in the exchange of goods over the coming years.

They believe that the two countries should aim at a total of 2-3 billion dollars of trade over the next three years. The Joint US-USSR Commercial Commission continues to provide a valuable mechanism to promote the broad-scale growth of economic relations. The two Sides noted with satisfaction that contacts between American firms and their Soviet counterparts are continuing to expand.

Both sides confirmed their firm intention to proceed from their earlier understanding on measures directed at creating more favorable conditions for expanding commercial and other economic ties between the USA and the USSR.

It was noted that as a result of the Agreement Regarding Certain Maritime Matters signed in October 1972, Soviet and American commercial ships have been calling more frequently at ports of the United States and the USSR, respectively, and since late May of this year a new regular passenger line has started operating between New York and Leningrad.

In the course of the current meeting, the two Sides signed a Protocol augmenting existing civil air relations between the USA and the USSR providing for direct air services between Washington and Moscow and New York and Leningrad, increasing the frequency of flights and resolving other questions in the field of civil aviation.³

In the context of reviewing prospects for further and more permanent economic

³ The text of the protocol is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 831). On June 23, 1973, the White House released a fact sheet on the protocol.

cooperation, both Sides expressed themselves in favor of mutually advantageous long term projects. They discussed a number of specific projects involving the participation of American companies, including the delivery of Siberian natural gas to the United States. The President indicated that the USA encourages American firms to work out concrete proposals on these projects and will give serious and sympathetic consideration to proposals that are in the interest of both Sides.

To contribute to expanded commercial, cultural and technical relations between the USA and the USSR, the two Sides signed a tax convention to avoid double taxation on income and eliminate, as much as possible, the need for citizens of one country to become involved in the tax system of the other.⁴

A Protocol was also signed on the opening by the end of October 1973 of a Trade Representation of the USSR in Washington and a Commercial Office of the United States in Moscow. In addition a Protocol was signed on questions related to establishing a US-Soviet Chamber of Commerce. These agreements will facilitate the further development of commercial and economic ties between the USA and the USSR.⁵

V. FURTHER PROGRESS IN OTHER FIELDS OF BILATERAL COOPERATION

The two Sides reviewed the areas of bilateral cooperation in such fields as envi-

⁴ The text of the convention is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 806).

⁵ The texts of the protocols are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 821).

ronmental protection, public health and medicine, exploration of outer space, and science and technology, established by the agreements signed in May 1972 and subsequently. They noted that those agreements are being satisfactorily carried out in practice in accordance with the programs as adopted.

In particular, a joint effort is under way to develop effective means to combat those diseases which are most widespread and dangerous for mankind: cancer, cardiovascular or infectious diseases and arthritis. The medical aspects of the environmental problems are also subjects of cooperative research.

Preparations for the joint space flight of the Apollo and Soyuz spacecraft are proceeding according to an agreed timetable. The joint flight of these spaceships for a rendezvous and docking mission, and mutual visits of American and Soviet astronauts in each other's spacecraft, are scheduled for July 1975.

Building on the foundation created in previous agreements, and recognizing the potential of both the USA and the USSR to undertake cooperative measures in current scientific and technological areas, new projects for fruitful joint efforts were identified and appropriate agreements were concluded.

PEACEFUL USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY

Bearing in mind the great importance of satisfying the growing energy demands in both countries and throughout the world, and recognizing that the development of highly efficient energy sources could contribute to the solution of this problem, the President and General Sec-

retary signed an agreement to expand and strengthen cooperation in the fields of controlled nuclear fusion, fast breeder reactors, and research on the fundamental properties of matter.⁶ A Joint Committee on Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy will be established to implement this agreement, which has a duration of ten years.

AGRICULTURE

Recognizing the importance of agriculture in meeting mankind's requirement for food products and the role of science in modern agricultural production, the two Sides concluded an agreement providing for a broad exchange of scientific experience in agricultural research and development, and of information on agricultural economics.⁷ A US-USSR Joint Committee on Agricultural Cooperation will be established to oversee joint programs to be carried out under the Agreement.

WORLD OCEAN STUDIES

Considering the unique capabilities and the major interest of both nations in the field of world ocean studies, and noting the extensive experience of US-USSR oceanographic cooperation, the two Sides have agreed to broaden their cooperation

⁶ The text of the agreement is printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 9, p. 810). On June 21, 1973, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the agreement by Dixy Lee Ray, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.

⁷ The text of the agreement is printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 9, p. 791).

and have signed an agreement to this effect.⁸ In so doing, they are convinced that the benefits from further development of cooperation in the field of oceanography will accrue not only bilaterally but also to all peoples of the world. A US-USSR Joint Committee on Cooperation in World Ocean Studies will be established to coordinate the implementation of cooperative programs.

TRANSPORTATION

The two Sides agreed that there are opportunities for cooperation between the USA and the USSR in the solution of problems in the field of transportation. To permit expanded, mutually beneficial cooperation in this field, the two Sides concluded an agreement on this subject.⁹ The USA and the USSR further agreed that a Joint Committee on Cooperation in Transportation would be established.

CONTACTS, EXCHANGES AND COOPERATION

Recognizing the general expansion of US-USSR bilateral relations and, in particular, the growing number of exchanges in the fields of science, technology, education and culture, and in other fields of mutual interest, the two Sides agreed to broaden the scope of these activities under a new General Agreement on Contacts, Exchanges, and Cooperation, with a duration of six years.¹⁰ The two Sides

agreed to this in the mutual belief that it will further promote better understanding between the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union and will help to improve the general state of relations between the two countries.

Both Sides believe that the talks at the highest level, which were held in a frank and constructive spirit, were very valuable and made an important contribution to developing mutually advantageous relations between the USA and the USSR. In the view of both Sides, these talks will have a favorable impact on international relations.

They noted that the success of the discussions in the United States was facilitated by the continuing consultation and contacts as agreed in May 1972. They reaffirmed that the practice of consultation should continue. They agreed that further meetings at the highest level should be held regularly.

Having expressed his appreciation to President Nixon for the hospitality extended during the visit to the United States, General Secretary Brezhnev invited the President to visit the USSR in 1974. The invitation was accepted.

June 24, 1973

RICHARD NIXON

President of the United States of America

L. I. BREZHNEV

General Secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU

NOTE: The text of the joint communique was released at San Clemente, Calif.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the joint communique by Dr. Kissinger. The briefing is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 848).

During General Secretary Brezhnev's visit

⁸ The text of the agreement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 793).

⁹ The text of the agreement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 794).

¹⁰ The text of the agreement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 796).

to the United States, Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler and TASS General Director L. M. Zamyatin held three news briefings on the dis-

cussions held between United States and Soviet officials. Transcripts of the news briefings were released on June 18, 20, and 23.

186 Statement on Establishing the Federal Property Council.

June 25, 1973

AS our people have gradually pushed across our frontiers and our changing way of life has threatened much of America's natural beauty, we have learned at last that our land must be treated as a precious asset.

The Federal Government today bears a very special responsibility for this resource. One third of all the land in the country—more than 760 million acres—is now owned by our Government. Of this amount, some 56 million acres have been acquired by the Government by purchase or donation just to carry on its daily activities.

Three and one-half years ago, recognizing that we could make more effective use of this irreplaceable heritage and that we have both the opportunity and the need to create more recreational areas, I ordered a review of all Federal holdings. Every agency was asked to determine whether its lands were being well used and to report its findings to the Administrator of General Services.

At the same time, I established a Property Review Board to review the GSA reports and to recommend to me how those properties could be put to better use. It was my intention that the Board would serve as a catalyst in this process and would devote particular attention to identifying lands for recreational uses.

The results of this initiative have been gratifying. Growing directly out of the

studies and recommendations was the Legacy of Parks program, under which surplus Federal real property has been made available to State and local governments for parks and recreation, especially near urban areas. In the 28 months since the program was started, 325 properties—including 36 announced today—have been turned over for park and recreational purposes. They cover over 54,000 acres and have an estimated market value of about \$150 million.

In addition to furthering our environmental and recreational objectives and our commitment to the sound management of our Federal assets, the Legacy of Parks program is a striking example of the New Federalism in action. Resources of the Federal Government are made available to States and localities for a broad purpose—providing recreational opportunities—and their local communities through their representatives decide how they can best develop those resources to meet their own recreational needs.

While our progress under the Property Review Board has taught us that we can make better use of our Federal lands, it has also made it clear that in order to make optimum use of these resources, we must develop a more coherent set of policies for the handling of all Federal properties. In the absence of general guidelines, a Government agency still determines the use and disposition of its

holdings solely on the basis of its own mission and without full regard for our broader policies.

Today, in order to foster the development of more effective national policies that apply to all agencies and departments, I am creating a Federal Property Council within the Executive Office of the President.

It is specifically charged with reviewing all Federal real property policies to test their consistency with the overall objectives of the Government and with recommending to me such reforms, modifications, or initiatives as seem necessary.

The Administrator of General Services will continue to conduct surveys of Federal properties, identifying those which he believes can be put to better use and recommending appropriate action. The Federal Property Council will study his reports and will assist in the resolution of any conflicting claims for the use of properties.

The new Council will also assume all other duties of the Property Review Board, including the development of the Legacy of Parks program. The Board is

being abolished.

I have asked Mrs. Anne Armstrong, Counsellor to the President and Chairman of the Property Review Board, to serve as Chairman of the Federal Property Council.

Other members of the Council will include Roy Ash, Director of the Office of Management and Budget; Bryce Harlow, Counsellor to the President; Leonard Garment, [Acting] Counsel to the President; Herbert Stein, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers; William Timmons, Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs; and Russell Train, Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality.

NOTE: On the same day, the President signed Executive Order 11724, which established the Federal Property Council.

The statement and a fact sheet on the property review program were released at San Clemente, Calif.

An announcement containing biographical data on Mrs. Armstrong and an announcement about the transfer of additional lands under the Legacy of Parks program were also released on the same day and are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, pp. 858-859).

187 Message to the Senate Transmitting the United States-Italian Treaty on Extradition. June 26, 1973

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty on Extradition between the United States of America and Italy, signed at Rome on January 18, 1973. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Treaty significantly updates the extradition relations between the United States and Italy and adds to the list of extraditable offenses both narcotic offenses, including those involving psychotropic drugs, and aircraft hijacking.

The Treaty will make a significant contribution to the international effort to control narcotics traffic and to cope with other offenses. I recommend that the

Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
June 26, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the message was released at San Clemente, Calif.

The text of the treaty and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive M (93d Cong., 1st sess.).

188 Veto of the Supplemental Appropriations Bill Containing a Restriction on United States Air Operations in Cambodia. *June 27, 1973*

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning today without my approval H.R. 7447, the Second Supplemental Appropriation Act of 1973.

I am doing so because of my grave concern that the enactment into law of the "Cambodia rider" to this bill would cripple or destroy the chances for an effective negotiated settlement in Cambodia and the withdrawal of all North Vietnamese troops, as required by Article 20 of the January 27 Vietnam agreement.

After more than ten arduous years of suffering and sacrifice in Indochina, an equitable framework for peace was finally agreed to in Paris last January. We are now involved in concluding the last element of that settlement, a Cambodian settlement. It would be nothing short of tragic if this great accomplishment, bought with the blood of so many Asians and Americans, were to be undone now by Congressional action.

The decision to veto is never easy, but in this case there is no other responsible course open to me. To understand this decision, we should all recognize what the full impact would be if we call a total halt to U.S. air operations in Cambodia, as now sought by the Congress:

—A total halt would virtually remove

Communist incentive to negotiate and would thus seriously undercut ongoing diplomatic efforts to achieve a ceasefire in Cambodia. It would effectively reverse the momentum towards lasting peace in Indochina set in motion last January and renewed in the four-party communique signed in Paris on June 13.

—The proposed halt would also gravely jeopardize the ability of the Cambodian armed forces to prevent a Communist military victory achieved with the assistance of outside forces and the installation of a Hanoi-controlled government in Phnom Penh.

—A Communist victory in Cambodia, in turn, would threaten the fragile balance of negotiated agreements, political alignments and military capabilities upon which the overall peace in Southeast Asia depends and on which my assessment of the acceptability of the Vietnam agreements was based.

—Finally, and with even more serious global implications, the legislatively imposed acceptance of the United States to Communist violations of the Paris agreements and the conquest of Cambodia by Communist forces would call into question our national commitment not only to the Vietnam settlement but to many

other settlements or agreements we have reached or seek to reach with other nations. A serious blow to America's international credibility would have been struck—a blow that would be felt far beyond Indochina.

I cannot permit the initiation of a process which could demolish so substantially the progress which has been made, and the future relationships of the United States with other nations.

However, I must emphasize that the provisions of H.R. 7447, other than the "Cambodia rider," contain a number of appropriations that are essential to the continuity of governmental operations. It is critical that these appropriations be enacted immediately.

By June 28, nine Government agencies will have exhausted their authority to pay the salaries and expenses of their employees. The disruptions that would be caused by a break in the continuity of

government are serious and must be prevented. For example, it will be impossible to meet the payroll of the employees at the Social Security Administration, which will threaten to disrupt the flow of benefits to 25 million persons.

But an even greater disservice to the American people—and to all other peace loving people—would be the enactment of a measure which would seriously undermine the chances for a lasting peace in Indochina and jeopardize our efforts to create a stable, enduring structure of peace around the world. It is to prevent such a destructive development that I am returning H.R. 7447 without my approval.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
June 27, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the veto message was released at San Clemente, Calif.

The House of Representatives sustained the President's veto on June 27, 1973.

189 Statement About the Report of the National Tourism Resources Review Commission. *June 28, 1973*

IN 1971, I appointed the National Tourism Resources Review Commission to undertake the first comprehensive study ever made of tourism in America. Its Chairman was the former Secretary of the Navy, Charles S. Thomas.

Today I have had the pleasure of meeting with Mr. Thomas and receiving the Commission's report. This document, "Destination USA," should better enable us to comprehend the vast potential of tourism, a massive and underestimated force in our economic and social life. The report finds, for example:

—That tourism spending by Americans

in 1970 totaled \$50 billion, a 100 percent increase over 1960;

—That by 1980 that figure could more than double again to a projected \$127 billion;

—And that international tourism is a significant factor in world trade. In recent years some \$3 billion has been added to the United States balance of payments deficit by the spending of American tourists abroad.

It is estimated that Americans took 361.2 million trips here and abroad in 1967, the last year in which a travel census count was taken, and we know the figure

is much higher today. As tourism continues to expand, our parks, lakes, seashores, and forests, as well as facilities for lodging, food, and transportation, will all come under increasing demand. To protect them, and especially our natural resources, we must respond with balanced and farsighted programs.

The current organization of Government resources to cope with American tourism must also be improved. Accordingly, the law that established the Commission directed that a major analysis be undertaken to define the Federal role in tourism.

To reach the goals of better development of our vast tourism resources and more efficient Federal administration of tourism, the Commission has recommended creation of a National Tourism Administration in the Department of Commerce. This proposal will receive careful consideration.

After briefly reviewing this report, I believe the excellent efforts of the National Tourism Resources Review Commission are to be commended, especially the dedication and diligent efforts of Chairman Thomas.

In a radio address to the Nation last July Fourth, I looked towards America's Bicentennial celebration and invited the citizens of all countries to come share with Americans in our festivities. I renew that invitation today in light of this report on tourism. As we consider the future of tourism in the United States, it is especially fitting that we not lose sight of the importance of playing host to the world when we honor our rich past.

NOTE: The 6-volume report is entitled "Destination USA: Report of the National Tourism Resources Review Commission" (Government Printing Office).

The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

190 Statement Announcing Additional Energy Policy Measures. *June 29, 1973*

ONE OF the most critical problems on America's agenda today is to meet our vital energy needs.

Two months ago I announced a comprehensive program to move us forward in that effort. Today I am taking the following additional measures:

First, I am appointing John A. Love, Governor of Colorado, to direct a new energy office that will be responsible for formulating and coordinating energy policies at the Presidential level.

Second, I am asking the Congress to create a new Cabinet-level department devoted to energy and natural resources

and a new independent Energy Research and Development Administration.

Third, I am initiating a \$10 billion program for research and development in the energy field, which will extend over the next 5 years.

Finally, I am launching a conservation drive to reduce anticipated personal consumption of energy resources across the Nation by 5 percent over the next 12 months. The Federal Government will take the lead in this effort by reducing its anticipated consumption by 7 percent during this same period.

America faces a serious energy prob-

lem. While we have only 6 percent of the world's population, we consume one-third of the world's energy output. The supply of domestic energy resources available to us is not keeping pace with our ever-growing demand, and unless we act swiftly and effectively, we could face a genuine energy crisis in the foreseeable future.

PROGRESS SINCE APRIL

On April 18, I submitted a message to the Congress discussing the energy challenge and the steps necessary to meet it. That message emphasized that as we work to conserve our energy demands, we must also undertake an intensive effort to expand our energy supplies. I am happy to report that many of these steps are already underway and that they are proving effective.

—At least eight oil companies have made firm decisions to undertake significant refinery construction projects. Within the next 3 years these projects will increase refinery capacity by more than 1.5 million barrels daily—a 10 percent increase over existing capacity.

—We have announced and carried out a voluntary oil allocation program to help provide farmers and essential government and health services, as well as independent refiners and marketers, with an equitable share of available petroleum.

—A great deal of oil from the Outer Continental Shelf and other Federal lands, which has traditionally been retained by the producers, has been allocated to small independent refiners to augment their present supplies. That figure has already reached 100,000 barrels of oil per day and will increase to 160,000 by mid-August.

—The Council on Environmental Quality has begun a study of the environmental impact of drilling on the Atlantic Outer Continental Shelf and in the Gulf of Alaska. The study is scheduled for completion by next spring.

—The Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has reported out legislation which would finally permit the construction of an Alaskan pipeline. Legislation will shortly be reported out in the House of Representatives. Since construction of that pipeline would provide 2 million barrels of domestic oil a day, I again urge that the Congress give swift approval to this legislation.

—The Office of Energy Conservation and the Office of Energy Data and Analysis have been established at the Department of the Interior. Although not yet fully staffed, they are now beginning to provide information we must have to proceed with our developing energy policy.

—The Commerce Department has proposed regulations covering the labeling of household appliances so that consumers can make comparisons of the efficiency with which the appliances consume energy.

—The Environmental Protection Agency has published information on gasoline mileage for 1973 automobiles.

—The Department of State is taking steps to consult with the major oil-producing nations to develop the cooperative arrangements needed to ensure adequate and stable sources of oil in the future. We are also working closely with the other major oil-consuming nations in studying ways of meeting growing world demand for energy supplies. These include emergency sharing arrangements, as well as stockpile and rationing programs, which

might lead to more coordinated policies for meeting oil supply shortages should they occur in the future.

Several of the steps which I announced in April were in the form of legislative proposals which will help to increase energy supplies. They called for the Alaskan pipeline, competitive pricing of natural gas, licensing of deepwater ports, streamlining of powerplant siting, and a rational framework for controls over surface mining. Only the pipeline request has been finally acted on in committee. I hope the Congress will now act quickly and favorably on my other requests.

These steps are a beginning. But they are only a beginning.

REORGANIZATION

The acquisition, distribution, and consumption of energy resources have become increasingly complex and increasingly critical to the functioning of our economy and our society. But the organization of the Federal Government to meet its responsibilities for energy and other natural resource policies has not changed to meet the new demands. The Federal Government cannot effectively meet its obligations in these areas under the present organizational structures, and the time has come to change them.

ENERGY POLICY OFFICE

Effective immediately, the duties of the Special Energy Committee and National Energy Office, which I set up 2 months ago to advise and assist in the preliminary organizational phases of the Federal response to the energy challenge, will be combined in an expanded Energy Policy Office within the Executive Office of the

President. This Office will be responsible for the formulation and coordination of energy policies at the Presidential level.

This Office will be headed by Governor Love, who will be an Assistant to the President as well as Director of the Energy Policy Office. He will spend full time on this assignment and will report directly to me. My Special Consultant on energy matters, Charles DiBona, will continue in his present advisory capacity, working within the new Office.

DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

Two years ago I sent to the Congress my proposals for a sweeping reorganization of executive departments and independent agencies to provide an executive branch structure more responsive to the basic goals of public policy. One of those proposals called for a Department of Natural Resources.

During the time these proposals have been receiving the consideration of the Congress, my Administration has continued to refine and improve them. It has become increasingly obvious that reorganization is imperative, and nowhere more clearly so than in the areas of natural resources and related energy matters.

I am therefore proposing today the establishment of a new Cabinet-level Department of Energy and Natural Resources, responsible for the balanced utilization and conservation of America's energy and natural resources.

The Department of Energy and Natural Resources would take charge of all of the present activities of the Department of the Interior, except the Office of Coal Research and certain other energy research and development programs which

would be transferred to a new Energy Research and Development Administration. It would also assume the responsibilities of the Forest Service and certain water resources activities of the Soil Conservation Service from the Department of Agriculture; the planning and funding of the civil functions of the Army Corps of Engineers; the duties of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration of the Department of Commerce; the uranium and thorium assessment functions of the Atomic Energy Commission; the functions of the interagency Water Resources Council; and gas pipeline safety functions of the Department of Transportation.

ENERGY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

I am further proposing to the Congress that we create an Energy Research and Development Administration.

The new administration would have central responsibility for the planning, management, and conduct of the Government's energy research and development and for working with industry so that promising new technologies can be developed and put promptly to work. The new administration would be organized to give significant new emphasis to fossil fuels and potential new forms of energy, while also assuring continued progress in developing nuclear power.

In order to create the new administration, the present functions of the Atomic Energy Commission, except those pertaining to licensing and related regulatory responsibilities, would be transferred to it, as would most of the energy research and development programs of the Department of Interior. The scientific and technolog-

ical resources of the AEC should provide a solid foundation for building a well-conceived and well-executed effort.

Under my proposal, the five-member organization of the AEC would be retained to provide direction for a separate and renamed Nuclear Energy Commission which would carry on the important licensing and regulatory activities now within the AEC. In addition, I have asked that a comprehensive study be undertaken, in full consultation with the Congress, to determine the best way to organize all energy-related regulatory activities of the Government.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

While we must rely on conventional forms of fuel to meet our immediate energy needs, it is clear that the answer to our long-term needs lies in developing new forms of energy.

With this necessity in mind, I am taking three steps immediately to enlarge our Federal energy research and development efforts.

First, I am initiating a Federal energy research and development effort of \$10 billion over a 5-year period, beginning in fiscal year 1975. To give impetus to this drive, I am directing that an additional \$100 million in fiscal year 1974 be devoted to the acceleration of certain existing projects and the initiation of new projects in a number of critical research and development areas. At least one-half of the funding for the new initiatives for this coming fiscal year will be devoted to coal research and development with emphasis on producing clean liquid fuels from coal, improving mining techniques to increase coal mining safety and productivity, accelerating our coal gasification program,

and developing improved combustion systems. The remainder of the \$100 million will be for research and development projects on advanced energy conversion systems, environmental control, geothermal steam, conservation, and gas-cooled nuclear reactors. While it is essential that we maintain the present budget ceiling for fiscal year 1974, these vital programs must and can be funded within that ceiling.

Second, I am directing the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission to undertake an immediate review of Federal and private energy research and development activities, under the general direction of the Energy Policy Office, and to recommend an integrated energy research and development program for the Nation. This program should encourage and actively involve industry in cooperative efforts to develop and demonstrate new technologies that will permit better use of our energy resources. I am also directing the Chairman, in consultation with the Department of the Interior and other agencies, to recommend by September 1 of this year specific projects to which the additional \$100 million would be allocated during fiscal year 1974. By December 1 of this year, I am asking for her recommendations for energy research and development programs which should be included in my fiscal year 1975 budget.

Third, I am establishing an Energy Research and Development Advisory Council reporting to the Energy Policy Office, to be composed of leading experts in various areas of energy research and development from outside the Government.

I feel that these steps will greatly improve and expand our current energy research and development effort and will

ensure the development of technologies vital to meeting our future energy needs.

CONSERVATION

THE FEDERAL EFFORT

In my energy message of April 18, I announced preliminary steps to conserve America's fuel supplies. I said at that time that while energy conservation is a national necessity, conservation efforts could be undertaken on a voluntary basis. I still believe this.

However, public persuasion alone is not sufficient to the challenge confronting us. The Federal Government is the largest consumer of energy in the country, and as such, it has its own unique role to play in reducing energy consumption and thus setting an example for all consumers.

Effective today, I am therefore ordering the Federal Government to achieve a 7 percent reduction in its anticipated energy consumption over the next 12 months.

I have directed the heads of all Cabinet departments and other Federal agencies to report by July 31 on the specific steps they will take to meet this target. Secretary Morton will be responsible for monitoring agency efforts and reporting their progress to me.

These conservation measures are to be designed to ensure that no vital services are impaired nor the proper functioning of these departments and agencies curtailed. Exceptions will be permitted only in unique circumstances, such as the program of uranium enrichment at the AEC where a substantial reduction in energy consumption would have a detrimental effect on our efforts to provide new forms of energy.

While the precise means of conserving energy will be left to the discretion of Cabinet and agency heads, I am directing that conservation efforts include the following measures:

—Reduction in the level of air-conditioning of all Federal office buildings throughout the summer.

—Reduction in the number of official trips taken by Federal employees.

—Purchase or leasing of automobiles and other vehicles which provide good gasoline mileage.

Each department and agency is expected to review all of its activities to determine how its own demands might be reduced. The Department of Defense, the largest single consumer of energy within the executive branch, has already examined its activities and has taken steps to reduce its energy demands by 10 percent over last year—steps which will in no way jeopardize our military preparedness.

CONSERVATION IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR

I am also directing all departments and agencies to work closely with Secretary Morton and the Office of Energy Conservation in the development of long-term energy conservation plans and recommendations for both the private and the public sector.

At my request, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Commerce, and Governor Love are to meet with representatives of American industry to discuss ways of cutting back on unnecessary consumption of energy and to urge their active participation in the conservation effort.

Further, I have directed the Secretary of Transportation to work with the Na-

tion's airlines, the Civil Aeronautics Board, and the Federal Aviation Administration to reduce flight speeds and, where possible, the frequency of commercial airline flights. This effort is now underway. By effecting only a small reduction in speeds and flights, it is possible to achieve significant reductions in energy consumption.

PLACING THE CHALLENGE IN PERSPECTIVE

As these measures cover a broad range of activities in the public and private sectors, I want to put both the problem and the proposed conservation measures into perspective. We all need to understand the dimensions of the challenge, as well as the significance of the role every single American has to play in meeting it.

The Department of the Interior estimates that under the conditions of current usage, our available supply of gasoline this summer could fall short of demand by 1 or 2 percent and possibly as much as 5 percent should the most adverse conditions prevail. To overcome this potential shortage, and to reduce pressure on supplies of other energy resources, I am suggesting that a reasonable and attainable national goal is to reduce anticipated energy use by individual consumers by 5 percent.

We can achieve this goal by making very small alterations in our present living habits, for steps such as those we are taking at the Federal level can be taken with equal effectiveness by private individuals. We need not sacrifice any activities vital to our economy or to our well-being as a people.

Raising the thermostat of an air-conditioner by just 4 degrees, for instance, will

result in a saving of an estimated 15–20 percent in its use of electricity.

Just as the Government can obtain energy-efficient automobiles, private citizens can do the same. Nearly three-quarters of the gasoline used in America is consumed by automobiles.

Those who drive automobiles can also assist by driving more slowly. A car traveling 50 miles per hour uses 20 to 25 percent less gasoline per mile than the same car traveling 70 miles per hour. Carpooling and using public transportation will result in further fuel savings.

In order to help reduce driving speeds, I am today taking the additional step of writing to each of the Nation's Governors, asking them to work with their State legislatures to reduce highway speed limits in a manner consistent with safety and efficiency, as well as with energy needs.

I also continue to urge the Congress to pass highway-mass transit legislation which would provide States and localities flexibility to choose between capital investment in highways or mass transit. Diversion of some commuter traffic from single occupant automobiles to mass transit will result in significant energy and environmental benefits and, at the same time, permit the highways to be operated in the efficient manner for which they were designed.

Energy conservation is not just sound policy for the country, it is also good economics for the consumer.

Changing to a more efficient automobile, for example, could produce savings of as much as 1,000 gallons of gas in the course of a year. A savings of 1,000 gallons of gas equals a personal savings of approximately \$400.

Cutting down on air-conditioning and heating, of course, also cuts down on the

family gas or electric or oil bill.

Actions to reduce the rate of growth in energy demands will also improve our ability to protect and improve the quality of our environment.

The conservation of existing energy resources is not a proposal, it is a necessity. It is a requirement that will remain with us indefinitely, and it is for this reason that I believe that the American people must develop an energy conservation ethic.

As a matter of simple prudence and common sense, we must not waste our resources, however abundant they may seem. To do otherwise, in a world of finite resources, reflects adversely upon what we are as a people and a Nation.

CONCLUSION

We face a challenge in meeting our energy needs. In the past, the American people have viewed challenges as an opportunity to improve our Nation and to move forward. The steps I have outlined above are not meant to be conclusive. They are part of the ongoing process.

I urge the Congress to act with due concern for our energy needs by rapid consideration of all of my legislative proposals in this field, especially my request to clear the way for the Alaskan pipeline.

Over the coming years it is essential that we increase our supplies of energy.

I urge the members of the Federal Government to play their role in meeting the spirit and the letter of my energy conservation directives.

I urge private industry to respond with all the imagination and resourcefulness that has made this Nation the richest on Earth.

But the final question of whether we

can avoid an energy crisis will be determined by the response of the American people to their country's needs. In the past, whenever we have been faced with real challenges, the American people have joined together to share in the common interest.

I am confident we will do so now.

NOTE: On the same day, the President signed

Executive Order 11726, which established the Energy Policy Office.

The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

The White House also released, on the same day, a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the President's statement on energy policy and his appointment as Director by John A. Love. Prior to his news briefing, Director Love had met with the President.

191 Memorandum Directing Reductions in Energy Consumption by the Federal Government. *June 29, 1973*

Memorandum for Heads of Departments and Agencies:

You are hereby directed to review the activities of your agency and your contractors which place demands on our energy resources and determine how demand can be reduced. You are to provide by July 31, 1973, an accounting of your agency's energy consumption and a plan with specific actions and timetables to reduce demands.

I have today established a nationwide goal of reducing expected energy demand by 5 percent over the next twelve months. The Federal Government goal is to reduce the expected demand for energy by 7 percent during this same period.

Steps that should be taken by all agencies include reducing the level of air conditioning in office buildings, with appropriate relaxation of employee dress

standards; using more energy efficient automobiles in Federal activities; reducing employee business trips; reducing unnecessary lighting in your agency's buildings; and encouraging greater use of carpools and mass transit by your employees. In addition, several agencies have laboratories and industrial type facilities, some of which are operated by contractors, that provide special opportunities for significant energy conservation measures.

The reports that are due by July 31, 1973, are to be submitted through Secretary Morton. In addition, you are to provide such additional follow-up reports as he may require and to assist him and his new Office of Energy Conservation in identifying new conservation measures.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The text of the memorandum was released at San Clemente, Calif.

192 Letter to Governors Urging Support for Energy Conservation Measures. *June 29, 1973*

Dear Governor:

My April 18 message to the Congress, which was also transmitted to you, de-

tailed actions that must be taken if the Nation is to have adequate and secure supplies of clean energy in the future.

It is particularly urgent that steps to encourage energy conservation begin at once. Today, therefore, I have announced a program to reduce the Nation's anticipated energy demand by 5 percent over the next twelve months. To provide leadership in achieving that goal, the Federal Government will reduce its anticipated energy demand by 7 percent during this same period.

The success of our national effort is primarily in the hands of the American people. Nearly three-quarters of the gasoline used in America is consumed by automobiles. Thus, significant gasoline savings will be realized if the American people will change their driving patterns. It is estimated that a car traveling at 50 miles per hour consumes 20 to 25 percent less fuel per mile than it would at 70 miles per hour. Consequently, I am asking Americans voluntarily to reduce the speed at which they drive this summer.

As part of this effort, I urge you to work

with your legislature on reducing highway speed limits in your State, taking into account the objectives of mobility, safety and energy conservation. I would also urge you to consider the various actions being taken by the Federal Government to save on the energy it uses, and to adopt as many of these measures as are appropriate for your own State.

Americans have the chance to make a virtue of necessity this summer by taking the current energy pinch as an occasion to begin developing not just stopgap measures but a new and enduring energy conservation ethic for the future. You can play a major role in making this effort successful. I hope it will have your strong support.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The text of identical letters addressed to the Governors of the States was released at San Clemente, Calif.

193 Statement About "Walk a Mile for Your Health Day."

June 30, 1973

THIS Sunday scores of Americans, including Members of the Congress, health and athletic associations, and the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports, will join in celebrating "Walk a Mile for Your Health Day." I heartily join in saluting this observance.

Whether out of habit or inclination, millions of men and women in this country do not reap the benefits that simple walking will provide. Yet beyond the obvious health benefits of walking, I know from personal experience that long walks

are refreshing exercises of the mind as well as the body. It offers time for reflection and time for personal thought.

"Walk a Mile for Your Health Day" this weekend is an opportunity for all Americans to recognize the many health benefits of walking. It is my hope that we will continue this and other important physical fitness programs on every day thereafter.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

194 Radio Address About the Nation's Economy.

*July 1, 1973**Good afternoon:*

Eighteen days ago, I ordered a freeze on prices and announced that this freeze would be followed by a new and stronger set of controls to check inflation.

Today I want to report to you on some of the progress we have made and some of the problems we face.

First, I am pleased to be able to report that Americans generally are cooperating in making the freeze a success. Prices are being held. We are determined that prices will continue to be held.

In terms of long-range stability, however, what is important is not the freeze itself, but what follows it. We might look at the measures we take as being short-term, medium-term, and long-term.

The freeze is a short-term measure. Phase IV is a medium-term measure. The more fundamental adjustments and disciplines we are undertaking are long-term measures.

During these past 2½ weeks, we have been putting the freeze machinery in place and, at the same time, holding an intensive series of consultations with persons both inside and outside the Government on the design of Phase IV.

By the arbitrariness of its nature, a freeze is bound to create certain inequities. It can also add to the problems of scarcity. We have seen this, for example, in the fact that some broiler producers have had to kill off baby chicks because they could not afford to pay the high feed prices and still sell the broilers at their ceiling prices.

For this reason, we have been determined from the outset to keep the freeze as short as possible. For this reason, also, the Cost of Living Council is taking a hard

and continuing look at the problems created by the freeze. These are being monitored closely by teams from the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Commerce. We want to make sure that the freeze is not administered in such a way as to be counter-productive, while recognizing that to be successful it must be rigorous.

Some have asked why we needed the freeze, why, with all the experience we have had with Phase II and Phase III, we could not simply have announced the new rules for Phase IV and put them into effect immediately.

One reason for the freeze was to stop what were becoming runaway price rises in a number of basic items, which in turn were beginning to create inflationary expectations that could have undermined our whole effort to stabilize the price structure.

Beyond this, however, it was vital that we have genuine consultation with a wide range of interested parties before launching Phase IV. Economic conditions are very different today from those of the earlier periods; the rules of Phase IV will, therefore, have to be different. If these consultations had gone forward without a freeze, it would have been an open invitation to push prices up in anticipation of the new rules.

The freeze provides time in which we can hold these consultations, as part of designing a new Phase IV that will be comprehensive and realistic, that will command the support needed to make it a success, and that will provide a basis for returning to free markets.

In recent days, my consumer affairs

adviser, Virginia Knauer, has been meeting with the consumer groups; the Council of Economic Advisers has been meeting with professional economists; and we have been in continuing discussion with business and labor leaders. Tomorrow, the Director of the Cost of Living Council, Dr. John Dunlop, will meet in San Francisco with key executives of the food, paper, electronics, and other industries from the west coast, and also with consumer representatives. Similar meetings will be held in other regional centers.

Meanwhile, at my instruction, a profit and price check is being run on all companies with annual sales of more than \$50 million—a total of 3,100 companies. Any whose price increases since January cannot be justified by cost increases will be required to roll back their prices. The information developed in this “profit sweep” is also providing valuable data for use in designing Phase IV.

Gasoline prices are among those that have caused the greatest concern. A special check by the Cost of Living Council has identified more than 1,000 gas stations that have raised their prices above the levels permitted, and those prices have been rolled back. Holding down the price of gasoline and other fuels requires insuring adequate supplies.

Last Friday I announced a number of major additional steps to help meet our energy needs:

—I appointed Governor John Love head of a new high-level White House energy office;

—I asked the Congress to create a new Cabinet department devoted to energy and natural resources and a new independent Energy Research and Development Administration;

—I announced a new \$10 billion pro-

gram of energy research and development to extend over the next 5 years; and,

—I ordered a 7 percent reduction in energy consumption by the Federal Government over the next 12 months.

I have already submitted to the Congress a number of essential proposals to help increase energy supplies and thereby keep prices down. These include the Alaska pipeline, competitive pricing of natural gas, licensing of deepwater ports, streamlining of powerplant siting, and a rational framework for controls over surface mining. I again urge quick action by the Congress on these proposals.

For several years now there has been a rapid rate of inflation throughout the Western World. For the year ended in April, consumer prices in the United States rose substantially less than they did in Great Britain, France, West Germany, Canada, or Japan. With expanding international trade, these inflationary pressures abroad contribute to the inflationary pressures at home. When prices elsewhere rise, scarce goods chase more profitable markets abroad, rather than being offered in the United States.

Within the past year, our agricultural exports alone have increased by 50 percent, from less than \$8 billion to nearly \$12 billion. At the same time, the Nation's farmers were suffering in 1972 from some of the worst weather for crops and livestock that America has ever experienced. Output is now rising; prospects for this year are generally good.

For example, the wheat crop this year is expected to be the biggest ever. The many measures we have taken to increase the supply of farm commodities—including the release of more than 40 million additional acres for farm production—will eventually bring more farm products

to the market and will provide relief against high food prices. But meanwhile, we are paying in higher food prices for the combination of limited supply and greater worldwide demand.

Therefore, another key element of the package I announced on June 13 was a request to the Congress for new and more flexible authority to impose export controls on goods that are in short supply in the United States, so that we will not price these out of the American market by sending them abroad in search of higher prices caused by shortages and inflation in other countries.

Acting under existing authority, I have imposed controls on exports of soybean products, which are especially critical to the solution of the feed grain shortage and, therefore, to bringing down the price of meat and dairy products. Prices of soybean products have already dropped in response to this action. However, the more flexible authority I have requested from the Congress is still necessary. I again urge swift and urgent action by the Congress to provide this authority.

The problems of scarcity that make these export controls necessary are temporary problems. Therefore, I am confident that the need for export controls on agricultural products will also be only temporary. When this year's crops become available in the fall, we expect to be able to restore international access to these products. During the brief period when controls are necessary, we shall do all that we can to ensure that our traditional customers suffer as little as possible, and we shall keep before us our continuing goal of progress toward more international trade, rather than less.

There is one point this afternoon more

than any other that I want to emphasize: Controls can help in the short run, but in the long run, dependence on controls would destroy the economy and demolish our prosperity.

In the long run, the one thing—and the only thing—that will keep prices down is sufficient supply to meet the demand, coupled with responsible fiscal and monetary policies. Controls will not give us that supply; neither will they substitute for fiscal and monetary discipline.

That is why we have taken vigorous measures to encourage an increase in the supply of key commodities. We have been trying to turn farm policies around—turn them from the old way of keeping farm incomes up by restricting supply and raising prices—to a new policy of keeping farm incomes up, but by increasing supply and expanding markets. We have been trying to sell unnecessary stockpiles of industrial materials more rapidly. We have initiated a trade policy which would enable us to import more of the things others produce most efficiently, while exporting more of the things we produce most efficiently. And we are taking measures to raise productivity.

But whatever we do to increase supplies can be overwhelmed unless we also keep the expansion of demand within sustainable limits. That is why we must sternly resist not only wasteful Government spending but even worthwhile Government spending that we cannot afford. The battle against higher prices begins with the battle of the Federal budget. I will, therefore, continue to support every move to maintain fiscal responsibility and to resist every move to abandon it.

The Federal Reserve's policy of monetary restraint is also essential in checking

inflation. In the short run, this policy may have the effect of raising interest rates. But it is better to have higher interest rates for a while than it would be to have more inflation and, as a consequence, to have higher interest rates forever.

The object of our policies is not simply to have low prices. We could have low prices and nothing to buy at those prices. The object is to have reasonable prices and also an abundant supply of goods we can buy. The object is to maintain a stable prosperity at a sustainable rate of growth, so that we can enjoy an increasing abundance with job security. The object is to manage the price and wage control system forcefully, but with the goal of getting out

of the controls business, rather than getting permanently enmeshed in it.

The road to full prosperity, without war and without inflation—something that we have not had in the United States since President Eisenhower was President—is not easy. All of us who have lived through the past 10 years know this very well. But I believe that the American people are determined to reach that goal. And I am determined to use all the means of government to help us get there.

Thank you and good afternoon.

NOTE: The address was recorded at the Western White House, San Clemente, Calif., for broadcast at 12 noon on nationwide radio.

195 Statement on Signing the Second Supplemental and Continuing Appropriations Bills. *July 1, 1973*

I HAVE today signed H.R. 9055, the second supplemental appropriation for fiscal year 1973, and H.J. Res. 636, the continuing joint resolution.

Last week I was compelled to veto the original supplemental bill because of my grave concern that enactment of the rider then attached to it, calling for an immediate halt to all air activity over Cambodia, would have led to a destructive series of events. As I indicated then, such a precipitous step would have crippled or destroyed the chances for achieving a negotiated settlement in Cambodia. The stability of Southeast Asia would have been threatened, and we would have suffered a tragic setback in our efforts to create a lasting structure of peace.

The conclusion of a responsible settlement in Indochina has been and remains a matter of the greatest urgency. All but

one of the major elements of that peace are now in place, forged against the will of a determined enemy by the sacrifice and courage of countless men and women, by our perseverance in protracted negotiations, and by the effectiveness and the deterrent of American military power. The last remaining element of the peace in Southeast Asia is a stable Cambodian settlement. I believe that settlement can be secured so long as we maintain reasonable flexibility in our policies and essential air support is not withdrawn unilaterally while delicate negotiations are still underway.

A sudden bombing halt, however, would not have brought us the lasting peace that we all desire. As President, charged by our Constitution with responsibility for conducting our foreign policy and negotiating an end to our conflicts,

I will continue to take the responsible actions necessary to win that peace. Should further actions be required to that end later this year, I shall request the Congress to help us achieve our objectives.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 9055 is Public Law 93-50 (87 Stat. 99), and H.J. Res. 636 is Public Law 93-52 (87 Stat. 130).

The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

196 Independence Day Statement.

July 2, 1973

BECAUSE the first Fourth of July so ringingly proclaimed the young American Republic's faith in itself, each Independence Day becomes an important opportunity to renew that faith. In reaffirming the ideals and hopes struck so eloquently in Independence Hall, we rededicate ourselves to those basic strengths.

Independence Day is a day to secure our moorings, to consider how far we have come as a nation, and to understand where we must yet go. It is a day of solemnity, for the birth of our nation was a momentous event for all mankind. But it is also a day of great joy as we celebrate the wondrous blessings of liberty and freedom.

As we near the Bicentennial celebration of America's independence we must come to measure the magnitude of our accomplishments. The spirit of 1976 must be as strong and as meaningful as the spirit of 1776 which we commemorate each July Fourth. The greatest lesson of this day of celebration is the importance of unity of purpose, of all Americans sharing in the future of our country. If we seek that on this July 4th, as the patriots sought it on theirs, we need have no fear of our destiny.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The statement was issued at San Clemente, Calif.

197 Letter Responding to the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities Request for Presidential Testimony and Access to Presidential Papers. *July 7, 1973*

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am advised that members of the Senate Select Committee have raised the desirability of my testifying before the Committee. I am further advised that the Committee has requested access to Presidential papers prepared or received by former members of my staff.

In this letter I shall state the reasons why I shall not testify before the Committee or permit access to Presidential papers.

I want to strongly emphasize that my decision, in both cases, is based on my Constitutional obligation to preserve intact the powers and prerogatives of the Presidency and not upon any desire to withhold information relevant to your inquiry.

My staff is under instructions to cooperate fully with yours in furnishing information pertinent to your inquiry. On 22 May 1973, I directed that the right of

executive privilege, "as to any testimony concerning possible criminal conduct or discussions of possible criminal conduct, in the matters presently under investigation," no longer be invoked for present or former members of the White House staff. In the case of my former Counsel, I waived in addition the attorney-client privilege.

These acts of cooperation with the Committee have been genuine, extensive and, in the history of such matters, extraordinary.

The pending requests, however, would move us from proper Presidential cooperation with a Senate Committee to jeopardizing the fundamental Constitutional role of the Presidency.

This I must and shall resist.

No President could function if the private papers of his office, prepared by his personal staff, were open to public scrutiny. Formulation of sound public policy requires that the President and his personal staff be able to communicate among themselves in complete candor, and that their tentative judgments, their exploration of alternatives, and their frank comments on issues and personalities at home and abroad remain confidential. I recognize that in your investigation as in others of previous years, arguments can be and have been made for the identification and perusal by the President or his Counsel of selected documents for possible release to the Committees or their staffs. But such a course, I have concluded, would inevitably result in the attrition, and the eventual destruction, of the indispensable principle of confidentiality of Presidential papers.

The question of testimony by members of the White House staff presents a diffi-

cult but different problem. While notes and papers often involve a wide-ranging variety and intermingling of confidential matters, testimony can, at least, be limited to matters within the scope of the investigation. For this reason, and because of the special nature of this particular investigation, I have agreed to permit the unrestricted testimony of present and former White House staff members before your Committee.

The question of my own testimony, however, is another matter. I have concluded that if I were to testify before the Committee irreparable damage would be done to the Constitutional principle of separation of powers. My position in this regard is supported by ample precedents with which you are familiar and which need not be recited here. It is appropriate, however, to refer to one particular occasion on which this issue was raised.

In 1953 a Committee of the House of Representatives sought to subpoena former President Truman to inquire about matters of which he had personal knowledge while he had served as President. As you may recall, President Truman declined to comply with the subpoena on the ground that the separation of powers forbade his appearance. This position was not challenged by the Congress.

It is difficult to improve upon President Truman's discussion of this matter. Therefore, I request that his letter, which is enclosed for the Committee's convenience, be made part of the Committee's record.

The Constitutional doctrine of separation of powers is fundamental to our structure of government. In my view, as in the view of previous Presidents, its preservation is vital. In this respect, the duty of every President to protect and defend the

Constitutional rights and powers of his Office is an obligation that runs directly to the people of this country.

The White House staff will continue to cooperate fully with the Committee in furnishing information relevant to its investigation except in those instances where I determine that meeting the Committee's demands would violate my Constitutional responsibility to defend the office of the Presidency against encroachment by other Branches.

At an appropriate time during your hearings, I intend to address publicly the subjects you are considering. In the meantime, in the context of Senate Resolution 60, I consider it my Constitutional responsibility to decline to appear personally under any circumstances before your Committee or to grant access to Presidential files.

I respect the responsibilities placed upon you and your colleagues by Senate Resolution 60. I believe you and your Committee colleagues equally respect the responsibility placed upon me to protect the rights and powers of the Presidency under the Constitution.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Sam J. Ervin, Jr., Chairman, Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, United States Senate, Washington, D.C.]

[Enclosure]

NOTE: The text of the letter, dated July 6, 1973, was released July 7 at San Clemente, Calif.

The text of President Truman's letter, released with the President's letter, read as follows:

November 12, 1953

Dear Sir:

I have your subpoena dated November 9, 1953, directing my appearance before your committee on Friday, November 13, in Wash-

ington. The subpoena does not state the matters upon which you seek my testimony, but I assume from the press stories that you seek to examine me with respect to matters which occurred during my tenure of the Presidency of the United States.

In spite of my personal willingness to cooperate with your committee, I feel constrained by my duty to the people of the United States to decline to comply with the subpoena.

In doing so, I am carrying out the provisions of the Constitution of the United States; and am following a long line of precedents, commencing with George Washington himself in 1796. Since his day, Presidents Jefferson, Monroe, Jackson, Tyler, Polk, Fillmore, Buchanan, Lincoln, Grant, Hayes, Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, Coolidge, Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt have declined to respond to subpoenas or demands for information of various kinds by Congress.

The underlying reason for this clearly established and universally recognized constitutional doctrine has been succinctly set forth by Charles Warren, one of our leading constitutional authorities, as follows:

"In this long series of contests by the Executive to maintain his constitutional integrity, one sees a legitimate conclusion from our theory of government. * * * Under our Constitution, each branch of the Government is designed to be a coordinate representative of the will of the people. * * * Defense by the Executive of his constitutional powers becomes in very truth, therefore, defense of popular rights—defense of power which the people granted to him.

"It was in that sense that President Cleveland spoke of his duty to the people not to relinquish any of the powers of his great office. It was in that sense that President Buchanan stated the people have rights and prerogatives in the execution of his office by the President which every President is under a duty to see 'shall never be violated in his person' but 'passed to his successors unimpaired by the adoption of a dangerous precedent.' In maintaining his rights against a trespassing Congress, the President defends not himself, but popular government; he represents not himself but the people."

President Jackson repelled an attempt by the Congress to break down the separation of powers in these words:

"For myself I shall repel all such attempts as an invasion of the principles of justice as well as the Constitution, and I shall esteem it my sacred duty to the people of the United States to resist them as I would the establishment of a Spanish Inquisition."

I might commend to your reading the opinion of one of the committees of the House of Representatives in 1879, House Report 141, March 3, 1879, Forty-fifth Congress, Third Session, in which the House Judiciary Committee said the following:

"The Executive is as independent of either house of Congress as either house of Congress is independent of him, and they cannot call for the records of his actions, or the action of his officers against his consent, any more than he can call for any of the journals or records of the House or Senate."

It must be obvious to you that if the doctrine of separation of powers and the independence of the Presidency is to have any validity at all,

it must be equally applicable to a President after his term of office has expired when he is sought to be examined with respect to any acts occurring while he is President.

The doctrine would be shattered, and the President, contrary to our fundamental theory of constitutional government, would become a mere arm of the Legislative Branch of the Government if he would feel during his term of office that his every act might be subject to official inquiry and possible distortion for political purposes.

If your intention, however, is to inquire into any acts as a private individual either before or after my Presidency and unrelated to any acts as President, I shall be happy to appear.

Yours Very Truly,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Honorable Harold H. Velde, Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.]

198 Remarks at the Swearing In of Clarence M. Kelley as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. July 9, 1973

Governor Bond, all of the distinguished guests here on the platform, and all of the friends of the new Director of the FBI, Chief Kelley, here in the audience:

I have just come from California, as you know, and I think to put in perspective the nomination, the confirming, and now the swearing in of Chief Kelley as the Director of the FBI, it would be well to point out that we are entering a new era in our foreign relations, and we are entering also a new era in our relations insofar as the United States is concerned toward achieving peace at home.

I was thinking, for example, that when I was meeting with Mr. Brezhnev in California, that for the first time since World War II, the United States has a totally new relationship with the Soviet Union,

the other great super power in the world, and with the People's Republic of China, in which one-fourth of all the people in the world live.

This does not mean that that new relationship assures that we will have peace without maintaining a strong national defense and without having a strong foreign policy; but it does mean this: that instead of having continuing confrontation, we are now having negotiation with those who might be our potential opponents in the years ahead. And that means that our children have a better chance for peace, a generation of peace and even longer, than any generation in this century, and for this we can be grateful.

As we think of that new era, too, we can think of the fact that for the first time

in 12 years, no Americans are being killed in Vietnam. We have peace in Vietnam. For the first time in 8 years, there are no American prisoners of war held abroad. They are all home in the United States where they belong. And for the first time in over 20 years, no young Americans are being drafted for the armed services. They can go in on a volunteer basis, which is what we want.

These are enormously significant changes as we enter this new era of working toward peace abroad, but they sometimes may obscure the progress we have made in trying to match that to the record of moving toward peace at home.

It is hard at this moment to realize that just 5 years ago, many of the cities of this country were in flames; that just 5 years ago, we were looking back on a period of the sixties in which crime had doubled and was continuing to escalate. Five years ago, we were looking back on a period in which the use of dangerous drugs continued to escalate without an adequate program to fight that great danger, a danger particularly to the young people of this country.

And we find that today we have not conquered those problems, just as we have not assured that we are going to have peace in the years ahead abroad, because working for peace is a constant responsibility of all of us in positions of responsibility, whether it is abroad or at home.

But today we can look at the record, and we can say, as we look, particularly, at our colleges and universities, that this last academic year was the first one in 8 years that we did not have destruction and violence on those campuses and universities.

We can look back, too, and see that in

the last year, for the first time in 15 years, we found crime in this country, street crimes that affect the people of Kansas City and every city and town in this country, instead of going up, went down, and that is something we want to continue to achieve in the years ahead.

And we found that in this last year, while we have not completely conquered, and of course, we never will, the problem of dangerous drugs, that we have made more progress in that area than has been made in the last 15 years.

And that brings us to the man who has just been sworn in as the Director of the FBI. To find the man to move into that position after the many, many years that Mr. Hoover had served in it was a difficult task. We tried to find the very best man in the country.

I remember that one day I called General Haig into my office, when we had a list of candidates, and I said, "I remember a police chief I met in Kansas City. I only met him for a few moments when I went out to visit a hospital where two policemen were recovering from injuries suffered in the line of duty." I said, "I don't know his background, but some way, I like the cut of his jib. He is a strong man. Look into it."

And when we looked into him and compared this man's qualifications with the 26 other top-flight people in law enforcement, he came out at the top of the list, and I want to tell you why.

He came out at the top of the list first because he is from the FBI; he knows it—21 years, a whole generation of distinguished service in the FBI. So, the men of the FBI know that they have one of their own, one who understands their problems, one whom they can respect.

And second, he had another qualification that in this period when the FBI is moving more and more into providing leadership in the field of helping local law enforcement officials deal with the problem of crime: He had 12 years of distinguished service as the chief of police of Kansas City. And in that respect, I should point out to you ladies and gentlemen that before the national trend began to turn downward insofar as street crime across this country is concerned, Kansas City led the way with one of the best records of any major city in the country, and this man did it.

But there was another quality that I have learned about this man that perhaps even is more important than the others. He is a top-flight professional, but many of the other candidates were. He is a top-flight FBI graduate; some of the other candidates were. But above all, when you select a man for a top position, you must feel the person himself—what is his quality, what is his character—and Chief Kelley, first, is a fine family man. Second, he is a man who has a deep faith in his religion. And third, he is a man of enormous personal strength and character. He is a good man, and that is the kind of a man we want in the FBI.

I have often said, and I have visited most of the countries of the world, that the best national law enforcement agency in the world is the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is still the best. And second, I will say that the best national law enforcement agency in the world deserves the best law enforcement officer in the world as its Director.

Ladies and gentlemen, Chief Kelley is that man, and he is going to demonstrate that to the country.

Now a word, if I may, to the people of Kansas City—this city that is proud of all its “Chiefs,”¹ as I know—to the people of Kansas City, I know that you have suffered a great loss, but a good man will take his place. I can only say that Kansas City’s loss is America’s gain, and I will say finally, that a man who has been good for Kansas City will be very good for America.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:45 p.m. in front of the Federal Building in Kansas City, Mo.

William Becker, Chief Judge of the United States District Court for the Western District of Missouri, administered the oath of office to Director Kelley.

¹ Kansas City Chiefs professional football team.

199 Message to the Congress Transmitting the Cost of Living Council’s Quarterly Report on the Economic Stabilization Program. July 11, 1973

To the Congress of the United States:

I am herewith submitting to the Congress the most recent Quarterly Report of the Economic Stabilization Program, covering the period January–March, 1973.

This report indicates that during this

quarter our economy was making strong, impressive gains. Our national output grew at an annual rate of \$43 billion. Some 600,000 more men and women obtained jobs. Real per capita disposable income—what people have left to spend

after paying for taxes and adjusting for inflation—continued to rise, reaching a record high.

During this same period, while America's rate of inflation was lower than other major industrial nations, it is also clear that the rate was far higher than it should have been. There was an unexpectedly rapid increase in prices during the quarter, primarily in agricultural products.

The acceleration of price increases during the quarter led, in part, to my actions on June 13 to impose a price freeze for a maximum of 60 days. This freeze will be followed by Phase IV, a system of con-

trols which will be designed to curb our recent bout of inflation while also preserving the gains we have made in other sectors of our economy. My ultimate goal—a goal I believe we can and must meet—is to return this country to a strong and free market system.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

July 11, 1973.

NOTE: The report, covering the period January 11 through March 31, 1973, is entitled "Economic Stabilization Program Quarterly Report" (Government Printing Office, 90 pp.).

200 Statement About Signing a Bill Increasing Social Security Benefits. *July 11, 1973*

SINCE THIS Administration took office, social security benefits have increased by more than 50 percent, and several major reforms have been made in the Social Security System.

I am pleased to have signed legislation which further contributes to these improvements. It is H.R. 7445, a bill which amends the social security and Federal income maintenance programs while also extending the Renegotiation Act of 1951 for one year.

The critical feature of this bill for almost 30 million Americans is an increase in social security benefits of more than 5 percent next year in order to meet the rising costs of living.

I have long held that social security cannot contribute to genuine financial security until it provides an automatic means of compensating for cost-of-living increases. Last year, when social security increases of some 20 percent were enacted, the Congress approved my proposal pro-

viding for an escalator in benefits so that recipients will automatically be protected against inflation.

The first automatic adjustments under this new system, however, will not occur until January 1975. In the interim, elderly Americans on fixed incomes need further protection against rising costs. In enacting H.R. 7445 into law, we are moving to fill in that gap, as this bill provides an increase in benefits during the last half of 1974.

A second amendment in H.R. 7445 is designed to reduce the disincentives which now face many elderly people who want to work. This provision of the bill increases the amount of money which an individual can earn and still qualify for full social security benefits. This sum is raised from \$2,100 a year to \$2,400 a year.

Another change is in the income maintenance laws. On next January 1, my Administration will begin the new Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program, a program of Federal income

maintenance for needy adults who are aged, blind, or disabled. This program, which I have urged as a necessary change in the welfare system, will provide a uniform floor for assistance to those needy adults. H.R. 7445 will provide a cost-of-living increase in the minimum assistance level and will also assure that no person will suffer a reduction in income as a result of the change from existing State programs to the new SSI program.

Other provisions of H.R. 7445 will assure that several categories of individuals, such as those in medical institutions who are now eligible for assistance under the Medicaid program, will not lose their eligibility when the new Supplemental Security Income program becomes effective. Assistance under Medicaid is essential to the well-being of many of these individuals. They must be protected against the loss of benefits which might otherwise result from the changes in eligibility requirements and standards that will accompany the shift from widely varying State plans to the uniform Federal program.

I regret that in the closing rush before

the July 4th recess, one clause was written into this bill delaying until November 1, 1973, the effective date of Social Service regulations recently promulgated by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. This clause would permit an earlier effective date if the regulations are approved in advance by certain Congressional committees.

As the Congress knows, neither I nor my predecessors have been able to accept such a "coming into agreement" clause because it infringes on the essential responsibility of the President and the executive branch, and on the separation of powers doctrine.

These regulations were drafted in response to Congressional intent expressed last fall when the Congress placed the ceiling on social service expenditures, and we will, of course, work cooperatively with the Congress in considering possible changes in them.

Despite this reservation, I am extremely pleased to approve this measure. It should be good news for millions of our citizens.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 7445, approved July 9, 1973, is Public Law 93-66 (87 Stat. 152).

201 Statement About the Final Report of the National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control.

July 12, 1973

THE National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control has recently completed a comprehensive, 2-year study to determine how best to reduce the destructive effects of fire in this country. The Commission's final report, called "America Burning," was presented to me today, and I want to commend the Commission members and their capable Chairman,

Richard E. Bland, for this valuable analysis of the fire safety and fire loss problem.

Indicative of the need for all Americans to work together to do a better job in combating the fire menace is the Commission's finding that annual loss of life and property due to fires is higher per capita in the United States than in any other major industrialized country. Each

year in America, an estimated 12,000 persons—many of them children and elderly people—perish in fires; some 300,000 more are burned badly enough to require medical treatment. Fire is also one of the greatest wasters of our natural resources. The total cost of destructive fire in this country, in financial terms, is estimated at more than \$11 billion a year; its cost in human terms is beyond calculation.

One of the Commission's principal conclusions is that we need to place more emphasis on fire prevention, rather than simply on reacting to fires after they start. Its report recommends that fire departments and other public agencies and civic groups should step up their efforts in establishing and enforcing fire prevention codes and in educating all our citizens to prevent fires.

I concur with the Commission's strong feeling that fire prevention and control should continue to be primarily the responsibility of local communities. Revenue sharing, I am happy to note, provides local governments with increased resources to meet this basic imperative of community protection more effectively.

The report also calls for an increased Federal response to the fire problem, and

the Commission's proposals in this regard will receive careful consideration by my Administration. Much is already being done at the Federal level to lend assistance to State and local governments to deal with this problem, but the excellent study this Commission has conducted will certainly be helpful in improving the effectiveness of our efforts still further.

I urge all appropriate Federal, State, and city officials across the country, as well as leaders in other fields who are concerned with these problems, to study the analysis of the fire problem as outlined in the Commission's report. A concerted national effort to improve our methods of fire prevention and control could result not only in vast savings of human lives, property, and environmental quality but also in greater peace of mind for every American home and community.

NOTE: The President received the report in the Oval Office at the White House during a meeting with Commission Chairman Richard E. Bland, Vice Chairman W. Howard McClenan, and Executive Director Howard D. Tipton.

The report is entitled "America Burning—The Report of the National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control" (Government Printing Office, 177 pp.).

202 White House Statement About the Failure To Confirm Ambassador G. McMurtrie Godley as an Assistant Secretary of State. *July 12, 1973*

THE PRESIDENT deeply regrets the failure of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to act favorably on the nomination of Ambassador Godley for the position of Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

It is deplorable that this distinguished Foreign Service officer should be penalized for faithfully carrying out the policies of his Government, which were not set by him. The consequences of this committee action go far beyond the injustice done

to an outstanding Foreign Service officer. It is not in the interest of the Foreign Service or the United States that career officers become subject to retribution for diligent execution of their instructions.

NOTE: Deputy Press Secretary Gerald L. Warren read the statement at his news conference at the White House on July 12, 1973.

G. McMurtrie Godley was United States Ambassador to Laos from 1969 to 1973.

203 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the Food for Peace Program. *July 13, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress the 1972 annual report on agricultural export activities carried out under Public Law 480. This program has once again demonstrated the desire of the people of the United States to help those in other countries who are less fortunate than ourselves and stand in need of our assistance.

Through food donations and concessional sales of agricultural commodities, the Public Law 480 program in 1972 helped alleviate immediate problems arising from inadequate food supplies, and helped to lay the basis for new agricultural production in many countries throughout the world. A major impact of this program came through our assistance to the distressed victims of war and natural disas-

ters in Bangladesh.

Other principal recipient countries of development and emergency assistance included Korea, Vietnam, Israel, Pakistan, India and Indonesia. By assisting such countries, the Public Law 480 program also helps to offset threats to internal stability and contributes to our objective of reducing the level of international tensions.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

July 12, 1973.

NOTE: The message, dated July 12, 1973, was sent to the Congress on July 13.

The report is entitled "The Annual Report on Activities Carried Out Under Public Law 480, 83d Congress, as Amended, During the Period January 1 Through December 31, 1972" (129 pp. plus tables).

204 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education. *July 13, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

I herewith transmit the Seventh Annual Report of the National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education. The Council is authorized by Public Law 89-329.

The Council's study covers the impact

of Federal continuing education, extension and community service programs. I especially commend its analysis of the problems and shortcomings which have resulted from too many fragmented programs operating under various narrow legislative authorities. This study lends

further support to a better approach to higher education which would permit academic communities to pursue excellence and reform in the fields they choose and by the means they choose.

The new Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education provides a way to support development of effective programs in continuing education, extension, and community service. Because of the wide range of support possible under the Fund's broad mandate, I shall continue

to recommend the termination of other less flexible programs.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

July 12, 1973.

NOTE: The message, dated July 12, 1973, was sent to the Congress on July 13.

The report is entitled "A Measure of Success: Federal Support for Continuing Education—7th Annual Report and Recommendations of the National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education." (Government Printing Office, 98 pp.).

205 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Plan for United States Participation in the World Weather Program. July 13, 1973

To the Congress of the United States:

Through the World Weather Program, man is acquiring a means not only to cope with his atmosphere and its vagaries but also to understand and assess the impact of his activities on the quality of the global atmosphere.

As a result of recent technological improvements, we are continuing to show substantial progress in furthering the goals of this program:

—Operational geostationary satellites will soon provide a nearly continuous view of storms over a large part of the earth's surface, strengthening our ability to predict and warn of potential natural disasters. Polar-orbiting satellites making vertical measurements of the global atmosphere are already an important aid to weather forecasting.

—Significant advances in computer science are now helping to extend the range, scope and accuracy of weather

predictions and to assess the impact of pollution on climate and weather.

—Intensive planning is nearing completion for a large-scale international experiment to be conducted in 1974 in the tropical Atlantic. This experiment will seek a better understanding of the effects of the tropics on global weather patterns. As a result, we expect to gain new insight into the life cycle of hurricanes that affect the coastal areas of the United States.

—Nations are planning to combine their resources in 1977 to observe the entire earth's atmosphere for the first time as a single physical system.

The World Weather Program is a distinctive example of what nations of the world are capable of achieving when united in a common purpose. A recent United Nations Conference on the Human Environment acknowledged the vital contributions of this program. It is most

heartening that a program which means so much to the safety and well-being of the American people can at the same time assist in providing these same assurances to other peoples.

In accordance with Senate Concurrent Resolution 67 of the 90th Congress, I am pleased to transmit this annual report describing the current and planned activities

of Federal agencies participating in the World Weather Program.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

July 12, 1973.

NOTE: The message, dated July 12, 1973, was sent to the Congress on July 13.

The report is entitled "World Weather Program, Plan for Fiscal Year 1974" (Government Printing Office, 40 pp.).

206 Letter to the Secretary of the Treasury About Secret Service Testimony Before Congressional Committees. *July 17, 1973*

Dear Secretary Shultz:

I hereby direct that no officer or agent of the Secret Service shall give testimony to Congressional committees concerning matters observed or learned while performing protective functions for the President or in their duties at the White House.

This applies to the Senate Select Committee which is investigating matters relating to the Watergate break-in and the current efforts which I am informed are being made to subpoena present or former members of the White House detail of the Secret Service.

You will please communicate this information to the Director of the Secret Service promptly and either you or he should then personally notify the Chairman of the Senate Select Committee. You should further advise the Chairman that requests for information on procedures in the White House will be given prompt consideration when received by me.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable George P. Shultz, Secretary, Treasury Department, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The text of the letter, dated July 16, 1973, was released July 17.

207 Statement Announcing Measures To Be Taken Under Phase IV of the Economic Stabilization Program. *July 18, 1973*

THE American people now face a profoundly important decision. We have a freeze on prices which is holding back a surge of inflation that would break out if the controls were removed. At the same time, the freeze is holding down production and creating shortages which

threaten to get worse and cause still higher prices, as the freeze and controls continue.

In this situation we are offered two extreme kinds of advice.

One suggestion is that we should accept price and wage controls as a permanent

feature of the American economy. We are told to forget the idea of regaining a free economy and set about developing the regulations and bureaucracy for a permanent system of controls.

The other suggestion is to make the move for freedom now, abolishing all controls immediately.

While these suggestions are well meant and, in many cases, reflect deep conviction, neither can be accepted. Our wise course today is not to choose one of these extremes, but to seek the best possible reconciliation of our interests in slowing down the rate of inflation on the one hand, and preserving American production and efficiency on the other.

The main elements in the policy we need are these:

First, the control system must be *tough*. It has to hold back and phase in gradually a large part of the built-in pressure for higher prices which already exists in the economy.

Second, the system must be *selective*. It must permit relaxation of those restraints which interfere most with production, and it must not waste effort on sectors of the economy where stability of prices exists. The control system should also be designed to accommodate the special problems of various sectors of the economy under the strains of high use of capacity.

Third, the system must contain sufficient assurance of its *termination* at an appropriate time to preserve incentives for investment and production and guard against tendencies for controls to be perpetuated.

Fourth, the control system must be backed up by firm steps to *balance the budget*, so that excess demand does not regenerate inflationary pressures which

make it difficult either to live with the controls or to live without them.

We have had in 1973 an extraordinary combination of circumstances making for rapid inflation. There was a decline of domestic food supplies. The domestic economy boomed at an exceptional pace, generating powerful demand for goods and services. The boom in other countries and the devaluation of the dollar, while desirable from most points of view, raised the prices of things we export or import.

These forces caused a sharp rise of prices in early 1973. The index of consumer prices rose at an annual rate of about 8 percent from December 1972 to May 1973. The freeze imposed on June 13 put a halt to this rapid rise of prices. But many of the cost increases and demand pressures working to raise prices in the early part of the year had not yet resulted in higher prices by the time the freeze was imposed. Thus a certain built-in pressure for a bulge of price increases awaits the end of the freeze. Moreover, aside from this undigested bulge left over by the freeze, the circumstances causing the sharp price increase in early 1973 will still be present, although not on so long a scale. The demand for goods and services will be rising less rapidly than in the first half of the year. The supply of food will be rising, although not fast enough. Our position in international trade is improving, and this will lend strength to the dollar.

All in all, the tendency for prices to rise in the remainder of 1973, a tendency which will either come out in higher prices or be repressed by controls, will be less than in the first half of the year but greater than anyone would like. Particularly, there is no way, with or without

controls, to prevent a substantial rise of food prices. However, by 1974, we should be able to achieve a much more moderate rate of inflation. By that time, the good feed crops in prospect for this year should have produced a much larger supply of food, and total demand should be rising less rapidly than in 1973.

This more satisfactory situation on the inflation front will be reached if three conditions are met:

First, we do not allow the temporary inflationary forces now confronting us to generate a new wage-price spiral which will continue to run after these temporary forces have passed. To do this we must hold down the expression of those forces in prices and wages.

Second, we do not allow the present controls to damp down 1974 production excessively, a problem that is most obvious in the case of meats and poultry.

Third, we do not permit a continuation or revival of excess demand that will generate new inflationary forces. That is why control of the Federal budget is an essential part of the whole effort.

The steps I am announcing or recommending today are designed to create these conditions.

THE PHASE IV CONTROLS PROGRAM

Our decisions about the new control program have been reached after consulting with all sectors of the American society in over 30 meetings and after studying hundreds of written communications. The advice we received was most helpful, and I want to thank all those who provided it.

The Cost of Living Council will describe the Phase IV controls program in detail in statements and regulations.

These will take effect at various times between now and September 12. They will include special regulations dealing with the petroleum industry, published for comment. Here I will only review the general features of the program, to indicate its basic firmness and the efforts that have been made to assure that production continues and shortages are avoided.

The controls will be mandatory. The success of the program, however, will depend upon a high degree of voluntary compliance. We have had that in the past. Study of the reports on business behavior during Phase III shows that voluntary compliance was almost universal. Nevertheless, the rules we are now proposing are stricter, and it is only fair to those who will comply voluntarily to assure that there is compulsion for the others.

Except for foods, the freeze on prices will remain in effect until August 12. However, modifications of the freeze rules will be made to relieve its most serious inequities.

The fundamental pricing rule of Phase IV is that prices are permitted to rise as much as costs rise, in dollars per unit of output, without any profit margin on the additional costs. Cost increases will be counted from the end of 1972; cost increases which occurred earlier but had not been reflected in prices may not be passed on. In addition to the cost rule, there remains the previous limitation on profit margins.

Large firms, those with annual sales in excess of \$100 million, will be required to notify the Cost of Living Council of intended price increases and may not put them into effect for 30 days. During that period, the Council may deny or suspend the proposed increase.

The wage standards of Phase II and

Phase III will remain in force. Notification of wage increases will continue to be required for large employment units.

These are, we recognize, tough rules, in some respects tougher than during Phase II. But the situation is also in many ways more difficult than during Phase II. So long as the system is regarded as temporary, however, we believe that business can continue to prosper, industrial peace can be maintained, and production continue to expand under these rules. Machinery will be established in the Cost of Living Council to consider the need for exceptions from these rules where they may be causing serious injury to the economy. And we will be prepared to consider modification of the rules themselves when that seems necessary or possible.

THE SPECIAL CASE OF FOOD

Nowhere have the dilemmas of price control been clearer than in the case of food. In the early part of this year, rising food prices were the largest part of the inflation problem, statistically and psychologically. If price restraint was needed anywhere, it was needed for food. But since the ceilings were placed on meat prices on March 29, and especially since the freeze was imposed on June 13, food has given the clearest evidence of the harm that controls do to supplies. We have seen baby chicks drowned, pregnant sows and cows, bearing next year's food, slaughtered, and packing plants closed down. This dilemma is no coincidence. It is because food prices were rising most rapidly that the freeze held prices most below their natural level and therefore had the worst effect on supplies.

We must pick our way carefully between a food price policy so rigid as to cut

production sharply and to make shortages inevitable within a few months and a food price policy so loose as to give us an unnecessary and intolerable bulge. On this basis we have decided on the following special rules for food:

1. Effective immediately, processors and distributors of food, except beef, may increase their prices, on a cents-per-unit basis, to the extent of the increase of costs of raw agricultural products since the freeze base period (June 1-8).

2. Beef prices remain under present ceilings.

3. The foregoing special rules expire on September 12, after which time the same rules that apply to other products will apply to foods.

4. Raw agricultural products remain exempt from price control.

To relieve the extreme high prices of feeds, which have an important effect on prices of meat, poultry, eggs, and dairy products, we have placed limitations on the export of soybeans and related products until the new crop comes into the market. These limitations will remain in effect for that period. But permanent control of exports is not the policy of this Government, and we do not intend at this time to broaden the controls beyond those now in force. To a considerable degree, export controls are self-defeating as an anti-inflation measure. Limiting our exports reduces our foreign earnings, depresses the value of the dollar, and increases the cost of things we import, which also enter into the cost of living of the American family. Moreover, limiting our agricultural exports runs counter to our basic policy of building up our agricultural markets abroad. Unless present crop expectations are seriously disappointed, or foreign demands are extremely

large, export controls will not be needed. However, reports of export orders for agricultural commodities will continue to be required. Our policy must always be guided by the fundamental importance of maintaining adequate supplies of food at home.

The stability of the American economy in the months and years ahead demands maximum farm output. I call upon the American farmer to produce as much as he can. There have been reports that farmers have been reluctant to raise livestock because they are uncertain whether Government regulations will permit them a fair return on their investment, and perhaps also because they resent the imposition of ceilings on food prices. I hope that these reports are untrue. In the past year *real* net income per farm increased 14 percent, a truly remarkable rise. I can assure the American farmer that there is no intention of the Government to discriminate against him. The rules we are setting forth today should give the farmer confidence that the Government will not keep him from earning a fair return on his investment in providing food.

The Secretary of Agriculture will be offering more specific advice on increasing food production and will be taking several steps to assist; in particular, he has decided that there will be no Government set-aside of land in 1974 for feed grains, wheat, and cotton.

I am today initiating steps to increase the import of dried skim milk.

When I announced the freeze, I said that special attention would be given, in the post-freeze period, to stabilizing the price of food. That remains a primary objective. But stabilizing the price of food would not be accomplished by low price ceilings and empty shelves, even if the

ceilings could be enforced when the shelves are empty. Neither can stabilization be concerned only with a week or a month. The evidence is becoming overwhelming that only if a rise of food prices is permitted now, can we avoid shortages and still higher prices later. I hope that the American people will understand this and not be deluded by the idea that we can produce low-priced food out of acts of Congress or Executive orders. The American people will continue to be well-fed, at prices which are reasonable relative to their incomes. But they cannot now escape a period in which food prices are higher relative to incomes than we have been accustomed to.

THE PROCESS OF DECONTROL

There is no need for me to reiterate my desire to end controls and return to the free market. I believe that a large proportion of the American people, when faced with a rounded picture of the options, share that desire. Our experience with the freeze has dramatized the essential difficulties of a controlled system—its interference with production, its inequities, its distortions, its evasions, and the obstacles it places in the way of good international relations.

And yet, I must urge a policy of patience. The move to freedom now would most likely turn into a detour, back into a swamp of even more lasting controls. I am impressed by the unanimous recommendation of the leaders of labor and business who constitute the Labor-Management Advisory Committee that the controls should be terminated by the end of 1973. I hope it will be possible to do so, and I will do everything in my power to achieve that goal. However, I do

not consider it wise to commit ourselves to a specific date for ending all controls at this time.

We shall have to work our way and feel our way out of controls. That is, we shall have to create conditions in which the controls can be terminated without disrupting the economy, and we shall have to move in successive stages to withdraw the controls in parts of the economy where that can be safely done or where the controls are most harmful.

To work our way out of controls means basically to eliminate the excessive growth of total demand which pulls prices up faster and faster. The main lesson of that is to control the budget, and I shall return to that critical subject below.

But while we are working our way to that ultimate condition in which controls are no longer useful, we must be alert to identify those parts of the economy that can be safely decontrolled. Removing the controls in those sectors will not only be a step towards efficiency and freedom there, it will also reduce the burden of administration, permit administrative resources to be concentrated where most needed, and provide an incentive for other firms and industries to reach a similar condition.

During Phase II, firms with 60 employees or fewer were exempt from controls. That exemption is now repeated. We are today exempting most regulated public utilities, the lumber industry (where prices are falling), and the price of coal sold under long-term contract. The Cost of Living Council will be studying other sectors for possible decontrol. It will also receive applications from firms or industries that can give assurance of reasonably noninflationary behavior without controls. In all cases, of course, the Cost

of Living Council will retain authority to reimpose controls.

BALANCING THE BUDGET

The key to success of our anti-inflation effort is the budget. If Federal spending soars and the deficit mounts, the control system will not be able to resist the pressure of demand. The most common cause of the breakdown of control systems has been failure to keep fiscal and monetary policy under restraint. We must not let that happen to us.

I am assured that the Federal Reserve will cooperate in the anti-inflation effort by slowing down the expansion of money and credit. But monetary policy should not, and cannot, be expected to exercise the needed restraint alone. A further contribution from the budget is needed.

I propose that we should now take a balanced budget as our goal for the present fiscal year. In the past I have suggested as a standard for the Federal budget that expenditures should not exceed the revenues that would be collected at full employment. We are meeting that standard. But in today's circumstances, that is only a minimum standard of fiscal prudence. When inflationary pressure is strong, when we are forced to emergency controls to resist that pressure, when confidence in our management of our fiscal affairs is low, at home and abroad, we cannot afford to live by that minimum standard. We must take as our goal the more ambitious one of balancing the actual budget.

Achieving that goal will be difficult, more difficult than it seems at first. My original expenditure budget for fiscal 1974 was \$268.7 billion. Since that budget was submitted, economic expansion, inflation,

and other factors have raised the estimated revenues to about the level of the original expenditure estimate. However, while that was happening the probable expenditures have also been rising as a result of higher interest rates, new legislation enacted, failure of Congress to act on some of my recommendations, and Congressional action already far advanced but not completed.

It is clear that several billion dollars will have to be cut from the expenditures that are already probable if we are to balance the budget. That will be hard, because my original budget was tight. However, I regard it as essential and pledge myself to work for it.

We should remember that a little over a year ago I set as a goal for fiscal year 1973 to hold expenditures within a total of \$250 billion. There was much skepticism about that at the time and suggestions that the number was for political consumption only, to be forgotten after the election. But I meant it, the people endorsed it, and the Congress cooperated. I am able to report today that the goal was achieved, and total expenditures for fiscal year 1973 were below \$249 billion.

I will take those steps that I can take administratively to reach the goal of a balanced budget for fiscal year 1974. I shall start by ordering that the number of Federal civilian personnel at the end of fiscal year 1974 total below the num-

ber now budgeted. The Office of Management and Budget will work with the agencies on this and other reductions. I urge the Congress to assist in this effort. Without its cooperation, achievement of the goal cannot be realistically expected.

Despite the difficult conditions and choices we now confront, the American economy is strong. Total production is about 6½ percent above a year ago, employment has risen by 3 million, real incomes are higher than ever. There is every prospect for further increases of output, employment, and incomes. Even in the field of inflation our performance is better than in most of the world. So we should not despair of our plight. But we have problems, and they are serious in part because we and the rest of the world expect the highest performance from the American economy. We can do better. And we will, with mutual understanding and the support of the American people.

NOTE: On the same day, the President signed Executive Order 11730, modifying his earlier price freeze, and Proclamation 4230, increasing import quotas for nonfat dry milk.

The White House, on the same day, released a fact sheet, a summary, and the transcript of a news briefing on Phase IV of the economic stabilization program by Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz.

On July 19, 1973, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on Phase IV by Secretary Shultz and Peter M. Flanigan, Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs.

208 Message to the Senate Transmitting a Protocol Amending the 1928 Convention Concerning International Expositions. July 19, 1973

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith the Protocol amending the Convention signed at Paris

on November 22, 1928, concerning international expositions with a view to receiving the advice and consent of the

Senate to its ratification. The Protocol was signed at Paris on November 30, 1972 by the United States and 22 other nations party to the 1928 Convention.

The Paris Convention of 1928 created the Bureau of International Expositions, the purpose of which is to provide basic rules regarding international expositions. The United States joined the Bureau in 1968 with the advice and consent of the Senate, after it had become apparent that it would be in the national interest to coordinate planning of United States expositions with planning in other countries. One of the objectives of membership in the Bureau was to give the United States a voice in modernizing the Convention.

The United States participated in the drafting of the 1972 Protocol, which incorporates a completely revised text of the

Convention. The purpose of the revision is to amend the rules and procedures governing international expositions in line with current techniques and to modernize the provisions concerning the activities of the Bureau. By limiting the frequency of expositions, the new Protocol should reduce the financial demands on participating governments.

I commend the purposes of the Protocol and request that the Senate advise and consent to its ratification, subject to the reservation recommended in the report of the Department of State.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

July 19, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the protocol and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive N (93d Cong., 1st sess.).

209 Remarks on Departure From Bethesda Naval Hospital, Maryland. July 20, 1973

Ladies and gentlemen of the hospital staff and ladies and gentlemen of the press:

As I leave Bethesda after the first stay in the hospital since 13 years ago when I was at Walter Reed, I want to express my appreciation to all of the doctors, the nurses, the hospital corpsmen, and the others who have given me such wonderful attention since I have been here.

I just have been up calling on Congressman Landgrebe, of Indiana, who had a heart attack, and he agrees with me that certainly the service here is the very best.

But what is even more important, the kindness, the thoughtfulness of all of the people here has deeply touched me; it touched him and everybody who is here. I know from some experience—not too

much experience in a hospital, but from having visited many people in a hospital—that what matters far more, when that nurse comes in and gives you that thermometer, or whatever else she has to give you—some bad tasting medicine or whatever the case may be—it isn't her competence that matters so much, but it is the fact that she smiles, she lifts you, she makes you feel better. The same is true of the corpsmen.

And I must say the spirit of Bethesda, the spirit of the Navy, and I must say, also, the spirit of all of our people who serve the armed services in the medical divisions, is one that emphasizes high excellence and also a great human feeling from the heart.

I got out a little earlier than they expected me to. I think part of the reason was that I had good medical advice and took it. And another reason is that I had a very great lift from all the people who served me so well while I was here.

Thank you very much. I have to get

back to work, and now you can go back to work, too.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:14 a.m. on the hospital grounds. He had entered the hospital on July 12, 1973, for treatment for viral pneumonia.

210 Remarks to Members of the White House Staff on Returning From Bethesda Naval Hospital. *July 20, 1973*

THANK you very much for your very warm welcome.

I had heard that while I was out at Bethesda that you were all working, and here you are outside. [*Laughter*]

However, I do want you to know that after a week away from the White House, it is very good to be back, and particularly good to be back to see all of you.

As I was at Bethesda, I realized that that was the first time in 13 years I had been in the hospital except for my physical examinations. The other time was in the year 1960 when, some of you may recall, I had a knee infection and was at Walter Reed for 2 weeks.

I told the staff at Bethesda that I got out perhaps a day or two early, not because their medication, which was excellent, and their competence, which was superb, but because their spirit lifted me. And I can assure you, another reason that I am back a little bit early is that your spirit lifts me. And I am most grateful for the fact that while I was there, a few papers used to come out, you know, the things you send out to me that I sign without looking at—[*laughter*—but in any event, I do want you to know that just the thought that while I was away

that the White House was going forward, that all the work was being done, that everything that needed to be done for this country was going forward as I would have wanted it to go forward and as the people would want it to go forward—that really helped me get back. And I thank you very much for all those extra hours that so many of you put in during that time.

As you can imagine, while I was there, I had a lot of chance to think, to sleep, to rest. It is a little difficult, I must say, to do some of those things when you are not used to it. I mean I am used to thinking but not to—not sleeping and resting.

Also, I had a chance to go through some of the mail that Rose¹ sent out to me, selected mail and wires from all over the country. It seems that nothing really touches people more than illness. You know, if you want to talk to somebody and you say, “How are you feeling?” they usually tell you. Then things really get going. So, as far as this was concerned, I found that I must have heard from everybody in this country who had had

¹ Rose Mary Woods, Personal Secretary to the President.

pneumonia, and believe me, there are a lot of them that have had pneumonia.

All of them touched me, but I, as usual, tried to pick one out that I thought was particularly interesting. It would come from California, as you might imagine—Livermore, California, up north. I campaigned it many years ago, in 1950, when it was a small town. It has grown up a little now. It is from an 8-year-old, and he prints it.

He writes: "Dear President Nixon: I heard you were sick with pneumonia. I just got out of the hospital yesterday with pneumonia and I hope you did not catch it from me.

"Now you be a good boy and eat your vegetables like I had to." I hate vegetables, but I will eat them. "If you take your medicine and your shots, you will be out in 8 days like I was. Love, John W. James III, 8 years old."

Well, John W. James III, I got out in 7 days, so I did a little bit better than he did. But perhaps my case of pneumonia was not as difficult as his. I will take his advice. I will eat my vegetables, try now and then to take the shots—maybe not the kind of shot that he takes, but who knows, Walter Tkach² is my adviser in that respect.

But in any event, there is one bit of advice that I am not going to take—and I will not take too much of your time to tell you about that advice, because this is in a very serious vein—it will be of interest to our friends in the press, to the whole Nation, and to thousands who have written me, and it will disturb my very good corps of doctors who were advising me to do this and do that and so forth

and so on. And that is, they said, "Mr. President, now look, you have excellent health, you have been very fortunate that you have established a modern record of 4½ years in the White House without having missed a day because of illness, but you have got to realize you are human. You can't press yourself so much, and what you have to do is to slow down a little now and take some time off and relax a little more."

I just want you to know what my answer to them was and what my answer to you is. No one in this great office at this time in the world's history can slow down. This office requires a President who will work right up to the hilt all the time. That is what I have been doing. That is what I am going to continue to do. And I want all of you to do likewise.

Oh, I know many say, "But then you will risk your health." Well, the health of a man is not nearly as important as the health of the Nation and the health of the world.

I do want you to know that I feel that we have so little time in the positions that all of us hold and so much to do. With all that we have to do and so little time to do it, at the end of the next 3½ years to look back and think that, but for that day, something went undone that might have been done that would have made a difference in whether we have peace in the world or a better life here at home, that would be the greatest frustration of all.

I don't say this heroically, because I know that every man who has ever been in this position feels exactly the same way, and has felt as I do.

So, I want you to know when I come back from Camp David Monday morning, it is going to be full tilt all the way,

² Maj. Gen. Walter R. Tkach, USAF, Physician to the President.

and we want all of you to work that way, too.

Another bit of advice, too, that I am not going to take—oh, it really isn't advice. I was rather amused by some very well-intentioned people who thought that perhaps the burdens of the office, you know, some of the rather rough assaults that any man in this office gets from time to time, brings on an illness and that after going through such an illness, that I might get so tired that I would consider either slowing down or even, some suggested, resigning.

Well, now, just so we set that to rest, I am going to use a phrase that my Ohio father used to use. Any suggestion that this President is ever going to slow down while he is President or is ever going to leave his office until he continues to do the job and finishes the job he was elected to do, anyone who suggests that, that is just plain poppycock. We are going to stay on this job until we get the job done.

Because after all, you see, when we put all of the events that we read about, the things we see on television in perspective, and then we think of the ages, we think of the world—and not just our own little world—we think of the Nation—and not only our little part of that Nation—we realize that here in this office is where

the great decisions are going to be made that are going to determine whether we have peace in this world for years to come. We have made such great strides toward that goal.

It is going to determine whether there is a chance that this Nation can have a prosperity without war and without inflation, something we have not had since President Eisenhower was President, and we are making progress toward that goal.

It is going to determine whether or not this Nation is going to be on a course that we all worked for, a course in which, rather than having the rate of crime escalating in this Nation, the use of dangerous drugs destroying our young people, that we win those battles which we have launched and carried on. It is going to determine whether programs we have to provide fair and better opportunity for all Americans are going to have a chance, whether they are carried forward.

There are these and other great causes that we were elected overwhelmingly to carry forward in November of 1972. And what we were elected to do, we are going to do, and let others wallow in Watergate, we are going to do our job.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:42 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

211 Letter Responding to the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities Request for Access to Presidential Tape Recordings. *July 23, 1973*

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I have considered your request that I permit the Committee to have access to tapes of my private conversations with a number of my closest aides. I have con-

cluded that the principles stated in my letter to you of July 6th preclude me from complying with that request, and I shall not do so. Indeed the special nature of tape recordings of private conversa-

tions is such that these principles apply with even greater force to tapes of private Presidential conversations than to Presidential papers.

If release of the tapes would settle the central questions at issue in the Watergate inquiries, then their disclosure might serve a substantial public interest that would have to be weighed very heavily against the negatives of disclosure.

The fact is that the tapes would not finally settle the central issues before your Committee. Before their existence became publicly known, I personally listened to a number of them. The tapes are entirely consistent with what I know to be the truth and what I have stated to be the truth. However, as in any verbatim recording of informal conversations, they contain comments that persons with different perspectives and motivations would inevitably interpret in different ways. Furthermore, there are inseparably interspersed in them a great many very frank and very private comments, on a wide range of issues and individuals, wholly extraneous to the Committee's inquiry. Even more important, the tapes could be accurately understood or interpreted only by reference to an enormous number of other documents and tapes, so that to open them at all would begin an endless process of disclosure and explanation of private Presidential records totally unrelated to Watergate, and highly confidential in nature. They are the clearest possible example of why Presidential documents must be kept confidential.

Accordingly, the tapes, which have

been under my sole personal control, will remain so. None has been transcribed or made public and none will be.

On May 22nd I described my knowledge of the Watergate matter and its aftermath in categorical and unambiguous terms that I know to be true. In my letter of July 6th, I informed you that at an appropriate time during the hearings I intend to address publicly the subjects you are considering. I still intend to do so and in a way that preserves the Constitutional principle of separation of powers, and thus serves the interests not just of the Congress or of the President, but of the people.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Sam J. Ervin, Jr., Chairman, Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, United States Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510]

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the text of a letter from Charles Alan Wright, consultant to the Counsel to the President, to Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox explaining the decision not to comply with the Special Prosecutor's requests for tape recordings of the President's personal conversations. The text of the letter is printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 9, p. 921).

On July 16, 1973, the White House had released the text of a letter from J. Fred Buzhardt, Special Counsel to the President, to Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr., Chairman, Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, confirming the existence of tape recordings of Presidential conversations. The text of the letter is printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 9, p. 905).

212 Message to the Senate Transmitting the International Coffee Agreement 1968 as Extended. *July 23, 1973*

To the Senate of the United States:

I am transmitting herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate to acceptance, the International Coffee Agreement 1968 as Extended. This modified and extended agreement, which was adopted by the International Coffee Council in its Resolution No. 264 of April 14, 1973, deletes all operative economic provisions but preserves the structure of the International Coffee Organization through September 30, 1975.

The International Coffee Agreement 1968 as modified and extended will continue the decade-long cooperation on world trade in the most important agricultural commodity export of the developing world. But, in view of the changed coffee market outlook from one of surplus to one of tight supply, the extended agreement no longer contains provisions for intervening in the market. It will keep the International Coffee Organization alive as a forum for studying and discussing the world coffee economy, for monitoring coffee developments and, when the members deem it appropriate, for negotiating a new coffee agreement to serve the interests of coffee producers and consumers.

I believe continuing United States par-

ticipation in the extended agreement will advance our interests in two ways. First, by that participation we can demonstrate concretely our readiness to work together with developing nations on matters of vital economic interest to them. Secondly, we can ensure that we will have a voice in the negotiation of any new international trade arrangements on coffee—arrangements in which we as the importers of almost 40 percent of international traded coffee have a significant stake. I am confident that we can achieve both these objectives in a manner fully consistent with the interests of our consumers.

I am also transmitting, for the information of the Senate, the report submitted to me by the Department of State explaining the provisions of the International Coffee Agreement 1968 as modified and extended, and providing background on the operation of the Agreement and on the current state of the world coffee economy.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
July 23, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the agreement and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive O (93d Cong., 1st sess.).

213 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Customs Convention on the International Transit of Goods. *July 23, 1973*

To the Senate of the United States:

I am transmitting herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, the Customs Convention on the

International Transit of Goods (ITI Convention) opened for signature at Vienna June 7, 1971.

For the information of the Senate, I

am also transmitting the report of the Department of State with respect to the Convention.

The Convention is designed to meet the present need to facilitate international transport while, at the same time, providing the customs control arrangements necessary for such transport. The Convention provides for new, uniform control and documentation procedures which carriers of Governments party to the Convention would be able to use at their option.

The Convention would help open the

way for United States exporters and carriers to benefit in Western Europe and other markets of the world from the simplified and uniform procedures for which it provides.

I recommend that the Convention be given early and favorable consideration by the Senate.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

July 23, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the convention and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive P (93d Cong., 1st sess.).

214 Statement on the Death of Edward V. Rickenbacker.

July 23, 1973

"CAPTAIN EDDIE" Rickenbacker was an American original—a celebrated racing car driver in the early years of the 20th century, the leading American fighter pilot in World War I, a pioneer of commercial aviation, and a generous, patriotic citizen in both war and peace.

Mrs. Nixon and I offer our condolences to Mrs. Rickenbacker on the passing of

this great American, and our assurance that the life he lived and the example he set will long be cherished by his fellow citizens.

NOTE: Mr. Rickenbacker, 82, died in Zurich, Switzerland.

He was with Eastern Air Lines, Inc., for 28 years, serving variously as general manager, director, president, and chairman of the board until his retirement in 1963.

215 Remarks of Welcome to His Imperial Majesty, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, Shahanshah of Iran.

July 24, 1973

Your Imperial Majesty:

It is a very great honor and a special honor for me to welcome you again to our Nation's Capital and, at the same time, to welcome Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress, and all the members of your official party from Iran.

I say a very special honor for several reasons, first because our friendship goes back over a period of 20 years when we

first met in Tehran, when I was Vice President of the United States and when you then were a very young Emperor.

Through those 20 years, both during the periods that I have served in office and during the periods that I have been a private citizen, I have been honored and I have been greatly assisted by receiving the benefit of your counsel on world matters.

The second reason that it is a very special honor to have you here today is because of the unbelievably spectacular progress that your country has made under your leadership. I remember it 20 years ago. I saw it again when you received Mrs. Nixon and me so graciously just a year ago in Tehran, and there is no area in the world in which one can see more spectacular development—development in which the people of the country have benefited—than in your country. The whole world applauds you for the leadership you have provided to your people in bringing economic progress and justice to them.

The third reason will, of course, be the major subject of our conversations today, and that is that we welcome you here as not only an old friend, as a progressive leader of your own people, but as a world statesman of the first rank. Our talks over the years have ranged over many, many subjects, and it is particularly important that we meet at this time.

This is the first meeting that I will have had with a head of government or head of state since the meeting I had with General Secretary Brezhnev. It is significant to note that of all the areas in the world which pose a potential threat to peace in the world, that Iran is in a very key, central area.

I refer, of course, to the Mideast, to the Persian Gulf, and to all of that area that surrounds it. What gives us a great deal of heart, those of us all over the world who are interested in peace, is that you have always stood for, and stand for now, a policy of contributing to the forces of peace and stability rather than to the forces of war and destruction.

I know, therefore, that our talks will cover the whole range of world problems,

but particularly that I will have the benefit of your advice on the problems in this critical area of the world where with responsible leadership we can avoid war and build a new era of peace for the people of that area who deserve it.

Certainly, I have looked forward to these talks for a long time, and I know that I will not be disappointed. And I hope you will not be, by the progress that we will make in developing those policies which will contribute not only to peace but to the progress and the prosperity which your country has enjoyed, for all of that area of the world.

So again, we welcome you today officially, but more than that, we particularly welcome you and the Empress as good friends and old friends. We treasure that friendship, and from that friendship we hope to work together toward a better world for both of our peoples.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:13 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where the Shah of Iran was given a formal welcome with full military honors.

The Shah responded as follows:

I am deeply honored, Mr. President, to be once again your guest, this time alongside the Empress, to pay our respects to the people of America and the friendship that they have shown toward us since the inception of official diplomatic relations between our two countries, but also to express to you personally my happiness to have the opportunity of talking to you and having the wise advices that you can always give. Because in the world that we are living, especially in the days and years which lie ahead, we have got to be in constant contact in order to preserve what is really worth preserving, for which we are working, for which we are striving, and in our case, for which we are ready to die.

You have mentioned graciously that our country is making progress. That is true, as the United States has made progress. What you have achieved since your independence is unbelievable. We have had the privilege of flying

over your country since yesterday. What we see is something staggering, wonderful, and really something to be copied, where it can be copied. You have been blessed with so many wonders of nature.

The progress we are making is really to benefit the maximum majority of our people. We are following a policy of participation to the extreme limits. I could even say that, for instance, farmers would have an interest in seeing industries running well, and vice versa, industries will be interested in the welfare of farmers because they will have a greater purchasing power. People from down in the villages to the big cities will have, in various and different ways, the means to express themselves freely.

We are trying to develop our country with the maximum speed. We are giving our people the maximum possibilities of expression. But also, we want to make it very clear once more that we will keep not only our past glories and histories but our future with vigilance. We are not one of those countries who will surrender, because what we will surrender is too much. It is too great.

All this, I hope, will create in the region some atmosphere of stability, of people, instead of

quarreling, trying to understand each other, to cooperate, to fight against the still existing evils of, maybe, poverty, illiteracy, not enough medical care. But we shall do this all only if our honor is preserved intact, because life for us without independence, honor, and dignity has no meaning.

I know that you understand these words better than anyone else, Mr. President, because this is what you have shown all during your life. And the dramatic success you had in your foreign policies is a source of inspiration, because, as you have said, the time of confrontation should be replaced by negotiation. Negotiation in good faith could have excellent results. And we hope you have success in that field, and we shall do the same. But for ourselves, at least, I add, we have got to be vigilant, we have got to be firm, we have got to be patient, but for all this, we have got to be strong morally in running our society, in our social justice, but also in our national strength to defend ourselves.

Thank you again for your warm welcome, Mr. President, and I can only reiterate once more that I wish you and your government and your people and your country the best that you can wish for.

216 Toasts of the President and the Shah of Iran.

July 24, 1973

Your Imperial Majesty:

This is the third time that we have had the honor of welcoming you in this room since I have been President of the United States, but this time we are especially honored because we welcome not only you but one of the most glamorous and gracious ladies in the world, Her Majesty, the Empress of Iran, and we are so happy that she accompanied you on this trip, and you are both doubly welcome.

As we think of those meetings that we have had previously, and as we look back over the years, we also realize how much has changed in the world since we first

met 20 years ago and also how much has changed even in the brief period of time since our meetings here in this house.

This is the first time, for example, that we find that no longer is the United States at war in Vietnam, since your visits to the United States. For that, we are thankful.

We also take note of the fact that as we look back over the span of 20 years, as you were saying earlier in our conversation, that despite all of the problems that exist in the world, there is perhaps now a better chance for building a structure of peace for all people in the world than at any time since the end of World

War II. And this is a chance that all of us world leaders must not allow to slip by.

This has been the subject of our talks today. And I can only say, in speaking to this very distinguished group of your friends, friends of Iran—and everyone in this room and those listening to us on this recording are friends of your country—I can say to them that as we think of the peace of the world, that Your Majesty plays a very central role in terms of keeping that peace and of building it.

For example, when we think of where Iran is, its place in history, going back 2,500 years, its place geographically, where it is the bridge between Europe and Asia, where it is the opening to the Indian Ocean and South Asia, and also to the Mideast, when we think also of the very strategic place that Iran occupies in that critical area of the world which many believe is potentially the most explosive part, the whole area of the Mideast and the Indian Ocean, I can only say that those who want peace, as you want it and as I want it and as all of us in this room want it, those of us who believe in peace, we are fortunate that Your Majesty occupies the place of leadership that you occupy today.

For the 20 years that I have known you, Your Majesty, you have worked for the progress of your own people with remarkable results, and you have also worked for peace and stability in not only your part of the world but in all the world. And looking to the future, we know that your leadership will be critical in determining that we can find a way to avoid any kind of eruption which could lead to breaking the peace in that part of the world, which all of us look upon today as potentially dangerous.

Having spoken of these very serious subjects, may I say on a very personal note that Mrs. Nixon and I recall our visit to your country in 1953, to Tehran, and how graciously you received us, and then again in 1967, when I was there alone, and then, of course, again last year, just after our visit to the Soviet Union.

We have a very special place in our hearts for the people of Iran and a very special place for you—a special place for you, first, as a courageous leader of your own people, as one who has worked for progress for the people of Iran, your people, and also as a world statesman who has contributed so much in the past and, we know, will contribute so much in the future to building that structure of peace which is so essential for all of us to enjoy.

For these and many other reasons that people in this room will share, I know that all of you will want to join me in the toast that I will propose to His Imperial Majesty, the Shahanshah, and to Her Majesty, the Empress of Iran.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:07 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

The Shah of Iran responded as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, distinguished guests:

Each time you speak, Mr. President, you shower upon me, the Empress, our people, and our country so many warm words that with your natural eloquence, it makes us, and me, feel difficult to answer you, and the only way of answering is just simply saying, thank you.

It is true that our association has been of a very long standing, starting back in 1953. That is exactly 20 years ago. If we look back at all the events that have taken place in these 20 years, I think that the conclusion that we can draw is that the world is in a better shape, is in a better condition. Prospects for peace are greater than ever before.

I remember that in your speeches, sometimes in the communication that we had together, you started by saying the time of confrontation

should be over and negotiation should replace confrontation. When you said that you were going to get out of Vietnam with honor and dignity, what all those things that you have said, you realized them, one by one, in an inexorable march toward attaining those noble goals.

The guns are silent in Vietnam. There is hope that the people there will start to reconstruct what has been lost. Hope is created for the future.

In your actions and decisions for the détente, great progress has been made in your talks, where which is called SALT, and other world conferences. The communique that you issued with the General Secretary of the Soviet Union Communist Party was heralding peace, giving hope that there won't be any nuclear holocaust.

This, obviously, has created new hopes in the hearts of all the countries of the world, given them assurance that they, their children will not be threatened by this nightmare of nuclear war, by all the possibilities of cooperating, collaborating in the advancement of science, technology, for the betterment of the human life.

But I have got to stress that if that has been achieved, it was achieved because what was professed and said was said in earnest, but also not from a position of begging and mendacity.

We know in our old history the meaning of all these words. You can be magnanimous, you can be farsighted and wise, if you are strong. You can be right in your judgments, but be completely wrong in action if you are weak. So, the element of success, really, is to combine strength with wisdom and dedication to a noble cause, the cause of peace, understanding, and collaboration.

Our country has been through many periods of greatness and, sometimes, decadence in its

old history. Actually, circumstances are such that our country has begun a period of progress—progress, fortunately, in every field.

In the meantime, we have always been aware of the keen interest and friendship and cooperation of the United States of America. We are grateful for that. We won't forget that.

But then again, because of our geographic location, because peace is vital to us, because without peace we could not attain our national goals, in order to keep peace in our region, it must be done from a position of magnanimity, of wisdom—I am afraid I am repeating myself—of strength that could only give you the wisdom to act in the right way and direction.

We shall work for that. We will never be tired. We will do all in our power to assure the progress of our region, the betterment of the life of our own people, and, to the extent we could, contribute to the life of other countries, and all in a very faithful way to the ideals of humanity, of the civilization that we know, the civilization that we admire, the civilization for which we are living, and again, I repeat, the civilization for which we are ready to die, if necessary.

Thank you again for your wonderful hospitality, for your very kind words of greetings.

It is on behalf of the Empress and of myself, and the people of Iran, that I wish you, Mr. President, who has been wise, determined, successful in just doing and bringing about the things that you have touched upon, that I have touched upon, all our best wishes for continuous success; to Mrs. Nixon, the fulfillment of all her wishes; and to the noble American people in this wonderful country.

I am sure that all the distinguished guests tonight will make a toast with me for those wishes that I hope will all come true.

217 Toasts of the President and the Shah of Iran at a Dinner at the Iranian Embassy. July 25, 1973

Your Imperial Majesties and all of the distinguished guests here this evening from Iran and from the United States:

It has often been my favorite pleasure

to respond to remarks by His Imperial Majesty, and it is always difficult to find adequately those words which will represent the feelings that are in my heart and,

I am sure, in the hearts of all of the American people as he visits our country.

Perhaps I might be permitted a personal reminiscence on this occasion, because as we stepped into this magnificent Embassy with the old and the new blended—the old Persia, the new Iran—all these rooms that are so splendid in their appearances, as we all enjoyed this magnificent dinner with all of these famous dishes from Iran, which we are familiar with, those of us who had the privilege to visit that country, and as we enjoyed the unexampled hospitality of our friends from Iran, we realized several things, and I realized and would like to share with you a couple of points in particular.

I reminded our guests last night that it was 20 years ago, almost to the day, perhaps a few months later, that Mrs. Nixon and I, after a very long journey through some very warm places in Asia, the Far East, we finally arrived in Iran.

It was a wonderful visit in every way. It was the end of a difficult time for Iran and the beginning of a great new time. There were those who were not sure it would be a great new time, but our Ambassador then, Loy Henderson, one of the great Ambassadors, told me it would be, and I know that the Emperor felt that it would be, and I remember that the father of a now Ambassador to the United States, the former Foreign Minister and former Ambassador to Britain, General Zahedi, gave me confidence that it would be.

But only 2 months after the great difficulty, the traumatic experience that Iran had passed through, one might wonder as to what the future would be. I had great confidence after our brief stay there, and that confidence was because in the people that I saw, the leaders that I saw, and par-

ticularly the confidence that I had in the young Emperor who, because of his sincerity and his devotion to his people, and his vision about the future.

I think everyone in this room who was not born to royalty must wonder how it would be, and all of us would agree that to be born in a royal family perhaps poses the greatest challenge that life can pose, because it would be so easy just to live that royal life that one receives without having given anything for it and enjoy it, receive the adulation of the crowds, and end it without contributing much or, perhaps, taking away much from the people among whom he or she works.

But Iran was blessed with the fact that the young man who became its Emperor was not that kind of royalty. He was a man who said very early—he wrote his autobiography—that peace should not be just the absence of war, it should be creative peace.

He was one who wrote very early, he from royalty, from monarchy, said, “Iran needs a new revolution.” And over a period of 20 years, what he has done, he, with the assistance of so many of his colleagues in this room from Iran and also with the support of a splendid people, 31 million strong, have created a new, strong, vital nation there. New and strong and vital in one sense, but with its roots very, very deep in history, over 2,500 years.

And it is out of such things that great nations are built. Leadership, which our host tonight, the Emperor, represents, and a people with a sense of mission and destiny and also with a great history behind them which they must live up to.

These are some of the thoughts that came to me as I sat here tonight, 20 years later, here in this bit of territory of Iran in the United States of America. And,

Your Imperial Majesty, I want you to know that for Mrs. Nixon and for me it was just as great a pleasure tonight to walk into this bit of Iran as it was to come there 20 years ago after that long, long trip through Asia, South Asia, and other parts of the world.

I know that many of you have other feelings you would like to express, and I cannot adequately express them for you. I can only say this: that as we look at the peace of the world, we know that the area of the world in which His Majesty plays such an important role is an area that could cause very grave problems, but the fact that he is there, the fact that he believes so strongly in the kind of peace that can survive, a peace not based on weakness, but a peace based on strength, not the strength of arrogance, but the strength of competence, confidence, ability, magnanimity.

When we have that kind of a leader there, that kind of a people with that kind of a background, then the chances for peace in that world to survive and to grow and to be creative are much greater, and that is why we are fortunate that he is there with his leadership and also by his side his Empress, who has made such a great impression not only in her visits here but such a splendid contribution to the people of Iran in all of the villages and communities as well as in the great city of Tehran, which most of us know.

And so, I know all of you will want to join me in the toast I propose. It, of course, is to our continuing friendship between the American people and the people of Iran. It is, of course, to the peace, the creative peace that we want

for all of our people, wherever they may be, in any part of the world and both of which we are dedicated to, and most of all, of course, it is to those who are our honored hosts tonight in this bit of territory of Iran here in Washington.

Their Imperial Majesties, the Shahanshah and the Empress of Iran.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 10 p.m. at the Iranian Embassy in response to a toast proposed by the Shah of Iran.

Earlier in the day, the Shah met with the President at the White House to conclude 2 days of meetings.

The toast of the Shah was as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, distinguished guests:

I cannot say how much the Empress and myself have been overwhelmed by the hospitality that you have shown to us and, in my opinion, the very fruitful talks that we have had, and also the very concrete results.

I must also mention the happiness I have had to see many old friends, because the new friendship between our two countries—by meaning new is when we recovered our independence back in 1953, when our country was menaced by grave danger, and when the United States showed to us a fulfilling of friendship, but we have many old friends who would try to make new friends and continue our friendship in an evergrowing way.

I have the pleasure, honor, and opportunity to meet with members—the distinguished members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and also the Congress. Everywhere they showed keen interest in the fate of my country, and this is heartening to have such friends in our present world. It is true a changing world, but we hope for the better.

So, I cannot finish my remarks without once again, in proposing a toast to the health of the President of the United States of America and Mrs. Nixon, my fervent prayers for the welfare and the everlasting happiness, prosperity of the people of America.

218 Statement About the Death of Louis S. St. Laurent.
July 26, 1973

THE death of Louis St. Laurent ends a long life of distinguished service to Canada and to the community of nations.

As I recall Prime Minister St. Laurent's many contributions to the structure of world peace, I think particularly of his instrumental role in the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Today NATO stands as an important monument to his leadership.

The many friends of Louis St. Laurent in the United States also remember with special gratitude and affection his tireless contributions to the cause of friendship and cooperation between our countries. Mrs. Nixon and I join in mourning his death.

NOTE: Mr. St. Laurent, 91, died in Quebec City, Canada, on July 25, 1973. He was Prime Minister of Canada from 1948 to 1957.

219 Statement About Budget Results for Fiscal Year 1973.
July 26, 1973

THE best way to hold down the cost of living is to hold down the cost of government. Today there is new and encouraging evidence that we can win that battle.

The latest Monthly Statement of Receipts and Outlays shows that Federal outlays for fiscal year 1973 were held to \$246.6 billion—a figure well below the \$250 billion ceiling on spending that I had recommended to the Congress. Since overall receipts totaled \$232.2 billion, the deficit for fiscal year 1973 was \$14.4 billion. This was a much smaller deficit than the \$24.8 billion deficit projected in my budget message last January. Moreover, the budget was within \$2 billion of being in balance during the period from January to June of this year—a period when it was especially important to hold down government spending.

During the debates on budget policy last fall and last winter, it was widely assumed and frequently asserted that we could not hold spending to the \$250 billion level and that the only way to produce an anti-inflationary budget was by

increasing taxes. I rejected that contention then—and I reject it now, as we look to a new fiscal year. We held the budget line in the year just past without raising taxes. I believe we can do so again—and, in fact, achieve a balanced budget—in fiscal year 1974.

In earlier years, budget deficits have sometimes helped take the slack out of the economy and increase employment. However, we recognized in the summer of 1972 that a major problem was developing as the economic boom got well underway. We could foresee that the pressures from existing Federal programs and new legislation could push spending for fiscal year 1973 to \$260 billion or more—much more than we thought an already strong economy could tolerate without greater inflation. I therefore called upon the Congress to hold the line on spending at \$250 billion.

The Congress has acted responsibly on that request. There have been many differences between the Congress and the Administration over the level of Federal

spending on many specific programs, but the important point is that our overall spending goal has been achieved.

I recall how both Houses of the Congress approved legislation last fall to set a ceiling in Federal spending at the \$250 billion level. While technical differences prevented the two Houses from agreeing on a common version of that ceiling, and while overall Congressional action for the last fiscal year eventually contemplated much higher expenditures, it was clear nevertheless that a majority in both Houses of the Congress accepted in principle the advisability of holding spending to a lower level. When the chips were down, it was that spirit of restraint which prevailed.

I trust that the two branches can forge an effective partnership on behalf of budgetary responsibility again in this new fiscal year—and that one year from now the figures will show that the budget for fiscal year 1974 was in balance. The fact that we nearly achieved a balance in the second half of fiscal year 1973 encourages us to believe this a realistic objective.

It should not be overlooked, however,

that the veto of certain bills and the reserving of certain funds was essential in achieving our budgetary goals for the past 12 months. Inflation continues to be our most important economic problem—and budget and monetary restraint continue to be our most important tools for fighting it. Our Phase IV controls will help to moderate inflation, but a balanced budget and monetary restraint must be our major weapons against rising prices.

With the economy now operating at a high level, revenues in fiscal year 1974 should approximate, without any tax increases, the overall level of expenditures I proposed last January—about \$269 billion. Balancing the budget therefore means that we must hold expenditures to that level in the coming year, despite the fact that higher prices, higher interest rates, and new legislation will all be working to drive spending higher. I am confident that with the continuing cooperation of the Congress we can meet that goal and thus help protect the American people against the twin dangers of higher prices and higher taxes.

220 Letter Responding to Senate Committee Subpoenas Requiring Production of Presidential Tape Recordings and Documents. *July 26, 1973*

Dear Mr. Chairman:

White House counsel have received on my behalf the two subpoenas issued by you, on behalf of the Select Committee, on July 23rd.

One of these calls on me to furnish to the Select Committee recordings of five meetings between Mr. John Dean and myself. For the reasons stated to you in my

letters of July 6th and July 23rd, I must respectfully refuse to produce those recordings.

The other subpoena calls on me to furnish all records of any kind relating directly or indirectly to the “activities, participation, responsibilities or involvement” of 25 named individuals “in any alleged criminal acts related to the Presi-

dential election of 1972.” Some of the records that might arguably fit within that subpoena are Presidential papers that must be kept confidential for reasons stated in my letter of July 6th. It is quite possible that there are other records in my custody that would be within the ambit of that subpoena and that I could, consistent with the public interest and my Constitutional responsibilities, provide to the Select Committee. All specific requests from the Select Committee will be carefully considered and my staff and I, as we have done in the past, will cooperate with the Select Committee by making available any information and documents that can appropriately be produced. You will understand, however, I am sure, that it would simply not be feasible for my staff and me to review thousands of documents to decide which do and which do not fit within the sweeping but vague terms of the subpoena.

It continues to be true, as it was when I wrote you on July 6th, that my staff is under instructions to cooperate fully with yours in furnishing information pertinent to your inquiry. I have directed that executive privilege not be invoked with regard to testimony by present and former members of my staff concerning

possible criminal conduct or discussions of possible criminal conduct. I have waived the attorney-client privilege with regard to my former Counsel. In my July 6th letter I described these acts of cooperation with the Select Committee as “genuine, extensive and, in the history of such matters, extraordinary.” That cooperation has continued and it will continue. Executive privilege is being invoked only with regard to documents and recordings that cannot be made public consistent with the confidentiality essential to the functioning of the Office of the President.

I cannot and will not consent to giving any investigatory body private Presidential papers. To the extent that I have custody of other documents or information relevant to the work of the Select Committee and that can properly be made public, I will be glad to make these available in response to specific requests.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Sam J. Ervin, Jr., Chairman, Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, United States Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510]

NOTE: The text of the letter, dated July 25, 1973, was released July 26.

221 Letter Responding to a District Court Subpoena Requiring Production of Presidential Tape Recordings and Documents. July 26, 1973

Dear Judge Sirica:

White House Counsel have received on my behalf a subpoena duces tecum issued out of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia on July 23rd at the request of Archibald Cox. The subpoena calls on me to produce for a

Grand Jury certain tape recordings as well as certain specified documents. With the utmost respect for the court of which you are Chief Judge, and for the branch of government of which it is a part, I must decline to obey the command of that subpoena. In doing so I follow the

example of a long line of my predecessors as President of the United States who have consistently adhered to the position that the President is not subject to compulsory process from the courts.

The independence of the three branches of our government is at the very heart of our Constitutional system. It would be wholly inadmissible for the President to seek to compel some particular action by the courts. It is equally inadmissible for the courts to seek to compel some particular action from the President.

That the President is not subject to compulsory process from the other branches of government does not mean, of course, that all information in the custody of the President must forever remain unavailable to the courts. Like all of my predecessors, I have always made relevant material available to the courts except in those rare instances when to do so would be inconsistent with the public interest. The principle that guides my actions in this regard was well stated by Attorney General Speed in 1865:

Upon principles of public policy there are some kinds of evidence which the law excludes or dispenses with. * * * The official transactions between the heads of departments of the Government and their subordinate officers are, in general, treated as "privileged communications." The President of the United States, the heads of the great departments of the Government, and the Governors of the several States, it has been decided, are not bound to produce papers or disclose information communicated to them where, in their

own judgment, the disclosure would, on public considerations, be inexpedient. These are familiar rules laid down by every author on the law of evidence.

A similar principle has been stated by many other Attorneys General, it has been recognized by the courts, and it has been acted upon by many Presidents.

In the light of that principle, I am voluntarily transmitting for the use of the Grand Jury the memorandum from W. Richard Howard to Bruce Kehrli in which they are interested as well as the described memoranda from Gordon Strachan to H. R. Haldeman. I have concluded, however, that it would be inconsistent with the public interest and with the Constitutional position of the Presidency to make available recordings of meetings and telephone conversations in which I was a participant and I must respectfully decline to do so.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable John J. Sirica, U.S. Court House, 3rd and Constitution Avenue, N.W., Room 2428, Washington, D.C. 20001]

[cc: Honorable Archibald Cox, Special Prosecutor]

NOTE: The text of the letter, dated July 25, 1973, was released July 26.

On July 26, the White House also released the transcript of a news briefing on the President's responses to subpoenas, issued by the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities and the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, requiring production of Presidential tape recordings and documents. Participants in the news briefing were Leonard Garment, Special Consultant and Acting Counsel to the President, and Charles Alan Wright, consultant to the Counsel.

222 Remarks of Welcome to Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka of Japan. July 31, 1973

Mr. Prime Minister, our distinguished guests from Japan, and all of our friends from the United States of America:

Mr. Prime Minister, this is not the first time that I have welcomed you to the United States of America, but it is the very great honor that all of us have to welcome you for the first time in your capacity as Prime Minister to our Nation's Capital.

As we meet on this occasion, it is well for us to think back to what has happened over the 25 years since I first visited your country in 1953—what has happened to Japan and what has happened to the world. And despite problems that have occurred during that period, it is a story that is one of the greatest epics of progress in the history of mankind, particularly for your country, and also for many others, as well.

I think, for example, of the change in the relationship between Japan and the United States of America. Twenty-five years ago, and for several years afterwards, it was often said that the relationship between the United States of America and Japan was that of a senior partner and a junior partner, with the United States being the senior partner; or of a big brother and of a smaller brother, with the United States being the bigger brother and Japan being the smaller brother.

The world has changed, and changed very much for the good since then, and I think today your visit marks not only the end of that change in relationship of the past but the beginning of a new relationship which I would describe as that of

equal partnership, not only in the Pacific but in the world.

I remember on the visits of your predecessors whom I have welcomed here, we have often spoken of the fact that Japanese-American friendship was the key to peace in the Pacific. That was true then; it is true now.

But, today we go further. We can say that Japanese-American friendship and cooperation is essential not only for us to have peace in the Pacific but for us to develop peace and progress in the world.

We could put this in many terms because of the vitality and strength of your people and, we think, of ours. But also, if we want to think in terms of sheer economic terms, the two nations we represent, Japan and the United States of America, produce between the two of us, despite the fact that we have only 300 million people of the 3 billion people on this earth, we produce over 40 percent of all the world's goods. And so here is the economic strength of the world, and particularly in the free world, represented by its two leaders.

And so today, we welcome you as an old personal friend, we welcome you as the leader of a good ally and staunch friend of the United States of America in the governmental sense, but we also welcome you as a world statesman. That is why our talks today—and, here again, we see the evolution of the progress of the relations between our two countries, rather than just concentrating on bilateral matters between our two nations, which we will, of course, touch upon at

great length, rather than just talking about peace in the Pacific, which we will, of course, discuss at great length, we will discuss the problems of our role in the whole world, because each of us must play a role in the world if the world is to be one that has the opportunity to enjoy peace and progress in the years to come.

Japan is a great Pacific power. It is now a great world power. One cannot speak of the "Year of Europe," a new European-American relationship, without also speaking of Japan. One cannot speak of such matters as a new situation with regard to international monetary affairs, or trade, or the rest, as simply being, among the developed nations, a matter for the United States to discuss with its European allies.

It is essential that Japan also participate and contribute, not as a subsidiary partner, but as an equal partner.

And so, in the spirit of friendship, in the spirit which we are now glad truly exists, because of the facts that exist in the world, we welcome you today as an equal partner, working for a cause to which we are equally devoted, the cause of progress for the whole world and for peace for the whole world.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:43 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where Prime Minister Tanaka was given a formal

welcome with full military honors.

See also Items 224 and 225.

Prime Minister Tanaka spoke in Japanese. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen:

I have traveled across the Pacific to be here in Washington, the city of green forests on the Atlantic coast. I look forward to exchanging views with President Nixon, not only on the problems of the Pacific but also on the problems of the Atlantic.

Since my meeting with President Nixon in Hawaii a year ago, the world has made great steps forward towards the establishment of a "durable peace," thanks to the untiring effort of President Nixon. At the same time, the relations between Japan and the United States have expanded greatly both in breadth and in depth. In the light of these developments, I am deeply convinced that it is all the more important for the peoples of our two countries, as partners, to develop a full grasp of the national characteristics and the social fabric of each other. In this modern age of highly advanced communications and transportation, we should make every effort to deepen the understanding among the nations and the peoples.

On the occasion of this visit, I wish to meet as many of your people as possible and to convey to them the warm and close feelings of good will of the Japanese people towards the American people and thereby strengthen the bond of friendship between our two countries.

Let me now conclude by expressing my deepest gratitude toward the kind welcome given to my party here today.

223 Message Marking the 20th Anniversary of the United States Information Agency. *July 31, 1973*

TWENTY YEARS ago, President Eisenhower signed the reorganization plan which established a separate United States Information Agency to communicate the objectives and policies of the

United States to the people of other nations and to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and other peoples of the world.

For two decades, the USIA has pre-

sented to the world reliable information about our people, our culture, our aspirations, and our policies. As the relationships among nations have changed and as we have moved from an era of confrontation to a new and challenging period of negotiation, USIA's efforts take on new importance. In a climate of lessened tensions and increased negotiations, international relationships are more complex and the issues more complicated. To succeed, our policies must be understood, our motives made clear and our ideals articulated.

Truly there is a need today for a communications effort in support of our diplomatic initiatives to build a durable structure of peace in which those who would influence others will do so by the strength of their ideas, not by the force of their arms.

On this twentieth anniversary year of the United States Information Agency, I extend to its staff serving at home and abroad congratulations for a job well done and my best wishes for the future.

RICHARD NIXON

224 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Tanaka of Japan. July 31, 1973

Mr. Prime Minister, all of our distinguished guests from Japan, all of our distinguished guests from the United States:

We have many very distinguished guests in this company tonight, but one in particular I should mention that we are always delighted to have, and that is the lady who presided with such grace over this house for 8 years, Mrs. Dwight Eisenhower.

President Eisenhower respected and loved the Japanese people, and it was President Eisenhower who gave Mrs. Nixon and me the opportunity to know the Japanese people, because in 1953, as Secretary Rogers will remember, he made a cryptic comment after a Cabinet meeting that I should take a trip.

In those days we had not heard of the kind of trips the young people take today, and I said, "Where would you suggest, Mr. President?" And he said, "You should go to Japan and to the other countries of Asia."

And so, the trip was one that acquainted both of us with Asia for the first time in

a real way. For 73 days we never finished a dinner without champagne and never got out of a black tie.

But in any event, out of that trip in 1953, 20 years ago, many vivid memories stand out, but the memory that stands out among many others is particularly that of Japan. I remember the people that I saw. I remember the leaders that I met. I remember that giant of a man, Yoshida¹—not giant in stature, but giant in intelligence and understanding of the world, one of the few world statesmen, in the true sense, of that period.

And when I returned and reported to President Eisenhower, I told him then that despite the pessimistic suggestions that were made by some in high places that Japan had a long way to go before it recovered, I said Japan is on the way and that it will make it, not because of American aid—because many in the world have received American aid and

¹ Shigeru Yoshida, Prime Minister of Japan (1948–53).

have failed—but Japan will succeed in a spectacular recovery because of the strength, the character of the Japanese people, and also of the character of their leadership.

A small thing, Mr. Prime Minister: One day we were riding along the road out toward a village, and as we rode along, I saw two workmen in the field, a man and a woman, plowing the field. We stopped the car, we went out, we met them. I didn't understand their language; they didn't understand ours. But as I met them and as I felt in their hands the strength and the determination that was there, I knew here were the representatives of a great people. And that is why Japan today is a great nation.

Oh, all the nice little words are said—"Because of your aid, we have come back"—and it helped, but the truth of the matter is that the nation we honor tonight and the leader we honor tonight are in a position of greatness in the world because they have within them that inner strength, that drive to greatness which will never, never be suppressed.

Now, many of you probably wonder what the Prime Minister and I talked about at dinner tonight and what we talked about in our meetings today. It would make very lively chitchat to say that, like a couple of desert rug merchants, we haggled over what is the textile quota going to be or what are we going to do about this or that or the other thing involved between our two countries. But those were not the subjects, because—and this is, I think, typical of the relationship that has developed between our two countries and of the Prime Minister's feeling and my feeling about the role he and I have to play in the brief time we are in

the position of world leadership—we talked about this world in which we live.

We talked about the fact that between Japan and the United States, over 40 percent of all the goods in the world are produced. We talked about the fact that Japan and America working together, not against anybody else, but working for peace and for progress, for decency, civility, that we could make the difference as to whether the 3 billion people on this Earth will grow up in peace and in friendship, or in ugly confrontation and eventual nuclear destruction.

It is so easy these days to think in other terms, to think in the minuscule political terms that I think tempt us all from time to time and tempt those who represent the people in both countries—make a small point here, work in the murky field of political partisanship—but what really matters is this: After our short time on this great world stage is completed and we leave, what do we leave?

Do we leave the memory only of the battles we fought, of the opponents we did in, of the viciousness that we created, or do we leave possibly not only the dream but the reality of a new world, a world in which millions of the wonderful young children that I saw by the millions in Japan and that the Prime Minister will see by the millions here in America may grow up in peace and in friendship.

That is what we talked about. That is what Japanese-American friendship is about. We are competitors, and that is good, competitors in terms of saying who can do best in producing those things that peoples of the world want for peaceful purposes.

But we are not competitors, we are total friends and cooperators when it

comes to developing those policies that will build a peaceful world.

And so, let others spend their time dealing with the murky, small, unimportant, vicious little things. We have spent our time and will spend our time in building a better world.

I remember that trip, Mrs. Eisenhower, that the General so graciously sent Mrs. Nixon and me on. I remember the time that you received us both up in the West Hall right afterwards, and we were both very tired, and you were so gracious.

I remember the General speaking quite eloquently about why Asia was important, what his dreams were about the future of the world, and what really mattered, because then he was plagued by some domestic controversies that most people have forgotten today.

But he knew what was important, and he saw it in perspective. And tonight, as I think of what it is appropriate to say about our distinguished guest and his colleagues and the great nation of 105 million people that he represents, I think perhaps it is best to say that here in America are 200 million people. We have our faults, just as every nation has its faults, but our total dedication at this time in our history is toward using our great material resources and our emotional resources and our intellectual resources toward really building a better world and not let ourselves be remembered only for the petty, little, indecent things that seem to obsess us at a time when the world is going by.

In that connection, I have been very encouraged by my talks with the Prime Minister. He, like myself, came from a humble beginning. We have one difference—he has never lost an election.

But on the other hand, we have one thing in which we have totally in common—we are dedicated not only to Japanese-American friendship but we are dedicated to the proposition that for the time we are in positions of political influence, that influence will be used and used primarily and only to build a better world and not be dissipated in those things that don't matter.

And with the great people of Japan and what we believe are equally the great people of America, we are proud to represent them both.

It is customary, of course, to toast the honored guest, but not customary when he is a Prime Minister, and so under these circumstances, with the permission of the Prime Minister, I know that you will permit me to ask you to rise and join me in a toast to His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Japan.

The Emperor.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:51 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

See also Item 222.

Prime Minister Tanaka responded to the President's toast in Japanese. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

Mr. President and Mrs. Nixon:

I wish to thank you most sincerely, Mr. President, for your kind words and cordial welcome. I also wish to express my heartfelt appreciation for the kindness and consideration which you have shown to me and the members of my party.

And, it is also a very great pleasure for me to have been given the opportunity of meeting Mrs. Eisenhower, the wife of the late President Eisenhower—whom we wished we could have welcomed in Japan, but we did not have the chance—whom all of us in Japan know as a great statesman who contributed to bringing about peace to the whole world and who is long remembered in the minds of the Japanese people.

It has been a good many years since Japanese and Americans started the process of getting to know and understand each other. We note that the mutual understanding between the two peoples still leaves much to be desired, because of the differences in history, culture, and language. It has, however, come a very long way indeed, compared, for example, to a decade ago.

As you know, the first Japanese delegation came to the United States under the Administration of President Buchanan, the 15th President of the United States, barely more than 100 years ago. It consisted of feudal retainers with their Samurai swords and topknot hairdos.

It must have been a strange sight to the Americans of these days. More than that, the United States of those days must have been a traumatic eye-opening experience to the Samurais.

I once heard a charming story about a delegation of Japanese businessmen who visited America early this century and then, on their return, tried to expound on the American customs to their friends in Tokyo.

Their listeners had a little trouble in understanding the intricately advanced systems of the American economy, but they were actually, utterly baffled by the social systems of Americans.

One excerpt illustrates the extent of their bafflement. One of the Japanese tried to explain to his friends that life in America consisted of a very complex system of ceremonies which was so complicated that they were utterly mystifying to a foreigner.

He gave as an example what he called The Ceremony, inverted commas, which takes place when two American businessmen meet. First, he explained, the Americans would make a lot of noise and shout at one another. Then they would slap each other on the back and poke one another in the ribs.

Then, at a given moment, though no apparent signal had been given, the ceremony required that each American reach in his pocket and pull out a cigar, offering it to the other.

Both men, said the Japanese, would then laugh and refuse, but finally the man of lesser rank would accept the cigar of the man of

higher rank, and this, reported the Japanese visitor, completed the intricate and baffling American ceremony of greeting.

This sounds remote and charming to us in Japan today. Fortunately, we have come a long way toward deeper mutual understanding. Above all, American culture has affected our country to a profound degree over the past century, especially in the 20-odd years since the end of the war.

At the same time, as the word "Zen" has become a part of the English vocabulary, so has Japanese culture gradually filtered through to the United States. The number of travelers between the two countries has been increasing rapidly every year. Last year, for example, 280,000 Americans visited Japan, and 420,000 Japanese visited the United States. I believe firmly that further promotion of American studies in Japan and Japanese studies in the United States help greatly to deepen the mutual understanding fostered thus far.

Today, more than a century after the first Samurai visit, we are here as warm and sincere friends of the United States, the friends of America and Americans. Friendship is not a casual word for us Japanese, but once we have established friendship, we hold onto it firmly and forever, and for the Japanese, there is no higher virtue than loyalty to one's friends and allies.

I assure you, Mr. President, that the wealth of the United States does not lie only in its rich prairies and its modernized industries and great cities, nor does the wealth of Japan lie only in its vigorous productive capacity.

The strong bond of friendship of old friends who weathered together many a storm and blizzard is the real precious wealth that Japan and the United States share.

We look forward to extending this ring of friendship to encompass all the countries in the world and thereby to create a world in which all the peoples prosper together.

And so, tonight, on behalf of the people of Japan, I wish to propose a toast to the continued health of the President and Mrs. Nixon and to our true and close friends, the people of the United States of America.

225 Joint Communique Following Discussions With Prime Minister Tanaka of Japan. *August 1, 1973*

1. Prime Minister Tanaka and President Nixon met in Washington July 31 and August 1 for comprehensive and fruitful explorations of a wide variety of subjects of mutual interest.

2. The discussions of the two leaders, held in an atmosphere of cordiality and trust, reflected in tone and content the breadth and closeness of relations between Japan and the United States. The primary focus of this meeting was the many common goals which Japan and the United States share and the common commitment of the two nations to a new era in this friendly relationship. They emphasized the high value they place on the important role that each plays in the cause of world peace and prosperity and the strong desirability of proceeding together toward that common objective by cooperative efforts wherever possible around the globe.

3. The Prime Minister and the President confirmed the durable character of the friendly and cooperative relations between Japan and the United States, which are based on a common political philosophy of individual liberties and open societies, and a sense of interdependence. They noted especially that the relationship between their two countries has an increasingly important global aspect and makes a significant contribution to the movement toward peaceful relations throughout the world.

4. Expressing their satisfaction with the continuous dialogue which has taken place at various levels on subjects of mutual interest since their meeting in Hawaii in September 1972, the Prime Minister

and the President reviewed developments in the international situation. They discussed the global trend toward détente, as evidenced by the progress of the dialogue between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the forthcoming negotiations on the mutual reduction of forces and armaments in Central Europe, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the return of the People's Republic of China to the international community, and the signing of the Paris Agreements for a peace settlement in Indochina. They expressed the hope that this trend would lead to the peaceful settlement of disputes throughout the world.

5. The Prime Minister and the President agreed on the need to maintain continuous consultation on questions of mutual concern in the international political field. They expressed their satisfaction with progress made in the area of arms control and the avoidance of conflict, including the SALT agreements and the US-Soviet Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War.

6. The Prime Minister and the President noted with satisfaction the normalization of relations between Japan and the People's Republic of China and the movement toward more normal relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China. They expressed their strong hope for a stable and lasting peace in Indochina through scrupulous implementation of the Paris Agreements. They reaffirmed their resolve to assist the rehabilitation of Indochina. They welcomed the new developments in the

Korean Peninsula, and expressed the readiness of their Governments to contribute to the furtherance of peace and stability in that area. They pledged to continue to facilitate regional cooperation in Asia as an important contributing factor in securing a lasting peace throughout that part of the world.

7. The President pointed out the desirability of a Declaration of Principles to guide future cooperation among the industrialized democracies. The Prime Minister expressed his positive interest therein. The Prime Minister and the President agreed that Japan and the United States would consult closely on the matter as preparations proceed toward a Declaration acceptable to all the countries concerned.

8. The Prime Minister and the President recognized that the existing framework of international relations had been the basis for the recent trend toward the relaxation of tensions in Asia and reaffirmed that continued close and cooperative relations between the two countries under the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security are an important factor for the maintenance of stability in Asia. The President confirmed the intention of the United States to maintain an adequate level of deterrent forces in the region. The two leaders noted with satisfaction continuing efforts to ensure the smooth and effective implementation of the Treaty and concurred on the desirability of further steps to realign and consolidate the facilities and areas of the United States Forces in Japan.

9. Recognizing that the greatest trans-oceanic commerce between two nations in the history of mankind greatly enriches the lives of the peoples of Japan and the United States, the Prime Minister and the

President pledged to ensure that this trade continues to grow and to contribute to the expansion and prosperity of the world economy as a whole and to the over-all relationship between the two countries. They reviewed with satisfaction the discussions at the July meeting in Tokyo of the Japan-US Joint Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs on the measures Japan has taken in the fields of trade and investment, for which the President again expressed the appreciation of the United States; on the marked improvement in the trade imbalance between the two countries, and the intention of both Governments to pursue policies designed to maintain the momentum of this improvement; on promoting investment between the two countries; and on the United States intention to exert its best efforts to supply essential materials including agricultural products to Japan, which the President reaffirmed. The Prime Minister and the President confirmed the understanding reached in the above meeting that on the basis of recent economic developments, Japan and the United States could look forward to new perspectives in the development of their economic relations.

10. The Prime Minister and the President reaffirmed the importance which they attach to a successful conclusion of the multilateral negotiations in the trade and monetary fields. They endorsed the objective of achieving an open and equitable world trade and investment, and a reformed international monetary system, responsive to the needs of an increasingly interdependent world economy. They expressed their mutual satisfaction that the Ministerial meeting to launch the new round of multilateral trade negotiations would be held in Tokyo in September. They emphasized the firm intention of

their Governments to work for as wide agreement as possible on the principles of monetary reform at the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund in Nairobi later in that month. In both of these undertakings, they pledged their cooperative efforts to assure early and constructive results in concert with other countries of the world.

11. The Prime Minister and the President agreed to continue to coordinate efforts to ensure a stable supply of energy resources to meet the rapidly growing requirements of their peoples. In this connection, they expressed their common intention to pursue just and harmonious relationships with the oil producing states; to examine the possibility of developing within the framework of the OECD, an arrangement on sharing oil in times of emergency; and greatly to expand the scope of cooperation for exploring and exploiting energy resources and for research and development of new energy sources.

12. The Prime Minister and the President affirmed the importance of close cooperation between the two Governments in securing a stable supply of enriched uranium, including cooperation in the necessary research and development. They agreed that the two Governments should exert their best efforts for the satisfactory realization of a Japan-US joint venture to that end. In this connection, the President announced that the United States Government had authorized a group of American companies to enter into a contract with a private Japanese party to conduct a joint study of the economic, legal, and technical factors involved in the construction of a uranium enrichment plant in the United States in which Japan might participate.

13. The Prime Minister and the President recognized that expanded programs for improved communication and understanding are vital to strengthening the relationship between the two countries. Noting the warm reception in the United States to the activities of the Japan Foundation, the Prime Minister announced that the Government of Japan will grant, through the Foundation, funds in the amount of \$10 million to several American universities for institutional support of Japanese studies, including the endowment of chairs for this purpose. The President stated his intention to expand support for those United States cultural and educational projects which had been so productive in the past, and to ask the Congress in the near future to appropriate the funds remaining in the GARIOA [Government Assistance and Relief in Occupied Areas] account to strengthen Japan-US cultural and educational exchanges.

14. The Prime Minister and the President expressed satisfaction with the growing cooperation between Japan and the United States in the field of environmental protection. They commended the cooperative programs now in progress which would enable the two countries to cope more effectively with air and water pollution and other environmental problems, including those connected with sewage disposal and photochemical air pollution. They confirmed that such cooperative programs would be instrumental in protecting the environment and devising anti-pollution measures in both countries.

15. The Prime Minister and the President noted with satisfaction the achievements of the medical, scientific and technological cooperative programs developed during the last decade between the two

countries. They agreed to make an overall review of cooperative relationships in such fields in light of the broader requirements of the coming decade.

16. The Prime Minister and the President, recognizing that the United Nations is making an important contribution to the furtherance of international cooperation and is an effective forum for collective consultations, agreed that Japan and the United States should cooperate fully in their efforts to help move the organization in a constructive direction. The President expressed the belief that for the Security Council to fulfill its primary responsibility under the United Nations Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, a way should be found to assure permanent representation in that Council for Japan, whose resources and influence are of major importance in world affairs. The Prime Minister expressed his appreciation for this statement.

17. The President reconfirmed the standing invitation to Their Majesties, the Emperor and Empress of Japan, to visit

the United States and hoped that the visit would take place in the near future at a mutually convenient time. The Prime Minister expressed his deep appreciation for this invitation, and on his part conveyed an invitation from the Government of Japan to President and Mrs. Nixon to visit Japan. In accepting this invitation, the President voiced his sincere gratitude for the warm sentiments toward the United States symbolized by it. It is hoped that the President's visit to Japan, to be arranged through diplomatic channels, will take place at a mutually convenient time before the end of 1974.

18. The Prime Minister was accompanied by Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ohira, Takeshi Yasukawa, Japanese Ambassador to the United States, and Kiyohiko Tsurumi, Deputy Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs. Also taking part in the conversations on the American side were William P. Rogers, Secretary of State, Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, and Robert S. Ingersoll, American Ambassador to Japan.

226 Veto of the Emergency Medical Services Systems Bill. *August 1, 1973*

To the Senate of the United States:

I am returning today without my approval S. 504, the "Emergency Medical Services Systems Act of 1973."

At my direction, this Administration has been engaged for the past two years in an effort to demonstrate the effectiveness of various types of emergency medical services which can be utilized by local communities. Some \$8 million was budgeted for this purpose last fiscal year, and \$15 million should be spent in the current

fiscal year. I strongly believe the Federal role should be limited to such a demonstration effort, leaving States and communities free to establish the full range of emergency medical services systems that best suit their varying local needs.

By contrast, S. 504 would establish a new Federal grant program which would provide Federal dollars to State and local governments for emergency medical services. The program would be a narrow, categorical one, thrusting the Federal

Government into an area which is traditionally a concern of State and local governments and should remain under their jurisdiction.

Instead of providing flexibility for local decisionmaking, a new Federal categorical program of this sort would encourage State and local governments to commit limited funds to federally-defined objectives when their funds might otherwise be spent for local purposes of higher priority.

The bill would authorize appropriations of \$185 million for this program over the next three years. This is far in excess of the amounts that can be prudently spent, and S. 504 therefore represents a promise of Federal financial assistance that cannot be kept. I believe all of us must avoid actions of this kind which tend to mislead and therefore disappoint the public.

My second objection to this bill is that it requires the continued operation of the inpatient facilities of the eight general hospitals presently maintained by the Public Health Service. These hospitals have a record of service to this Nation, and especially to its merchant seamen,

which is long and distinguished. Nevertheless, it is clear that their inpatient facilities have now outlived their usefulness to the Federal Government. The number of individuals they serve is declining and many of the facilities have become old and outmoded.

Accordingly, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has embarked upon a program of contracting with community hospitals for the care of those now served by Public Health Service hospitals. The patients now cared for in Public Health Service hospitals are entitled to receive the best medical treatment available. The fact is that many of our community hospitals are more modern, better equipped and more conveniently located than the Public Health facilities and thus would provide better medical care. I cannot agree to legislation that would deny these patients that opportunity.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
August 1, 1973.

NOTE: On August 2, 1973, the Senate voted to override the President's veto. The House of Representatives sustained the veto on September 12.

227 Statement on Signing the Veterans Health Care Expansion Act of 1973. August 2, 1973

I AM PLEASED today to sign S. 59, the "Veterans Health Care Expansion Act of 1973," a bill which will substantially expand the health benefits available to our Nation's veterans and their families.

Lest year the Congress passed a different veterans health care bill which I vetoed, because it would have severely

limited our ability to provide quality medical care to our veterans and would have unnecessarily added hundreds of millions of dollars to the Federal budget.

As a result of a constructive compromise worked out between members of the House and Senate Veterans Affairs Committees and my representatives, S. 59 rep-

resents a major improvement over the bill I vetoed last year. The most objectionable features of the previous bill have been removed. No longer are arbitrary and wasteful floors placed upon staffing and patient loads in VA hospitals. No longer is VA hospitalization required for new classes of beneficiaries who can and should be more appropriately cared for outside VA hospitals.

S. 59 addresses the basic objectives sought by the Congress and the Administration—to provide the best medical care possible for veterans—and accomplishes this goal in a much more effective way than the bill I disapproved. Most notably, this bill:

- provides a more flexible approach to veterans medical care by broadening the use of outpatient care;
- permits veterans with service-connected disabilities requiring nursing home care to get such care directly, without having to enter a VA hospital;
- holds down costs with the result that this bill will require 41 percent less in Federal outlays over the next 5 years than the vetoed bill.

The long record of outstanding service provided by our VA hospitals is an impressive one. This year more than one million patients will be cared for in VA hospitals, the highest number in history. We intend to maintain the high standards

which have always characterized such care.

Early in my first term, I made a public commitment to provide “quality medical care to every eligible veteran.” The record shows that we are making genuine progress toward that goal. My requests for veterans medical appropriations during the present year total \$2.7 billion, more than \$1 billion above the 1969 figure of \$1.5 billion. The total number of doctors in the VA system has risen from 5,085 in 1968 to 5,374 in 1973, while the total number of medical staff personnel has increased from approximately 130,000 in 1970 to some 153,000 today.

To continue this progress, I have asked the Veterans Administrator to take immediate steps to carry out the provisions of S. 59, making necessary arrangements with the Secretary of Defense concerning dependents care and seeing to it that balanced care is available to veterans in all VA regions.

Enactment of S. 59 demonstrates that it is possible to develop sound legislation, mutually agreeable to both the Congressional and executive branches, without violating our goals for a tight Federal budget. I hope that the constructive results represented by this bill will be repeated with regard to other domestic legislation now pending.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 59 is Public Law 93-82 (87 Stat. 179).

228 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Changes in the Nation's Financial System. *August 3, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

Our country depends on a strong, efficient and flexible financial system to promote sound economic growth, including

the provision of adequate funds for housing. Such a system is one which allows financial institutions to adapt to the changing needs of borrowers and lenders,

large and small, and is free to make full use of technological innovations.

Events during the last decade, however, have revealed significant defects in the operations of our financial institutions. On two recent occasions when the Federal Reserve System moved to restrain the economy, it was found that the inadequacies of our financial structures created unnecessarily severe burdens for the business community and the consuming public. The consumer-saver was denied a fair market return on his savings, while the consumer and small businessman, as borrowers, often could not obtain adequate funds to meet their requirements.

The inflexibility of our financial system can be directly attributed to the methods used by the Government to direct credit flows—methods designed to meet the depressed economic conditions of the 1930's but poorly suited to cope with the expansionary conditions of the past decade. In recent years, government regulations have limited the efficiency and flexibility of our financial system. Ironically, those regulations that were designed in part to keep a steady flow of funds moving into housing loans actually served to diminish that flow, severely penalizing both the borrower, who could not find funds, and the saver who received an unfairly low return on his savings.

As the Government tries to play its proper role in building a better financial system, we must proceed with one basic assumption: the public interest is generally better served by the free play of competitive forces than by the imposition of rigid and unnecessary regulation.

By law, thrift institutions—a category primarily composed of savings and loan associations but also including mutual savings banks—were created to provide

funds for housing by maintaining large holdings of residential mortgages. However, earnings on holdings of previously acquired mortgages do not respond to changes in market interest rates. When market rates rise, the ability of thrift institutions to attract funds is limited and their ability to lend additional mortgage money is diminished.

Attempts to alleviate this problem by restrictive laws and regulations have achieved very little at great cost. The main technique has been to impose ceilings on the interest rates that financial institutions could pay savers for funds. The result, however, has often been a reduction in the flow of deposits to financial institutions. In many cases, in fact, deposits have been withdrawn so that they could be invested in higher yielding securities. Thus interest ceilings that were intended as a protective shield for the housing market turned out instead to be an additional burden.

Interest rate ceilings proved harmful to Americans both as savers and as borrowers in the late 1960's. Because the interest rate ceilings for deposits were often below market interest rates, small savers, who depended on banks and other saving institutions, were denied a fair rate of return on their money. On the borrowing side, smaller increases in savings deposits resulted in a sharp drop in loan funds available to consumers and small business firms.

Since financial institutions were prohibited from paying better interest rates, they were forced to compete for customers in other ways. Much of the public had to settle for so-called "free services" or even offers of consumer goods when in fact they may have preferred to receive higher interest on their deposits. In addition, such

competition often led to increases in operating costs which prevented lending rates from declining when credit conditions later eased.

Finally, because of reduced inflows of savings, thrift institutions cut back on their mortgage lending or borrowed from Federal Home Loan Banks which had to pay market rates for their funds. Although the Federal Government stepped in and picked up some of the slack, mortgage flows were still disrupted.

Recognizing the need for action on all these problems, I appointed a Presidential Commission on Financial Structure and Regulation during my second year as President to study this entire matter and to make recommendations for reforming our financial institutions. The Commission's report identified quite precisely the causes of rigidity and instability in our financial institutions. Its recommendations were of major assistance in our further deliberations concerning the best ways to correct the weaknesses in our financial system.

The time to correct those weaknesses has come. Our current efforts to fight inflation and preserve the value of the dollar at home and abroad require strong financial markets. Without strong markets, the American public will be forced once again to bear excessive burdens.

If we do not act promptly, there is every reason to believe that those burdens will be even greater in the 1970's than they were in the 1960's. Educated by the last two credit crunches and by constant advertisements about interest rates, even the small saver will shift his funds to places offering higher yields. As market rates rise above passbook ceilings and the saver shifts his funds to obtain the higher interest rates, the result may be that little

loan money is available from financial institutions.

In keeping with that analysis, I will propose to the Congress legislation designed to strengthen and revitalize our financial institutions. These proposals may be divided into seven major areas:

- (1) Interest ceilings on time and savings deposits should be removed over a 5½ year period.
- (2) Expanded deposit services for consumers by federally chartered thrift institutions and banks should be allowed.
- (3) Investment and lending alternatives for federally chartered thrift institutions and banks should be expanded.
- (4) Federal charters for stock savings and loan institutions and mutual savings banks should be permitted.
- (5) Credit unions should be provided with greater access to funds.
- (6) FHA and VA interest ceilings should be removed.
- (7) The tax structure of banks and thrift institutions should be modified.

These recommendations would achieve the basic reforms our financial system requires. They represent the best suggestions from many different sources—from the Presidential Commission and from business, Government, consumer and academic communities.

The first five of these recommendations are designed to provide increased competition among banks and thrift institutions. Such competition would help to eliminate the inequities now imposed upon the small saver and borrower. My recommendations, and the increased competition that would follow, should reduce

the cost of the entire package of financial services for the consumer. Furthermore, the saver would be assured a fair return on his money. In addition, thrift institutions would be strengthened, so they would no longer need the Government support required in the past.

Recommendations 6 and 7, along with the other recommendations, are designed to promote adequate funds for consumer needs, including housing finance. It is clear that interest ceilings on FHA and VA mortgage loans have failed to keep costs down, as evidenced in part by the widespread use of discount "points." At the same time, these ceilings have restricted the flow of private funds into mortgage markets. I will urge that individual states follow our lead and remove similar barriers to housing finance wherever such barriers exist.

The final recommendation would substantially broaden the base of housing finance. Although the final details have yet to be worked out, active consideration is being given to the creation of an income tax credit tied to investments in housing mortgages. Such a credit would be available to all lenders and could vary in direct proportion to the percentage of invested funds held in the form of such mortgages.

These recommendations are not the only steps being taken to strengthen the housing finance market. In my State of the Union Message on Community Development of March 8, 1973, I pledged that this Administration would undertake a comprehensive evaluation of our housing policies and programs and would recommend

new policies to eliminate waste and better serve the needy. An interagency task force, under the leadership of Secretary Lynn, is now completing that task, and my recommendations will be presented to the Congress in the near future.

My recommendations on restructuring financial institutions represent a coordinated approach to this challenge, and I urge that they be considered as a package. For example, removing interest ceilings will not make a positive contribution unless banks and thrift institutions can expand their deposit and lending services. Flexibility and efficiency will be enhanced by placing competing institutions on a roughly equal footing with regard to three essential considerations: deposit powers, lending powers, and tax burdens. Finally, the tax recommendation and the removal of FHA and VA interest ceilings will help ensure more adequate funds for housing. The need for reform of our financial institutions is pressing. I urge the Congress to give these proposals its prompt and favorable consideration.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

August 3, 1973.

NOTE: The message is printed in a Department of the Treasury publication entitled "Recommendations for Change in the U.S. Financial System—August 3, 1973" (Government Printing Office, 34 pp.).

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the Nation's financial institutions by George P. Shultz, Secretary, and William E. Simon, Deputy Secretary, Department of the Treasury.

229 Letter to the Speaker of the House and the Majority
Leader of the Senate About the End of United States
Bombing in Cambodia. *August 3, 1973*

Dear Mr. Speaker:

By legislative action the Congress has required an end to American bombing in Cambodia on August 15th. The wording of the Cambodian rider is unmistakable; its intent is clear. The Congress has expressed its will in the form of law and the Administration will obey that law.

I cannot do so, however, without stating my grave personal reservations concerning the dangerous potential consequences of this measure. I would be remiss in my constitutional responsibilities if I did not warn of the hazards that lie in the path chosen by Congress.

Since entering office in January of 1969, I have worked ceaselessly to secure an honorable peace in Southeast Asia. Thanks to the support of the American people and the gallantry of our fighting men and allies, a ceasefire agreement in Vietnam and a political settlement in Laos have already been achieved. The attainment of a settlement in Cambodia has been the unrelenting effort of this Administration, and we have had every confidence of being able to achieve that goal. With the passage of the Congressional act, the incentive to negotiate a settlement in Cambodia has been undermined, and August 15 will accelerate this process.

This abandonment of a friend will have a profound impact in other countries, such as Thailand, which have relied on the constancy and determination of the United States, and I want the Congress to be fully aware of the consequences of its action. For my part, I assure America's

allies that this Administration will do everything permitted by Congressional action to achieve a lasting peace in Indochina. In particular, I want the brave and beleaguered Cambodian people to know that the end to the bombing in Cambodia does not signal an abdication of America's determination to work for a lasting peace in Indochina. We will continue to provide all possible support permitted under the law. We will continue to work for a durable peace with all the legal means at our disposal.

I can only hope that the North Vietnamese will not draw the erroneous conclusion from this Congressional action that they are free to launch a military offensive in other areas in Indochina. North Vietnam would be making a very dangerous error if it mistook the cessation of bombing in Cambodia for an invitation to fresh aggression or further violations of the Paris Agreements. The American people would respond to such aggression with appropriate action.

I have sent an identical letter to the Majority Leader of the Senate.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[The Honorable Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515]

NOTE: On August 15, 1973, the White House issued a statement by Deputy Press Secretary Gerald L. Warren reviewing the termination of United States combat activity in Cambodia. The statement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 904).

230 Memorandum About the Combined Federal Campaign. *August 8, 1973*

Memorandum for the Heads of Departments and Agencies:

I am pleased to announce that the Honorable Caspar W. Weinberger, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, has agreed to serve as chairman of the Combined Federal Campaign for the National Capital Area this fall.

This campaign, which begins in September, will combine into a single drive the solicitation efforts of the United Givers Fund, the National Health Agencies and the International Service Agencies. In this one drive we will be seeking to do our share to meet the needs of more than 150 local, national, and international health, welfare, and social service agencies.

These organizations deserve our wholehearted support. Working together through the Combined Federal Campaign we can provide that support and help our neighbors and friends who have special needs. For those in need, the voluntary

agencies are a beacon of hope, and oftentimes the only source which can provide the needed assistance.

Through the Combined Federal Campaign, Federal personnel are offered a unique opportunity to help persons in our community, in our Nation, and in overseas lands by one gift once a year, a pledge made particularly easy by the availability of voluntary payroll deductions.

I request that you serve personally as Chairman of the combined campaign in your organization and appoint one of your top assistants as your vice chairman. Please advise Secretary Weinberger of the person you designate as vice chairman.

I know that we will have your full support in this endeavor, and I hope you will commend the campaign with its payroll deduction feature to Federal employees and military personnel in your organization.

RICHARD NIXON

231 Statement on Signing the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1973. *August 10, 1973*

TODAY I am approving the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1973, which sets our national farm policy for the next 4 years.

This law represents a realistic compromise between the Congress and the Administration on a number of important economic issues. Though it falls short of the high standards I have set for reforming farm legislation and eventually moving the Government out of agriculture, it does provide a constructive framework

for encouraging the expansion of farm production.

As consumers, Americans are the most fortunate people in the world. Our farmers and ranchers have traditionally provided us with a plentiful supply of the best food and fiber in the history of mankind. Their importance to our economy—and their right to share fully in the fruits of that economy—cannot be denied.

In the current period of unprecedented demand for farm commodities, it is essen-

tial to provide expanded production by allowing farmers the freedom to make production decisions. The bill I am signing today continues the system of Government participation in farm production but does so in a way which will ensure administrative flexibility and thus encourage larger supplies of farm goods.

The effect of this bill is to set up a new system of price guarantees for American farmers. It means that our farmers can expand production during the current period of worldwide food and fiber shortages without fear of a serious drop in farm income. Thus, it will encourage full production and dampen inflationary pressures without risking a market disaster for America's farm families as they respond to new demands.

This new agriculture law establishes target prices for farm commodities. But these target prices are significantly below present market prices and thus will not inhibit our efforts to stabilize food prices for consumers. Indeed, this law should help in our battle against inflation by encouraging American farmers to produce at full capacity. The cost to taxpayers of Government payments to farmers will be reduced and in some cases eliminated during periods of strong demand and high prices such as we are now experiencing.

But even as we await results under the new act, I have taken a number of actions to expand food supplies. These include suspension of meat import quotas, relaxation of import quotas on nonfat dry milk and cheese, a 20 percent increase in rice allotments, and release of about 43 million "set-aside" acres for grain production. Next year there will be no set-aside programs for any farm commodities. Thus, we will use the provisions of this act to maximize food production in 1974.

I am asking the Secretary of Agriculture to administer the new system in the best interests of both the farmer and the consumer and to report to me regularly on its effectiveness.

S. 1888 also provides for several changes in the food stamp program including expanded coverage and higher benefits, and extends that program through June 30, 1977. In addition, it restores eligibility for food stamps to certain recipients of supplemental security income benefits, in order to ensure that they will not suffer a loss of income under the new system.

While it is generally agreed that people should not lose benefits in shifting from the present welfare program to the Supplemental Security Income program, it is unfortunate that the Congress has chosen this method of maintaining assistance levels.

H.R. 1, enacted last October, federalized the public assistance programs for the aged, blind, and disabled under the new Supplemental Security Income program. That law made recipients of the new Federal benefits ineligible for food stamps, but made it possible for such recipients to receive cash in lieu of the bonus value of food stamps as part of their monthly checks. It was considered preferable, by the Congress as well as by the Administration, to give those in need extra cash, which they could spend according to their needs as they best know them.

I am willing to accept a temporary return to "in-kind" benefits as provided in this act as a stopgap measure, but I continue to believe that our long-term goal should be to provide income assistance in cash, rather than in food stamps or other forms of in-kind assistance that rob the individual of the chance to make his own spending decisions.

While I am willing to go along with the restoration of food stamp eligibility, the particular device used in this bill for achieving that end is highly undesirable and must be corrected. In effect, the bill would require the States to maintain the records and staff involved in the present welfare system merely to make the determination of whether or not a person is eligible for food stamps, even though that system is no longer in use for any other purpose. This provision would perpetuate a massively complex eligibility determination process. The result would be high administrative costs and the potential for great abuse. I will shortly propose legislation to correct this serious and costly defect.

I also opposed those provisions of this act which preclude State approval of loans and grants under the Rural Development Act. The effect and intent of precluding State participation is once again to centralize decisionmaking authority in the Federal Government rather than in the States and localities where it belongs. Though I respect the wishes of the Congress on this point and will adhere to this legal prescription, I plan to administer these new Rural Development Act programs in a way which will give the fullest possible consideration to State rural development goals and the local priorities expressed in those goals.

Another feature of S. 1888 requires the Secretary of Agriculture to continue a program for sharing the costs of conservation practices on private lands under the Rural Environmental Assistance Program. I stopped funding this program in fiscal year 1973 because it supported at Federal expense actions which were short-term in

nature. Fortunately, this new act provides that the practices supported be of a permanent nature and subject to contractual agreement for maintenance up to 25 years. I will ask the Secretary of Agriculture to use this reformed and improved approach in lieu of the former program.

Finally, this act authorizes a forestry incentives program to encourage the increased production of timber on small tracts of private lands. I will ask the Secretary of Agriculture to use this authority for experiments to determine the most cost-effective methods for carrying out commercial forestry on small tracts.

On balance, the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1973 provides that the farmer will receive most of his income in the marketplace, a goal underscored in my radio address last February.¹ Because foreign and domestic markets for farm commodities are expanding, the American taxpayer will be a direct beneficiary of these new programs. This new law is good for the consumer, good for our growing domestic economy, and helpful to our foreign trade balance.

Our Nation has been blessed with a great ability to meet its food and clothing needs. The bill I sign today will help American agriculture continue to meet our growing needs in the most productive and economical way possible.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 1888 is Public Law 93-86 (87 Stat. 221).

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1973 by Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz.

¹ See Item 52.

232 Statement on Signing a Highway and Mass Transit Bill. *August 13, 1973*

THE Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1973, which I sign into law today, represents a significant extension and reform of the Federal highway program. As a consistent supporter of that program over the years and as a strong proponent of improvements in that program which are embodied in S. 502, I am particularly pleased to sign this legislation.

S. 502 continues the strong tradition of Federal-State cooperation in building American highways. But this act is not only a highway act. One of its most significant features is that it allows the Highway Trust Fund to be used for mass transit capital improvements. This landmark provision is one that I have urged for some time and one that I recommended with special emphasis in four different messages to the Congress earlier this year. Under this act, for the first time, States and localities will have the flexibility they need to set their own transportation priorities. The law will enable them at last to relieve congestion and pollution problems by developing more balanced transportation systems where that is appropriate rather than locking them into further highway expenditures which can sometimes make such problems even worse.

In addition to using the Highway Trust Fund to achieve these purposes, the act also allows State and local officials to substitute mass transit projects for certain urban interstate highway segments which are controversial and nonessential. The legislation also provides the \$3 billion I requested for funding the Urban Mass Transportation Act.

S. 502 contains several other features

which accord with important Administration objectives. It provides a new 3-year authorization for Federal-aid highways; it earmarks a portion of urban highway funding for areas with populations of more than 200,000; it cuts red-tape and improves efficiency by giving more authority to the States and by increasing planning funds. I am pleased that the bill also designates several links of the interstate network forming a coast to coast route as the Dwight D. Eisenhower Highway, a fitting tribute to the father of the interstate highway system.

I regret that the Congress has exceeded my budget proposals in this bill and has included a number of special narrow categorical grant programs at a time when it is particularly important for us to trim back on the budget and the bureaucracy. Nevertheless, I am aware that funding levels have been cut back considerably from earlier versions of the bill, and I am gratified that certain other elements, particularly an anti-impoundment provision and mass transit operating subsidies, were eliminated from the final version. Altogether, I believe this act reflects a spirit of constructive cooperation between the Congress and the Administration, and I am confident that the act can be properly administered so as to not violate my commitment to a noninflationary budget.

The legislation I sign today represents an important forward step for our country, not only in providing for better and more balanced transportation but also in related fields such as environmental protection, highway safety, energy conservation, and community development. I am

gratified that it includes important proposals to which I have long given high priority. I sign S. 502 with confidence that it will contribute significantly to the strength of our American economy and the quality of American life.

NOTE: The President signed the bill in a ceremony in the Oval Office at the White House.

As enacted, S. 502, which includes the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1973 and the Highway Safety Act of 1973, is Public Law 93-87 (87 Stat. 250).

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on provisions of the act by Claude S. Brinegar, Secretary of Transportation, and Melvin R. Laird, Counsellor to the President for Domestic Affairs.

233 Address to the Nation About the Watergate Investigations. *August 15, 1973*

Good evening:

Now that most of the major witnesses in the Watergate phase of the Senate committee hearings on campaign practices have been heard, the time has come for me to speak out about the charges made and to provide a perspective on the issue for the American people.

For over 4 months, Watergate has dominated the news media. During the past 3 months, the three major networks have devoted an average of over 22 hours of television time each week to this subject. The Senate committee has heard over 2 million words of testimony.

This investigation began as an effort to discover the facts about the break-in and bugging of the Democratic National Headquarters and other campaign abuses.

But as the weeks have gone by, it has become clear that both the hearings themselves and some of the commentaries on them have become increasingly absorbed in an effort to implicate the President personally in the illegal activities that took place.

Because the abuses occurred during my Administration, and in the campaign for my reelection, I accept full responsibility for them. I regret that these events took place, and I do not question the right of

a Senate committee to investigate charges made against the President to the extent that this is relevant to legislative duties.

However, it is my constitutional responsibility to defend the integrity of this great office against false charges. I also believe that it is important to address the overriding question of what we as a nation can learn from this experience and what we should now do. I intend to discuss both of these subjects tonight.

The record of the Senate hearings is lengthy. The facts are complicated, the evidence conflicting. It would not be right for me to try to sort out the evidence, to rebut specific witnesses, or to pronounce my own judgments about their credibility. That is for the committee and for the courts.

I shall not attempt to deal tonight with the various charges in detail. Rather, I shall attempt to put the events in perspective from the standpoint of the Presidency.

On May 22, before the major witnesses had testified, I issued a detailed statement addressing the charges that had been made against the President.

I have today issued another written statement, which addresses the charges that have been made since then as they

relate to my own conduct, and which describes the efforts that I made to discover the facts about the matter.

On May 22, I stated in very specific terms—and I state again to every one of you listening tonight these facts—I had no prior knowledge of the Watergate break-in; I neither took part in nor knew about any of the subsequent coverup activities; I neither authorized nor encouraged subordinates to engage in illegal or improper campaign tactics.

That was and that is the simple truth.

In all of the millions of words of testimony, there is not the slightest suggestion that I had any knowledge of the planning for the Watergate break-in. As for the coverup, my statement has been challenged by only one of the 35 witnesses who appeared—a witness who offered no evidence beyond his own impressions and whose testimony has been contradicted by every other witness in a position to know the facts.

Tonight, let me explain to you what I did about Watergate after the break-in occurred, so that you can better understand the fact that I also had no knowledge of the so-called coverup.

From the time when the break-in occurred, I pressed repeatedly to know the facts, and particularly whether there was any involvement of anyone in the White House. I considered two things essential:

First, that the investigation should be thorough and aboveboard; and second, that if there were any higher involvement, we should get the facts out first. As I said at my August 29 press conference last year, “What really hurts in matters of this sort is not the fact that they occur, because over-zealous people in campaigns do things that are wrong. What really hurts is if you try to cover it up.” I believed that

then, and certainly the experience of this last year has proved that to be true.

I know that the Justice Department and the FBI were conducting intensive investigations—as I had insisted that they should. The White House Counsel, John Dean, was assigned to monitor these investigations, and particularly to check into any possible White House involvement. Throughout the summer of 1972, I continued to press the question, and I continued to get the same answer: I was told again and again that there was no indication that any persons were involved other than the seven who were known to have planned and carried out the operation, and who were subsequently indicted and convicted.

On September 12 at a meeting that I held with the Cabinet, the senior White House Staff and a number of legislative leaders, Attorney General Kleindienst reported on the investigation. He told us it had been the most extensive investigation since the assassination of President Kennedy and that it had established that only those seven were involved.

On September 15, the day the seven were indicted, I met with John Dean, the White House Counsel. He gave me no reason whatever to believe that any others were guilty; I assumed that the indictments of only the seven by the grand jury confirmed the reports he had been giving to that effect throughout the summer.

On February 16, I met with Acting Director Gray prior to submitting his name to the Senate for confirmation as permanent Director of the FBI. I stressed to him that he would be questioned closely about the FBI's conduct of the Watergate investigation. I asked him if he still had full confidence in it. He replied that he did, that he was proud of its thoroughness and

that he could defend it with enthusiasm before the committee.

Because I trusted the agencies conducting the investigations, because I believed the reports I was getting, I did not believe the newspaper accounts that suggested a coverup. I was convinced there was no coverup, because I was convinced that no one had anything to cover up.

It was not until March 21 of this year that I received new information from the White House Counsel that led me to conclude that the reports I had been getting for over 9 months were not true. On that day, I launched an intensive effort of my own to get the facts and to get the facts out. Whatever the facts might be, I wanted the White House to be the first to make them public.

At first, I entrusted the task of getting me the facts to Mr. Dean. When, after spending a week at Camp David, he failed to produce the written report I had asked for, I turned to John Ehrlichman and to the Attorney General—while also making independent inquiries of my own. By mid-April, I had received Mr. Ehrlichman's report and also one from the Attorney General based on new information uncovered by the Justice Department. These reports made it clear to me that the situation was far more serious than I had imagined. It at once became evident to me that the responsibility for the investigation in the case should be given to the Criminal Division of the Justice Department.

I turned over all the information I had to the head of that department, Assistant Attorney General Henry Petersen, a career government employee with an impeccable nonpartisan record, and I instructed him to pursue the matter thoroughly. I ordered all members of the Administration to testify fully before the grand jury.

And with my concurrence, on May 18 Attorney General Richardson appointed a Special Prosecutor to handle the matter, and the case is now before the grand jury.

Far from trying to hide the facts, my effort throughout has been to discover the facts—and to lay those facts before the appropriate law enforcement authorities so that justice could be done and the guilty dealt with.

I relied on the best law enforcement agencies in the country to find and report the truth. I believed they had done so—just as they believed they had done so.

Many have urged that in order to help prove the truth of what I have said, I should turn over to the Special Prosecutor and the Senate committee recordings of conversations that I held in my office or on my telephone.

However, a much more important principle is involved in this question than what the tapes might prove about Watergate.

Each day, a President of the United States is required to make difficult decisions on grave issues. It is absolutely necessary, if the President is to be able to do his job as the country expects, that he be able to talk openly and candidly with his advisers about issues and individuals. This kind of frank discussion is only possible when those who take part in it know that what they say is in strictest confidence.

The Presidency is not the only office that requires confidentiality. A Member of Congress must be able to talk in confidence with his assistants; judges must be able to confer in confidence with their law clerks and with each other. For very good reasons, no branch of Government has ever compelled disclosure of confidential conversations between officers of other branches of Government and their advisers about Government business.

This need for confidence is not confined to Government officials. The law has long recognized that there are kinds of conversations that are entitled to be kept confidential, even at the cost of doing without critical evidence in a legal proceeding. This rule applies, for example, to conversations between a lawyer and a client, between a priest and a penitent, and between a husband and wife. In each case it is thought so important that the parties be able to talk freely to each other that for hundreds of years the law has said these conversations are "privileged" and that their disclosure cannot be compelled in a court.

It is even more important that the confidentiality of conversations between a President and his advisers be protected. This is no mere luxury, to be dispensed with whenever a particular issue raises sufficient uproar. It is absolutely essential to the conduct of the Presidency, in this and in all future Administrations.

If I were to make public these tapes, containing as they do blunt and candid remarks on many different subjects, the confidentiality of the Office of the President would always be suspect from now on. It would make no difference whether it was to serve the interests of a court, of a Senate committee, or the President himself—the same damage would be done to the principle, and that damage would be irreparable.

Persons talking with the President would never again be sure that recordings or notes of what they said would not suddenly be made public. No one would want to advance tentative ideas that might later seem unsound. No diplomat would want to speak candidly in those sensitive negotiations which could bring peace or avoid war. No Senator or Congressman

would want to talk frankly about the Congressional horsetrading that might get a vital bill passed. No one would want to speak bluntly about public figures here and abroad.

That is why I shall continue to oppose efforts which would set a precedent that would cripple all future Presidents by inhibiting conversations between them and those they look to for advice.

This principle of confidentiality of Presidential conversations is at stake in the question of these tapes. I must and I shall oppose any efforts to destroy this principle, which is so vital to the conduct of this great office.

Turning now to the basic issues which have been raised by Watergate, I recognize that merely answering the charges that have been made against the President is not enough. The word "Watergate" has come to represent a much broader set of concerns.

To most of us, Watergate has come to mean not just a burglary and bugging of party headquarters but a whole series of acts that either represent or appear to represent an abuse of trust. It has come to stand for excessive partisanship, for "enemy lists," for efforts to use the great institutions of Government for partisan political purposes.

For many Americans, the term "Watergate" also has come to include a number of national security matters that have been brought into the investigation, such as those involved in my efforts to stop massive leaks of vital diplomatic and military secrets, and to counter the wave of bombings and burnings and other violent assaults of just a few years ago.

Let me speak first of the political abuses.

I know from long experience that a

political campaign is always a hard and a tough contest. A candidate for high office has an obligation to his party, to his supporters, and to the cause he represents. He must always put forth his best efforts to win. But he also has an obligation to the country to conduct that contest within the law and within the limits of decency.

No political campaign ever justifies obstructing justice, or harassing individuals, or compromising those great agencies of Government that should and must be above politics. To the extent that these things were done in the 1972 campaign, they were serious abuses, and I deplore them.

Practices of that kind do not represent what I believe government should be, or what I believe politics should be. In a free society, the institutions of government belong to the people. They must never be used against the people.

And in the future, my Administration will be more vigilant in ensuring that such abuses do not take place and that officials at every level understand that they are not to take place.

And I reject the cynical view that politics is inevitably or even usually a dirty business. Let us not allow what a few overzealous people did in Watergate to tar the reputation of the millions of dedicated Americans of both parties who fought hard but clean for the candidates of their choice in 1972. By their unselfish efforts, these people make our system work and they keep America free.

I pledge to you tonight that I will do all that I can to ensure that one of the results of Watergate is a new level of political decency and integrity in America—in which what has been wrong in our

politics no longer corrupts or demeans what is right in our politics.

Let me turn now to the difficult questions that arise in protecting the national security.

It is important to recognize that these are difficult questions and that reasonable and patriotic men and women may differ on how they should be answered.

Only last year, the Supreme Court said that implicit in the President's constitutional duty is "the power to protect our Government against those who would subvert or overthrow it by unlawful means." How to carry out this duty is often a delicate question to which there is no easy answer.

For example, every President since World War II has believed that in internal security matters, the President has the power to authorize wiretaps without first obtaining a search warrant.

An act of Congress in 1968 had seemed to recognize such power. Last year the Supreme Court held to the contrary. And my Administration is, of course, now complying with that Supreme Court decision. But until the Supreme Court spoke, I had been acting, as did my predecessors—President Truman, President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, and President Johnson—in a reasonable belief that in certain circumstances the Constitution permitted and sometimes even required such measures to protect the national security in the public interest.

Although it is the President's duty to protect the security of the country, we, of course, must be extremely careful in the way we go about this for if we lose our liberties we will have little use for security. Instances have now come to light in which a zeal for security did go too far and did

interfere impermissibly with individual liberty. It is essential that such mistakes not be repeated. But it is also essential that we do not overreact to particular mistakes by tying the President's hands in a way that would risk sacrificing our security, and with it all our liberties.

I shall continue to meet my constitutional responsibility to protect the security of this Nation so that Americans may enjoy their freedom. But I shall and can do so by constitutional means, in ways that will not threaten that freedom.

As we look at Watergate in a longer perspective, we can see that its abuses resulted from the assumption by those involved that their cause placed them beyond the reach of those rules that apply to other persons and that hold a free society together.

That attitude can never be tolerated in our country. However, it did not suddenly develop in the year 1972. It became fashionable in the 1960's as individuals and groups increasingly asserted the right to take the law into their own hands, insisting that their purposes represented a higher morality. Then their attitude was praised in the press and even from some of our pulpits as evidence of a new idealism. Those of us who insisted on the old restraints, who warned of the overriding importance of operating within the law and by the rules, were accused of being reactionaries.

That same attitude brought a rising spiral of violence and fear, of riots and arson and bombings, all in the name of peace and in the name of justice. Political discussion turned into savage debate. Free speech was brutally suppressed as hecklers shouted down or even physically assaulted those with whom they disagreed. Serious

people raised serious questions about whether we could survive as a free democracy.

The notion that the end justifies the means proved contagious. Thus, it is not surprising, even though it is deplorable, that some persons in 1972 adopted the morality that they themselves had rightly condemned and committed acts that have no place in our political system.

Those acts cannot be defended. Those who were guilty of abuses must be punished. But ultimately, the answer does not lie merely in the jailing of a few overzealous persons who mistakenly thought their cause justified their violations of the law.

Rather, it lies in a commitment by all of us to show a renewed respect for the mutual restraints that are the mark of a free and a civilized society. It requires that we learn once again to work together, if not united in all of our purposes, then at least united in respect for the system by which our conflicts are peacefully resolved and our liberties maintained.

If there are laws we disagree with, let us work to change them, but let us obey them until they are changed. If we have disagreements over Government policies, let us work those out in a decent and civilized way, within the law, and with respect for our differences.

We must recognize that one excess begets another, and that the extremes of violence and discord in the 1960's contributed to the extremes of Watergate.

Both are wrong. Both should be condemned. No individual, no group, and no political party has a corner on the market on morality in America.

If we learn the important lessons of Watergate, if we do what is necessary to

prevent such abuses in the future—on both sides—we can emerge from this experience a better and a stronger nation.

Let me turn now to an issue that is important above all else and that is critically affecting your life today and will affect your life and your children's life in the years to come.

After 12 weeks and 2 million words of televised testimony, we have reached a point at which a continued, backward-looking obsession with Watergate is causing this Nation to neglect matters of far greater importance to all of the American people.

We must not stay so mired in Watergate that we fail to respond to challenges of surpassing importance to America and the world. We cannot let an obsession with the past destroy our hopes for the future.

Legislation vital to your health and well-being sits unattended on the Congressional calendar. Confidence at home and abroad in our economy, our currency, our foreign policy is being sapped by uncertainty. Critical negotiations are taking place on strategic weapons and on troop levels in Europe that can affect the security of this Nation and the peace of the world long after Watergate is forgotten. Vital events are taking place in Southeast Asia which could lead to a tragedy for the cause of peace.

These are matters that cannot wait. They cry out for action now, and either we, your elected representatives here in Washington, ought to get on with the jobs that need to be done—for you—or every one of you ought to be demanding to know why.

The time has come to turn Watergate over to the courts, where the questions of guilt or innocence belong. The time

has come for the rest of us to get on with the urgent business of our Nation.

Last November, the American people were given the clearest choice of this century. Your votes were a mandate, which I accepted, to complete the initiatives we began in my first term and to fulfill the promises I made for my second term.

This Administration was elected to control inflation; to reduce the power and size of Government; to cut the cost of Government so that you can cut the cost of living; to preserve and defend those fundamental values that have made America great; to keep the Nation's military strength second to none; to achieve peace with honor in Southeast Asia, and to bring home our prisoners of war; to build a new prosperity, without inflation and without war; to create a structure of peace in the world that would endure long after we are gone.

These are great goals, they are worthy of a great people, and I would not be true to your trust if I let myself be turned aside from achieving those goals.

If you share my belief in these goals—if you want the mandate you gave this Administration to be carried out—then I ask for your help to ensure that those who would exploit Watergate in order to keep us from doing what we were elected to do will not succeed.

I ask tonight for your understanding, so that as a nation we can learn the lessons of Watergate and gain from that experience.

I ask for your help in reaffirming our dedication to the principles of decency, honor, and respect for the institutions that have sustained our progress through these past two centuries.

And I ask for your support in getting on once again with meeting your prob-

lems, improving your life, building your future.

With your help, with God's help, we will achieve those great goals for America.

Thank you and good evening.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

An advance text of the President's address was released on the same day.

234 Statement About the Watergate Investigations.

August 15, 1973

ON MAY 17 the Senate Select Committee began its hearings on Watergate. Five days later, on May 22, I issued a detailed statement discussing my relationship to the matter. I stated categorically that I had no prior knowledge of the Watergate operation and that I neither knew of nor took part in any subsequent efforts to cover it up. I also stated that I would not invoke executive privilege as to testimony by present and former members of my White House Staff with respect to possible criminal acts then under investigation.

Thirty-five witnesses have testified so far. The record is more than 7,500 pages and some 2 million words long. The allegations are many, the facts are complicated, and the evidence is not only extensive but very much in conflict. It would be neither fair nor appropriate for me to assess the evidence or comment on specific witnesses or their credibility. That is the function of the Senate committee and the courts. What I intend to do here is to cover the principal issues relating to my own conduct which have been raised since my statement of May 22, and thereby to place the testimony on those issues in perspective.

I said on May 22 that I had no prior knowledge of the Watergate operation. In all the testimony, there is not the slightest evidence to the contrary. Not a single witness has testified that I had any knowl-

edge of the planning for the Watergate break-in.

It is also true, as I said on May 22, that I took no part in, and was not aware of, any subsequent efforts to cover up the illegal acts associated with the Watergate break-in.

In the summer of 1972, I had given orders for the Justice Department and the FBI to conduct a thorough and aggressive investigation of the Watergate break-in, and I relied on their investigation to disclose the facts. My only concern about the scope of the investigation was that it might lead into CIA or other national security operations of a sensitive nature. Mr. Gray, the Acting Director of the FBI, told me by telephone on July 6 that he had met with General Walters, that General Walters had told him the CIA was not involved, and that CIA activities would not be compromised by the FBI investigation. As a result, any problems that Mr. Gray may have had in coordinating with the CIA were moot. I concluded by instructing him to press forward vigorously with his own investigation.

During the summer of 1972, I repeatedly asked for reports on the progress of the investigation. Every report I received was that no persons, other than the seven who were subsequently indicted, were involved in the Watergate operation. On September 12, at a meeting attended by

me, and by the Cabinet, senior members of the White House Staff, and a number of legislative leaders, Attorney General Kleindienst reported on the investigation. He informed us that it had been the most intensive investigation since the assassination of President Kennedy and that it had been established that no one at the White House, and no higher-ups in the campaign committee, were involved. His report seemed to be confirmed by the action of the grand jury on September 15, when it indicted only the five persons arrested at the Watergate, plus Messrs. Liddy and Hunt.

Those indictments also seemed to me to confirm the validity of the reports that Mr. Dean had been providing to me, through other members of the White House Staff—and on which I had based my August 29 statement that no one then employed at the White House was involved. It was in that context that I met with Mr. Dean on September 15, and he gave me no reason at that meeting to believe any others were involved.

Not only was I unaware of any coverup, but at that time, and until March 21, I was unaware that there was anything to cover up.

Then and later, I continued to have full faith in the investigations that had been conducted and in the reports I had received, based on those investigations. On February 16, I met with Mr. Gray prior to submitting his name to the Senate for confirmation as permanent Director of the FBI. I stressed to him that he would be questioned closely about the FBI's conduct of the Watergate investigation and asked him if he still had full confidence in it. He replied that he did, that he was proud of its thoroughness, and that he could defend it with enthusiasm.

My interest in Watergate rose in February and March as the Senate committee was organized and the hearings were held on the Gray nomination. I began meeting frequently with my Counsel, Mr. Dean, in connection with those matters. At that time, on a number of occasions, I urged my staff to get all the facts out, because I was confident that full disclosure of the facts would show that persons in the White House and at the Committee for the Re-Election of the President were the victims of unjustified innuendoes in the press. I was searching for a way to disclose all of the facts without disturbing the confidentiality of communications with and among my personal staff, since that confidentiality is essential to the functioning of any President.

It was on March 21 that I was given new information that indicated that the reports I had been getting were not true. I was told then for the first time that the planning of the Watergate break-in went beyond those who had been tried and convicted and that at least one, and possibly more, persons at the Re-Election Committee were involved. It was on that day also that I learned of some of the activities upon which charges of coverup are now based. I was told then that funds had been raised for payments to the defendants, with the knowledge and approval of persons both on the White House Staff and at the Re-Election Committee. But I was only told that the money had been used for attorneys' fees and family support, not that it had been paid to procure silence from the recipients. I was also told that a member of my staff had talked to one of the defendants about clemency, but not that offers of clemency had been made. I was told that one of the defendants was currently attempting to blackmail the

White House by demanding payment of \$120,000 as the price of not talking about other activities, unrelated to Watergate, in which he had engaged. These allegations were made in general terms, they were portrayed to me as being based in part on supposition, and they were largely unsupported by details or evidence.

These allegations were very troubling, and they gave a new dimension to the Watergate matter. They also reinforced my determination that the full facts must be made available to the grand jury or to the Senate committee. If anything illegal had happened, I wanted it to be dealt with appropriately according to the law. If anyone at the White House or high up in my campaign had been involved in wrongdoing of any kind, I wanted the White House to take the lead in making that known.

When I received this disturbing information on March 21, I immediately began new inquiries into the case and an examination of the best means to give to the grand jury or Senate committee what we then knew and what we might later learn. On March 21, I arranged to meet the following day with Messrs. Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Dean, and Mitchell to discuss the appropriate method to get the facts out. On March 23, I sent Mr. Dean to Camp David, where he was instructed to write a complete report on all that he knew of the entire Watergate matter. On March 28, I had Mr. Ehrlichman call the Attorney General to find out if he had additional information about Watergate generally or White House involvement. The Attorney General was told that I wanted to hear directly from him and not through any staff people, if he had any information on White House involvement or if information of that kind

should come to him. The Attorney General indicated to Mr. Ehrlichman that he had no such information. When I learned on March 30 that Mr. Dean had been unable to complete his report, I instructed Mr. Ehrlichman to conduct an independent inquiry and bring all the facts to me. On April 14, Mr. Ehrlichman gave me his findings, and I directed that he report them to the Attorney General immediately. On April 15, Attorney General Kleindienst and Assistant Attorney General Petersen told me of new information that had been received by the prosecutors.

By that time the fragmentary information I had been given on March 21 had been supplemented in important ways, particularly by Mr. Ehrlichman's report to me on April 14, by the information Mr. Kleindienst and Mr. Petersen gave me on April 15, and by independent inquiries I had been making on my own. At that point, I realized that I would not be able personally to find out all of the facts and make them public, and I concluded that the matter was best handled by the Justice Department and the grand jury. On April 17, I announced that new inquiries were underway, as a result of what I had learned on March 21 and in my own investigation since that time. I instructed all Government employees to cooperate with the judicial process as it moved ahead on this matter and expressed my personal view that no immunity should be given to any individual who had held a position of major importance in this Administration.

My consistent position from the beginning has been to get out the facts about Watergate, not to cover them up.

On May 22 I said that at no time did I authorize any offer of executive clemency for the Watergate defendants, nor

did I know of any such offer. I reaffirm that statement. Indeed, I made my view clear to Mr. Ehrlichman in July 1972, that under no circumstances could executive clemency be considered for those who participated in the Watergate break-in. I maintained that position throughout.

On May 22 I said that "it was not until the time of my own investigation that I learned of the break-in at the office of Mr. Ellsberg's psychiatrist, and I specifically authorized the furnishing of this information to Judge Byrne." After a very careful review, I have determined that this statement of mine is not precisely accurate. It was on March 17 that I first learned of the break-in at the office of Dr. Fielding, and that was 4 days before the beginning of my own investigation on March 21. I was told then that nothing by way of evidence had been obtained in the break-in. On April 18 I learned that the Justice Department had interrogated or was going to interrogate Mr. Hunt about this break-in. I was gravely concerned that other activities of the Special Investigations Unit might be disclosed, because I knew this could seriously injure the national security. Consequently, I directed Mr. Petersen to stick to the Watergate investigation and stay out of national security matters. On April 25 Attorney General Kleindienst came to me and urged that the fact of the break-in should be disclosed to the court, despite the fact that since no evidence had been obtained, the law did not clearly require it. I concurred and authorized him to report the break-in to Judge Byrne.

In view of the incident of Dr. Fielding's office, let me emphasize two things.

First, it was and is important that many of the matters worked on by the Special Investigations Unit not be publicly dis-

closed because disclosure would unquestionably damage the national security. This is why I have exercised executive privilege on some of these matters in connection with the testimony of Mr. Ehrlichman and others. The Senate committee has learned through its investigation the general facts of some of these security matters and has to date wisely declined to make them public or to contest in these respects my claim of executive privilege.

Second, I at no time authorized the use of illegal means by the Special Investigations Unit, and I was not aware of the break-in of Dr. Fielding's office until March 17, 1973.

Many persons will ask why, when the facts are as I have stated them, I do not make public the tape recordings of my meetings and conversations with members of the White House Staff during this period.

I am aware that such terms as "separation of powers" and "executive privilege" are lawyers' terms, and that those doctrines have been called "abstruse" and "esoteric." Let me state the common sense of the matter. Every day a President of the United States is required to make difficult decisions on grave issues. It is absolutely essential, if the President is to be able to do his job as the country expects, that he be able to talk openly and candidly with his advisers about issues and individuals and that they be able to talk in the same fashion with him. Indeed, on occasion, they must be able to "blow off steam" about important public figures. This kind of frank discussion is only possible when those who take part in it can feel assured that what they say is in the strictest confidence.

The Presidency is not the only office

that requires confidentiality if it is to function effectively. A Member of Congress must be able to talk in confidence with his assistants. Judges must be able to confer in confidence with their law clerks and with each other. Throughout our entire history the need for this kind of confidentiality has been recognized. No branch of Government has ever compelled disclosure of confidential conversations between officers of other branches of Government and their advisers about Government business.

The argument is often raised that these tapes are somehow different because the conversations may bear on illegal acts, and because the commission of illegal acts is not an official duty. This misses the point entirely. Even if others, from their own standpoint, may have been thinking about how to cover up an illegal act, from my standpoint I was concerned with how to uncover the illegal acts. It is my responsibility under the Constitution to see that the laws are faithfully executed, and in pursuing the facts about Watergate I was doing precisely that. Therefore, the precedent would not be one concerning illegal actions only; it would be one that would risk exposing private Presidential conversations involving the whole range of official duties.

The need for confidence is not something confined to the Government officials. The law has long recognized that there are many relations sufficiently important that things said in that relation are entitled to be kept confidential, even at the cost of doing without what might be critical evidence in a legal proceeding. Among these are, for example, the relations between a lawyer and his client, between a priest and a penitent, and between a husband and wife. In each case it is

thought to be so important that the parties be able to talk freely with each other, that they not feel restrained in their conversation by fear that what they say may someday come out in court, that the law recognizes that these conversations are "privileged" and that their disclosure cannot be compelled.

If I were to make public these tapes, containing as they do blunt and candid remarks on many subjects that have nothing to do with Watergate, the confidentiality of the Office of the President would always be suspect. Persons talking with a President would never again be sure that recordings or notes of what they said would not at some future time be made public, and they would guard their words against that possibility. No one would want to risk being known as the person who recommended a policy that ultimately did not work. No one would want to advance tentative ideas, not fully thought through, that might have possible merit but that might, on further examination, prove unsound. No one would want to speak bluntly about public figures here and abroad. I shall therefore vigorously oppose any action which would set a precedent that would cripple all future Presidents by inhibiting conversations between them and the persons they look to for advice.

This principle of confidentiality in Presidential communications is what is at stake in the question of the tapes. I shall continue to oppose any efforts to destroy that principle, which is indispensable to the conduct of the Presidency.

I recognize that this statement does not answer many of the questions and contentions raised during the Watergate hearings. It has not been my intention to attempt any such comprehensive and de-

tailed response, nor has it been my intention to address myself to all matters covered in my May 22 statement. With the Senate hearings and the grand jury investigations still proceeding, with much of the testimony in conflict, it would be neither possible to provide nor appropriate to attempt a definitive account of all that took place. Neither do I believe I could enter upon an endless course of explaining and rebutting a complex of

point-by-point claims and charges arising out of that conflicting testimony which may engage committees and courts for months or years to come, and still be able to carry out my duties as President. While the judicial and legislative branches resolve these matters, I will continue to discharge to the best of my ability my constitutional responsibilities as President of the United States.

235 Remarks at the Veterans of Foreign Wars National Convention, New Orleans, Louisiana. August 20, 1973

Commander Carr and Mrs. Reid, all of the very distinguished guests here on the platform, the Governor of the State, and the mayor of this city, the Members of the House and Senate who are here—some from Louisiana and some from all over the Nation—all the former commanders of this organization, the vice commanders who automatically become commanders, all of you:

I do want you to know that it is a very great privilege for me to speak again before a convention, or an encampment, I should say, of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

In that connection, I was thinking a moment ago that, of the public figures in America today, I have probably spoken before more meetings of this type of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, your national conventions, than anybody in public life, and I am proud to have done so.

Now, on this card, and on this one which has three parts to it, they have given me the names of the people I am supposed to mention who are on the platform, but they have all been introduced,

so I am going to mention them in a group. And by mentioning them in a group, I can also bring all of you in with them, those of you who are members of our fine organization, my comrades, and those who are members of the women's auxiliary. By what I say now, you will understand why there was a relationship between the members of this organization and those who are the Members of the House and Senate who are here on the platform.

I shall not refer to all of them. I am just looking down this list from Louisiana, for example, and I see, of course, Senator Russell Long, a very powerful Senator, one of the most brilliant men in the United States Senate, the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee.

In fact, if you go down the list of Senators and Congressmen from Louisiana that are here today, you probably have no State in the Union that has more powerful representation and more effective representation than the State of Louisiana.

Going to the Congressional side, I see the name Edward Hébert. Eddie Hébert and I served in the House of Representa-

tives many years ago, participated in an investigation together. I learned his brilliance. I also became very much impressed by his strong, vigorous patriotism, and now to have him as chairman of the Armed Services Committee in the House, he is not only one of the most powerful men but a strong man in every respect.

I see another name, Otto Passman. He is my strong right arm. Now, actually, he is in charge of foreign aid, and I realize that many people will say, well, he is the guy that gives money away. Well, let me tell you, if it gets by Passman, it is worth spending. And that is why, whether the President is a Democrat or a Republican, Otto Passman is the man we rely upon, because we know that he is looking after the taxpayer and also looking after the interests of the United States of America abroad.

And so, that is an indication of some of those who are here. I could go on. I would not want to miss Lindy Boggs—Lindy Boggs, of course, whose husband was the majority leader, and who now serves in his place in the House of Representatives. But if I were to go on and then begin to pick up the old friends from other parts of the country, from the House and the Senate, it would take too long.

Simply let me say this: There is one characteristic of the Members of the House and of the Senate from Louisiana, and the others here, like Bryan Dorn, an old friend, from other States that you have in common, you of the VFW and the auxiliary, with them. There is no party line that divides this organization or divides them when national security is concerned.

As a matter of fact, saying that about the delegation from Louisiana, there is not much of a line anyway. We have only one

Republican, and he is a freshman. But nevertheless, the point that I make is this: that these days the party you belong to does not seem to make a lot of difference, which is perhaps what it should be. The important thing is that when the great votes come up, the votes that determine whether we are going to have a strong America, whether or not we are going to be a responsible nation, the delegation from Louisiana, the other Congressmen and Senators that are here, stand strong and firm behind any President, Democrat or Republican, and that is what you want in your representation in the House of Representatives.

I said that also characterizes this organization, and believe me, it does. I remember some of the hard decisions we had, decisions over the past 4 years, decisions that were necessary in order to bring us to the place that we finally do have peace with honor. And I remember once very early in my term in 1969, in the fall, when there were 350,000 demonstrators marching on the White House, and I sat there wondering if we had any friends. A delegation came in from the VFW, including the national commander, and they said, "You didn't call us, but we just wanted you to know we are with you," and that is always the way with the VFW. I don't call you; you come in.

Now, I want to say a word to Mrs. Reid about the Peace Award, which, I understand, is the first time this award has been given. It may not be given annually, and that, of course, makes it even more, of course, impressive from the standpoint of the recipient. I can only say that there is no award that a President of the United States would more cherish than a peace award from those who know what war is—the wives, the mothers of those who

served their country in America's wars. And Mrs. Reid, the words that you spoke and, Commander [Patrick E.] Carr, the words that you spoke will remain with me always, remain with me, because I realize that here in this great hall are people who, because they have fought in war, loved peace the more. Thank God for what you do and what you stand for.

I have spoken to the Veterans of Foreign Wars on several occasions since I have been President, and I am proud that this is the first time I have spoken to you when the United States is at peace with every nation in the world. It is a good time—a good time.

It is also rather an ironic time for those who follow the Washington scene, as some of you must. We find that some of the politicians and some of the members of the press who enthusiastically supported the administration which got us into Vietnam 10 years ago, or were silent when the decisions were made that got us in, now are criticizing what I did to get us out. Well, let me say, getting us out of the war took a lot of doing, and I am proud of what we have done. I would like to talk to you about that today as to how we accomplished that goal. Because you see, my friends, I think the time has come before this organization to answer those who criticize the policies which helped to bring Americans peace with honor in Vietnam.

Now, specifically, as some of you know, the President of the United States has been accused of a secret bombing campaign against the defenseless and neutral country of Cambodia in 1969. That was 2 months after I became President. I want to tell you the facts about that, what happened, and let you judge for yourself what kind of a decision you would have made

as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States at that time. I remember the meeting in which that decision was made. Mr. Laird, who was then Secretary of Defense, remembers; he was there. Henry Kissinger, to whom you will give an award tonight, remembers it; he was there. The chairman of the CIA was there. The Secretary of State, Secretary Rogers, was there. And we looked over what was, to us, a totally indefensible position. Here is what we found when I came into office:

Three hundred Americans were being killed every week in Vietnam; 540,000 Americans were in Vietnam with no plan at all to bring any of them home. Over 500 were prisoners of war under the most cruel and barbarous conditions—and no plans and no hope for any of them to be returned home. That was what we found. So we decided to do something about it.

Incidentally, in pointing out what we found, I am not criticizing previous Presidents. I am not criticizing the decisions that they felt were in the national interest that had to be made, they felt, in Vietnam. I am simply saying this is what we found, and we had to find a way to bring the war to a conclusion, but to bring it to a conclusion in a way that the United States would still be respected in the world, and that meant rejecting the views of those who said just bug out. We could have bugged out of Vietnam. If we bugged out of Vietnam, we would not be worth talking to anywhere in the world today. We have got to maintain the respect of America throughout the world.

Now, we come to Cambodia. All of you, particularly the young people here who study the maps of these areas, know this country is right on the border of Vietnam. When I took office, again in 1969 at this

meeting that took place, we found that there was a strip of land 10 to 15 miles wide in which there were no Cambodians whatever. It was totally occupied by the enemy, the North Vietnamese. They had overrun the entire border area.

The native Cambodian population had been evacuated or driven out, and along a 10-mile strip on the Cambodian side of the border, sometimes 15, a network of supply lines and training bases had been established, and the bulk of some 40,000 troops were there. That is what the CIA reports show, and that is what also the reports of our own military, as they examined the situation there, show.

And so, what we find is the situation that we are referring to back there in 1969, so long ago when this war was at its height, when we were trying to do something to bring it to an honorable end, was that it was not the United States, but the North Vietnamese Communists who violated the neutrality of Cambodia.

The suggestion that these staging areas for enemy troops, supplies, and artillery a few thousand yards from American troops were what we call neutral territory, exempt from counterattack or bombing, is simply ludicrous. The Communists had made a mockery of the neutrality of these border regions. The United States was under no moral obligation to respect the sham.

By January of 1969, these enemy-occupied sanctuaries were no more neutral territory than was northern France or Belgium in the late spring of 1944 when those territories were occupied by the Germans.

And so, it was in February of 1969 when the North Vietnamese responded to President Johnson's 3-month-old bombing halt and peace initiative with a country-wide offensive in the South in which hun-

dreds of Americans were killed every week, and thousands every month.

After this meeting that I have just spoken to, I made the decision. I ordered American airpower employed directly and continually against the enemy-occupied base areas from which Communist soldiers had been attacking and killing American soldiers.

And so today, there is great anguish and loud protests from the usual critics, "Why did the United States make a secret attack on tiny Cambodia?" Of course, this is absurd. These strikes were not directed at the Cambodian army or the Cambodian people; they were directed at the North Vietnamese invaders who, at that time, had occupied this area within Cambodia and were killing Americans from this area.

This is the significant thing: The Cambodian Government did not object to the strikes.

In fact, while they were in progress in the spring of that year, Prince Sihanouk, then the leader of the Cambodian Government, personally invited me very warmly to make a state visit to the Cambodian capital. This is after the strikes had been going on for a long time. That is a pretty good indication of what he thought about what we were doing.

Now, as for secrecy, as I have already indicated, the fact that the bombing was disclosed to appropriate Government leaders, the ones I just referred to, and to appropriate Congressional leaders, those in the military affairs committee like Eddie Hébert—what is most important, and here is the bottom line, soon after this bombing started, early in this Administration, there began a steady decline finally in American casualties along the Cambodian border, and the enemy was

provided with one more incentive to move to the conference table, which they began to do. The secrecy was necessary to accomplish these goals—secrecy from the standpoint of making a big public announcement about it, although there was no secrecy as far as Government leaders were concerned, who had any right to know or need to know.

Had we announced the airstrikes, the Cambodian Government would have been compelled to protest, the bombing would have had to stop, and American soldiers would have paid the price for this disclosure and this announcement with their lives.

My comrades, let me just read you a letter. The President gets a lot of very moving letters during and after any period of war. This is from the father of a soldier who served along the Cambodian-Vietnamese border back in 1969.

He said, "Dear Mr. President: Back in early 1969,"—and I have his letter he wrote then, too—"I wrote to you requesting that you allow the bombing of the supply routes in North Vietnam and Cambodia. I wrote to you because my son Douglas, who was with the 4th Infantry Division near Kontum, complained to us in his letters about all the materials and men the North was shipping in from Cambodia.

"... When my son was killed on March 1, 1969, I felt you let him and the other troops down by not allowing these supply lines to be bombed.

"Today I read where . . . you did approve the bombing early in 1969 . . . I now believe the Lord led you to make a proper decision in this matter, and I sincerely feel your action saved many lives and shortened that dreadful war."

Just let me add a postscript to that letter. If American soldiers in the field today were similarly threatened by an enemy and if the price of protecting those soldiers was to order airstrikes to save American lives, I would make the same decision today that I made in February of 1969.

Of course, we have had other complaints, too, the post mortems on what happened.

You remember the huge outcry when I ordered the mining of Haiphong in May of 1972. It was going to bring on world war III. We did it. What it brought on was the negotiation that helped to finally end the war. And you remember that at Christmas of last year, this was a terribly difficult decision—December 18—when I ordered the use of B-52's against Hanoi, military targets only, those were the targets, and there was a great outcry then that this was a wrong decision on the part of the President. And I don't say that all the decisions are right, but just let me say this: when I wonder about those decisions and I wonder what was wrong and what was right, I recall a very young man—to me he seemed very young—who came through a receiving line in May at a reception we gave for 600 POW's after they had returned. The line moved rather fast, and there was not much time to say much to any one of them. This one man said, "I would like to ask you a question, sir," and I said, "Go ahead." He said, "Why did you wait so long to order in the B-52's?"

All I can say is this: Whether it was that decision or any other one, the decisions were made in the interests of bringing this war to an honorable conclusion as quickly as possible, using the force that was necessary and no more than was necessary.

And I say further that no future American President should ever send Americans into battle with one hand tied behind their backs.

But now we have been talking about war. Let me turn from war to peace. Let me turn to it in a way that may be of great interest to you, particularly again to those of you, the young people who still read history and perhaps remember it. I read it many years ago but find it more difficult to remember as time goes on. But you all remember Waterloo, and you all remember, of course, the great hero of Waterloo on the British, or allied, side, the Duke of Wellington, and people think of him only as a man of war. Of course, he had basically two careers. He was a great general, and then after that served as a prime minister for many, many years in Britain in the early 19th century. But in reading the biography of Wellington, it is interesting to note—and this is something that I know that every person in this room will agree with—that after every battle, battles which he won—he did not lose any—he had a feeling of depression, and the depression was because he had seen brave men die on both sides. Whether it was the battles in India he won or the Peninsular War, the Lowlands, or Waterloo, there was always that feeling, but it was in Waterloo, and after Waterloo only, that immortal words were spoken by Wellington that I know will mean something to each one of us here as you give the President of the United States—and I accept it as President for all Presidents who worked for peace—because everyone wants peace. After the battle of Waterloo, and as Wellington looked over that field of battle, and he saw the brave British soldiers and the Prussian soldiers from

Blücher's army and Napoleon's soldiers lying there in the field, he said, there is only one thing worse than losing a battle, and that is winning it.

Think about that a moment. What he is really saying is that war is an answer to no problems, and winning a war, even in that time when war would not have destroyed civilization, left the winner feeling that there is only one thing worse than losing a war, and that is winning a war.

What I am saying here today to you is that as we finish the longest war in America's history with honor, as we look to the future, I want to pledge to the Veterans of Foreign Wars and to the American people that I am going to continue to work to build a lasting peace so that our children will not have the legacy that we have, a war every generation in this century—World War I, World War II, Korea, and then Vietnam. That is enough. What we have to do is to build a structure of peace for the whole world. I know that the big news as far as 1972 is concerned, and what immediately followed in January of last year, was the ending of the war in Vietnam. But other news was being made which is even more important in determining the future of this Nation for years and years to come and the future of peace in the world.

There was the first trip of a President of the United States to Moscow. There was, at the occasion of that trip, the negotiation of many agreements, but a nuclear arms control agreement, and then another one this year, the beginning of a long process of negotiation rather than confrontation between two super powers, each of which has the total strength within itself to destroy the other, but will not do so without

recognizing that to make that decision is a decision for international suicide. That is what war has become.

There was, also looking to the future, last year another trip, a trip to Peking, the first time a President has gone there. And as we look at Peking and we think of the fact that 25 years from now these young people sitting here will be as old as we are, 25 years from now, one billion of the ablest people in the world are going to be living there, and because they are able, they will be a super power if they want to be, militarily and economically.

It is essential that the steps be taken now to see to it that we build the structure of peace so the United States will not be in confrontation with the Soviet Union or with the People's Republic of China.

And then there are other parts of this great spectrum that a President must think of. This is a year in which we are working with our European allies and our friends around the world, because—remember this—you don't win new friends by betraying old friends, because new friends are not going to trust you if you betray your old friends. So, the United States is maintaining its alliances, we are shoring them up at the same time that we are negotiating with those who are the potential adversaries or were our potential adversaries a short time ago.

I mention these things simply to give you an idea of what we are trying to do to be worthy of this Peace Award that Mrs. Reid has so graciously presented on behalf of the Ladies Auxiliary.

Peace, not just in the sense of ending a long and difficult war, but peace in the sense of a whole open world where people with different philosophies can live together, discuss, negotiate, argue, but not engage in war which would be totally de-

structive of civilization as we know it, at this point. That is our goal.

Now, one final point I would make is this: If that kind of peace is to be attained, it will only be attained if the United States plays the major role from the standpoint of the free nations, because there is no one else to do it. The Europeans can't do it. They don't have the strength. And there is no nation in Asia or Africa or Latin America that has the strength to play that role.

And so, if we are going to be able to negotiate this era of peace, we have to have a United States that has a military strength second to none. We have to have a United States that is respected around the world, respected because we stand by our commitments. And we have to have a United States that has the character and the vision to play this great role and to play it for many years to come, and that is not easy.

My friends in the House and the Senate will tell you today that many of their colleagues, good and decent men—but, I think, mistaken men and women—are calling for huge cuts in our defense budget, withdrawal of our forces from Europe regardless of what the other side does, cutting back on our nuclear capabilities regardless of what the Soviet Union does. My friends, let me tell you what would happen.

Right now, we are negotiating with the Soviet Union, for example, to limit nuclear arms. We are going to have in—as a matter of fact, the negotiations begin in October, in the latter part—we are negotiating for a reduction of forces in Europe, but unless in a negotiation you have something to give, you are not going to get anything.

And so I say, let the people of the

United States not listen to the unilateral disarmers that would make the United States the second strongest nation in the world.

I pledge to you our power will never be used in aggression. It will be used only to serve the cause of peace and the cause of freedom. As far as our strength is concerned, we will be willing to negotiate and we can negotiate a reduction of the limitation of arms. But my friends, the hope of the world for peace, the hope of 200 million Americans and 3 billion people in this world, it rests in America—a strong America—strong in its military defenses, but also strong in its vision and its will to act like a great nation in a period when we are very tired of the burdens we have carried abroad, particularly after Vietnam and Korea.

I can only say the stakes are high. We could cop out, as many suggest in the House and the Senate and in the press—many, not all. We could cop out from our responsibilities in the world. We could cut back our forces. We could quit play-

ing a great role in the world. But if we do, then our children will live in a very dangerous war, and no future President will have much of a chance to get a peace award.

And so I say to my friends here in this audience, all of you, whether members of our organization or guests, that I proudly accept the Peace Award and hope that I personally can be worthy of it, but more important, I hope and I pray that America can be worthy of it, that in these years ahead a strong America and a strong people will lead the way to a generation of peace and one that will lead us even to a century of peace beyond that time.

It can be done. That is our goal. And with your help, believe me, we will reach that goal.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:44 a.m. in the Rivergate Hall.

Prior to addressing the convention, the President received the Peace Award from Mrs. James Reid, national president of the Ladies Auxiliary to the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

236 The President's News Conference of *August 22, 1973*

SECRETARY OF STATE

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] Ladies and gentlemen, I have an announcement before going to your questions.

It is with the deep sense of not only official regret but personal regret, that I announce the resignation of Secretary of State William Rogers, effective September 3. A letter, which will be released to the press after this conference, will indicate my appraisal of his work as Secretary of State.

I will simply say at this time that he wanted to leave at the conclusion of the first 4 years. He agreed to stay on, because we had some enormously important problems coming up, including the negotiations which resulted in the end of the war in Vietnam, the Soviet summit, the European Security Conference, as well as in other areas—Latin America and in Asia—where the Secretary of State, as you know, has been quite busy over these past 8 months.

As he returns to private life, we will not

only miss him, in terms of his official service, but I shall particularly miss him because of his having been, through the years, a very close personal friend and adviser.

That personal friendship and advice, however, I hope still to have the benefit of, and I know that I will.

As his successor, I shall nominate and send to the Senate for confirmation the name of Dr. Henry Kissinger. Dr. Kissinger will become Secretary of State, assume the duties of the office after he is confirmed by the Senate. I trust the Senate will move expeditiously on the confirmation hearings, because there are a number of matters of very great importance that are coming up.

There are, for example, some matters that might even involve some foreign travel by Dr. Kissinger that will have to be delayed in the event that the Senate hearings are delayed.

Dr. Kissinger's qualifications for this post, I think, are well known by all of you ladies and gentlemen, as well as those looking to us and listening to us on television and radio.

He will retain the position, after he becomes Secretary of State, of Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. In other words, he will have somewhat a parallel relationship to the White House which George Shultz has. George Shultz, as you know, is Secretary of the Treasury, but is also an Assistant to the President in the field of economic affairs.

The purpose of this arrangement is to have a closer coordination between the White House and the departments, and in this case, between the White House, the national security affairs, the NSC, and the State Department, which car-

ries a major load in this area.

And also, another purpose is to get the work out in the departments where it belongs, and I believe that this change in this respect, with Dr. Kissinger moving in as Secretary of State and still retaining the position as Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, will serve the interest not only of coordination but also of the interests of an effective foreign policy.

I will simply say, finally, with regard to Secretary Rogers, that he can look back on what I think, and I suppose it is a self-serving statement but I will say it about him rather than about myself at the moment, one of the most successful eras of foreign policy in any administration in history—an era in which we ended a war, the longest war in America's history; an era, in addition, in which we began to build a structure of peace, particularly involving the two great powers, the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union, where before there had been nothing but ugly and, at some times, very, very difficult confrontation.

We still have a long way to go. There are trouble spots in the area of the Middle East, others—Southeast Asia, which we could go into in detail.

But as Secretary Rogers looks back on his years—4½ years of service as Secretary of State—he can be very proud that he was one of the major architects of what I think was a very successful foreign policy.

QUESTIONS

RECORDING OF PRESIDENTIAL CONVERSATIONS

[2.] And now, we will go to the questions. I think AP, Miss Lewine [Frances

L. Lewine, Associated Press] has the first question.

Q. Mr. President, on Watergate, you have said that disclosure of the tapes could jeopardize and cripple the functions of the Presidency. Two questions: If disclosure carries such a risk, why did you make the tapes in the first place, and what is your reaction to surveys that show three out of four Americans believe you were wrong to make the tapes?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, with regard to the questions as to why Americans feel we were wrong to make the tapes, that is not particularly surprising. I think that most Americans do not like the idea of the taping of conversations, and frankly, it is not something that particularly appeals to me.

As a matter of fact, that is why, when I arrived in the White House and saw this rather complex situation set up where there was a taping capacity, not only in the President's office, the room outside of his office, but also in the Cabinet Room and at Camp David and in other areas, that I had the entire system dismantled.

It was put into place again in June of 1970 (1971), because my advisers felt it was important in terms particularly of national security affairs to have a record for future years that would be an accurate one, but a record which would only be disclosed at the discretion of the President or according to directives that he would set forth.

As you know, of course, this kind of capability not only existed during the Johnson Administration, it also existed in the Kennedy Administration, and I can see why both President Johnson and President Kennedy did have the capability because—not because they wanted to infringe upon the privacy of anybody, but

because they felt that they had some obligation, particularly in the field of foreign policy and some domestic areas, to have a record that would be accurate.

As far as I am concerned, we now do not have that capability, and I am just as happy that we don't. As a matter of fact, I have a practice, whenever I am not too tired at night, of dictating my own recollections of the day. I think that, perhaps, will be the more accurate record of history in the end.

THE WATERGATE INVESTIGATION

[3.] I think we go to the UP now, and then we will come to the television.

Q. Mr. President, on July 6, 1972, you were warned by Patrick Gray that you were being mortally wounded by some of your top aides. Can you explain why you did not ask who they were, why, what was going on?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, in the telephone conversation that you refer to that has been, of course, quite widely reported in the press as well as on television, Mr. Gray said that he was concerned that as far as the investigation that he had responsibility for, that some of my top aides were not cooperating.

Whether the term was used as "mortally wounded" or not, I don't know. Some believe that it was, some believe that it was not, that is irrelevant. He could have said that.

The main point was, however, I asked him whether or not he had discussed this matter with General Walters,¹ because I knew that there had been meetings between General Walters, representing the CIA, to be sure that the CIA did not be-

¹ Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters, USA, Deputy Director, Central Intelligence Agency.

come involved in the investigation, and between the Director of the FBI.

He said that he had. He told me that General Walters agreed that the investigation should be pursued, and I told him to go forward with a full press on the investigation to which he has so testified.

It seemed to me that with that kind of a directive to Mr. Gray, that that was adequate for the purpose of carrying out the responsibilities.

As far as the individuals were concerned, I assume that the individuals that he was referring to involved this operation with the CIA. That is why I asked him the Walters question. When he cleared that up, he went forward with the investigation, and he must have thought it was a very good investigation because when I sent his name down to the Senate for confirmation the next year, I asked him about his investigation. He said he was very proud of it. He said it was the most thorough investigation that had ever taken place since the assassination of President Kennedy, that he could defend it with enthusiasm, and that under the circumstances, therefore, he had carried out the directive that I had given him on July 6.

So, there was no question about Mr. Gray having direct orders from the President to carry out an investigation that was thorough.

ACCESS TO PRESIDENTIAL TAPE RECORDINGS

[4.] Mr. Jarriel [Tom Jarriel, ABC News].

Q. Mr. President, Assistant Attorney General Henry Petersen has testified that on April 15 of this year he met with you and warned you at that time there might be enough evidence to warrant indict-

ments against three of your top aides, Messrs. Ehrlichman, Haldeman, and Dean. You accepted their resignations on April 30, calling Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman two of the finest public servants you had known. After that, you permitted Mr. Haldeman, after he had left the White House, to hear confidential tapes of conversations you had had in your office with Mr. Dean. My question is, why did you permit a man who you knew might be indicted to hear those tapes which you now will not permit the American public or the Federal prosecutors handling the case to listen to?

THE PRESIDENT. The only tape that has been referred to, that Mr. Haldeman has listened to, he listened to at my request, and he listened to that tape—that was the one on September 15, Mr. Jarriel—because he had been present and was there. I asked him to listen to it in order to be sure that as far as any allegations that had been made by Mr. Dean with regard to that conversation is concerned, I wanted to be sure that we were absolutely correct in our response. That is all he listened to. He did not listen to any tapes in which only Mr. Dean and I participated. He listened only to the tape on September 15—this is after he left office—in which he had participated in the conversation throughout.

PRINCIPLE OF CONFIDENTIALITY

[5.] Q. Mr. President, one of the lingering doubts about your denial of any involvement is concerning your failure to make the tapes available either to the Senate committee or the Special Prosecutor. You have made it perfectly clear you don't intend to release those tapes.

THE PRESIDENT. Perfectly clear?

Q. Perfectly clear. But is there any way that you could have some group listen to tapes and give a report so that that might satisfy the public mind?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't believe, first, it would satisfy the public mind, and it should not. The second point is that as Mr. Wright,² who argued the case, I understand very well, before Judge Sirica this morning, has indicated, to have the tapes listened to—he indicated this also in his brief³—either by a prosecutor or by a judge or *in camera* or in any way, would violate the principle of confidentiality, and I believe he is correct. That is why we are standing firm on the proposition that we will not agree to the Senate committee's desire to have, for example, its chief investigator listen to the tapes, or the Special Prosecutor's desire to hear the tapes, and also why we will oppose, as Mr. Wright did in his argument this morning, any compromise of the principle of confidentiality.

Let me explain very carefully that the principle of confidentiality either exists or it does not exist. Once it is compromised, once it is known that a conversation that is held with the President can be subject to a subpoena by a Senate committee, by a grand jury, by a prosecutor, and be listened to by anyone, the principle of confidentiality is thereby irreparably damaged. Incidentally, let me say that now that tapes are no longer

being made, I suppose it could be argued that, what difference does it make now, now that these tapes are also in the past. What is involved here is not only the tapes; what is involved, as you ladies and gentlemen well know, is the request on the part of the Senate committee, and the Special Prosecutor as well, that we turn over Presidential papers—in other words, the records of conversations with the President made by his associates. Those papers, and the tapes as well, cannot be turned over without breaching the principle of confidentiality. It was President Truman that made that argument very effectively in his letter to a Senate committee—or his response to a Congressional committee, a House committee it was, in 1953—when they asked him to turn over his papers. So, whether it is a paper or whether it is a tape, what we have to bear in mind is that for a President to conduct the affairs of this office and conduct them effectively, he must be able to do so with the principle of confidentiality intact. Otherwise, the individuals who come to talk to him, whether it is his advisers, or whether it is a visitor in the domestic field, or whether it is someone in a foreign field, will always be speaking in a eunuch-like way, rather than laying it on the line, as it has to be laid on the line if you are going to have the creative kind of discussion that we have often had, and it has been responsible for some of our successes in the foreign policy period, particularly in the past few years.

ADMINISTRATION PARTICIPANTS IN THE INVESTIGATION

[6.] Q. Mr. President, could you tell us who you personally talked to in directing that investigations be made both in

² Charles Alan Wright, consultant to the Counsel to the President.

³ On August 7, and on August 17, briefs responding to the grand jury subpoena requiring production of Presidential tape recordings and documents were filed in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia by attorneys for the President. The texts of the briefs are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, pp. 961 and 999).

June of '72, shortly after the Watergate incident, and last March 21, when you got new evidence and ordered a more intensive investigation?

THE PRESIDENT. Certainly. In June, I, of course, talked to Mr. MacGregor⁴ first of all, who was the new chairman of the committee. He told me that he would conduct a thorough investigation as far as his entire committee staff was concerned. Apparently that investigation was very effective except for Mr. Magruder,⁵ who stayed on. But Mr. MacGregor does not have to assume responsibility for that. I say not responsibility for it, because basically what happened there was that he believed Mr. Magruder, and many others have believed him, too. He proved, however, to be wrong.

In the White House, the investigation's responsibility was given to Mr. Ehrlichman at the highest level, and in turn, he delegated them to Mr. Dean, the White House Counsel, something of which I was aware and of which I approved.

Mr. Dean, as White House Counsel, therefore sat in on the FBI interrogations of the members of the White House Staff, because what I wanted to know was whether any member of the White House Staff was in any way involved. If he was involved, he would be fired. And when we met on September 15, and again throughout our discussions in the month of March, Mr. Dean insisted that there was not—and I use his words—“a scintilla of evidence” indicating that anyone on the White House Staff was involved in the

planning of the Watergate break-in.

Now, in terms of after March 21, Mr. Dean first was given the responsibility to write his own report, but I did not rest it there. I also had a contact made with the Attorney General himself, Attorney General Kleindienst, told him—it was on the 27th of March—to report to me directly anything that he found in this particular area. And I gave the responsibility to Mr. Ehrlichman on the 29th of March to continue the investigation that Mr. Dean was unable to conclude, having spent a week at Camp David and unable to finish the report.

Mr. Ehrlichman questioned a number of people in that period at my direction, including Mr. Mitchell, and I should also point out that as far as my own activities were concerned, I was not leaving it just to them. I met at great length with Mr. Ehrlichman, Mr. Haldeman, Mr. Dean, and Mr. Mitchell on the 22d. I discussed the whole matter with them. I kept pressing for the view that I had had throughout, that we must get this story out, get the truth out, whatever and whoever it is going to hurt, and it was there that Mr. Mitchell suggested that all the individuals involved in the White House appear in an executive session before the Ervin committee. We never got that far, but at least that is an indication of the extent of my own investigation.

TESTIMONY OF FORMER ATTORNEY
GENERAL MITCHELL

[7.] I think we will go to Mr. Lisagor now [Peter Lisagor, Chicago Daily News].

Q. Mr. President, you have said repeatedly that you tried to get all the facts, and just now you mentioned the March 22 meeting. Yet former Attorney General

⁴ Clark MacGregor was campaign director of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President from July to November 1972.

⁵ Jeb Stuart Magruder was deputy director of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President from May 1971 to November 1972.

John Mitchell said that if you had ever asked him at any time about the Watergate matter, he would have told you the whole story, chapter and verse. Was Mr. Mitchell not speaking the truth when he said that before the committee?

THE PRESIDENT. Now, Mr. Lisagor, I am not going to question Mr. Mitchell's veracity, and I will only say that throughout I had confidence in Mr. Mitchell. Mr. Mitchell, in a telephone call that I had with him immediately after it occurred, expressed great chagrin that he had not run a tight enough shop and that some of the boys, as he called them, got involved in this kind of activity, which he knew to be very, very embarrassing, apart from its illegality, to the campaign. Throughout, I would have expected Mr. Mitchell to tell me in the event that he was involved or that anybody else was. He did not tell me. I don't blame him for not telling me. He has given his reasons for not telling me. I regret that he did not, because he is exactly right. Had he told me, I would have blown my stack, just as I did at Ziegler the other day. [Laughter]

THE PRESIDENT'S RESPONSIBILITY

[8.] Q. Mr. President, I wonder, sir, how much personal blame, to what degree of personal blame do you accept for the climate in the White House, and at the Re-Election Committee, for the abuses of Watergate?

THE PRESIDENT. I accept it all.

THE ELLSBERG CASE; MEETINGS WITH JUDGE BYRNE

[9.] Q. Mr. President, I want to state this question with due respect to your

office, but also as directly as possible.

THE PRESIDENT. That would be unusual. [Laughter]

Q. I would like to think not, sir. It concerns——

THE PRESIDENT. You are always respectful, Mr. Rather [Dan Rather, CBS News]. You know that.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President. It concerns the events surrounding Mr. Ehrlichman's contact and, on one occasion, your own contact with the judge in the Pentagon Papers case, Judge Byrne.⁶

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

Q. As I understand your own explanation of events, and putting together your statement with Mr. Ehrlichman's testimony and what Judge Byrne has said, what happened here is that sometime late in March—March 17, I believe you said—you first found out about the break-in at the psychiatrist's office of Mr. Ellsberg, that you asked to have that looked into and that you later, I think in late April, instructed Attorney General Kleindienst to inform the judge.

Now, my question is this: that, while the Pentagon Papers trial was going on, Mr. Ehrlichman secretly met once with the judge in that case, you secretly met another time the judge with Mr. Ehrlichman. Now, you are a lawyer, and given the state of the situation and what you knew, could you give us some reason why the American people should not believe that that was at least a subtle attempt to bribe the judge in that case, and it gave at least the appearance of a lack of moral leadership?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I would say the

⁶ William M. Byrne, Jr., United States District Judge for the Central District of California.

only part of your statement that is perhaps accurate is that I am a lawyer. Now, beyond that, Mr. Rather, let me say that with regard to the "secret" meeting that we had with the judge, as he said, I met the judge briefly—after all, I had appointed him to the position—I met him for perhaps one minute outside my door here in full view of the whole White House Staff and everybody else who wanted to see. I asked him how he liked his job—we did not discuss the case—and he went on for his meeting with Mr. Ehrlichman.

Now, why did the meeting with Mr. Ehrlichman take place? Because we had determined that Mr. Gray could not be confirmed, as you will recall. We were on a search for a Director of the FBI. Mr. Kleindienst had been here, and I asked him what he would recommend with regard to a Director, and I laid down certain qualifications.

I said I wanted a man preferably with FBI experience, and preferably with prosecutor's experience, and preferably, if possible, a Democrat so that we would have no problem on confirmation. He said, "The man for the job is Byrne." He said, "He is the best man." I said, "Would you recommend him?" He said, "Yes."

Under those circumstances then, Mr. Ehrlichman called Mr. Byrne. He said: Under no circumstances will we talk to you—he, Ehrlichman, will talk to you—if he felt that it would in any way compromise his handling of the Ellsberg case.

Judge Byrne made the decision that he would talk to Mr. Ehrlichman, and he did talk to him privately, here. And on that occasion, he talked to him privately, the case was not discussed at all—only the question of whether or not, at the con-

clusion of this case, Mr. Byrne would like to be considered as Director of the FBI.

I understand, incidentally, that he told Mr. Ehrlichman that he would be interested. Of course, the way the things broke eventually, we found another name with somewhat the same qualifications, although, in this case, not a judge—in this case, a chief of police with former FBI experience.

Now, with regard to the Ellsberg break-in, let me explain that in terms of that, I discussed that on the telephone with Mr. Henry Petersen on the 18th of April. It was on the 18th of April that I learned that the grand jury was going away from some of its Watergate investigation and moving into national security areas.

I told Mr. Petersen at that time about my concern about the security areas, and particularly about the break-in as far as the Ellsberg case is concerned.

And then he asked me a very critical question which you, as a nonlawyer, will now understand, and lawyers probably will, too. He said, "Was any evidence developed out of this break-in?" And I said, "No, it was a dry hole." He said, "Good."

Now, what he meant by that was that in view of the fact that no evidence was developed as a result of the break-in—which is, incidentally, illegal, unauthorized, as far as I was concerned, and completely deplorable—but since no evidence was developed, there was no requirement that it be presented to the jury that was hearing the case. That was why Mr. Petersen, a man of impeccable credentials in the law enforcement field, did not, at that time on the 18th, at a time that I told him what I had known about the Ellsberg

break-in, say "Let's present it then to the grand jury," because nothing had been accomplished, nothing had been obtained that would taint the case.

It was approximately 10 days later that Mr. Kleindienst came in and said that, after a review of the situation in the prosecutor's office in Washington, in which Mr. Petersen had also participated, that they believed that it was best that we bend over backwards in this case and send this record of the Ellsberg break-in, even though there was no evidence obtained from it that could have affected the jury one way or another, send it to the judge.

When they made that recommendation to me, I directed that it be done, instantly. It was done. Incidentally, the prosecutor argued this case just the way that I have argued it to you, and whether or not it had an effect on the eventual outcome, I do not know.

At least, as far as we know, Mr. Ellsberg went free, this being one of the factors. But that is the explanation of what happened and obviously, you, in your commentary tonight, can attach anything you want to it.

I hope you will be just as fair and objective as I try to be in giving you the answer. And I know you will be, sir.

VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW

[10.] Q. Mr. President, what is the state of your confidence in your Vice President at this point in time?

THE PRESIDENT. I have noted some press speculation to the effect that I have not expressed confidence in the Vice President, and therefore, I welcome this question because I want to set the record straight. I had confidence in the integrity of the Vice President when I selected him

as Vice President when very few knew him, as you may recall back in 1968—knew him nationally. My confidence in his integrity has not been shaken, and in fact, it has been strengthened by his courageous conduct and his ability—even though he is controversial at times, as I am—over the past 4½ years. So I have confidence in the integrity of the Vice President and particularly in the performance of the duties that he has had as Vice President and as a candidate for Vice President.

Now obviously the question arises as to charges that have been made about activities that occurred before he became Vice President. He would consider it improper—I would consider it improper—for me to comment on those charges, and I shall not do so. But I will make a comment on another subject that I think needs to be commented upon, and that is the outrageous leak of information from either the grand jury, or the prosecutors, or the Department of Justice, or all three. And, incidentally, I am not going to put the responsibility on all three until I learn from the Attorney General, who, at my request, is making a full investigation of this at the present time. I am not going to put the responsibility—but the leak of information with regard to charges that have been made against the Vice President and leaking them all in the press.

Convicting an individual—not only trying him but convicting him—in the headlines and on television before he has had a chance to present his case in court is completely contrary to the American tradition. Even a Vice President has a right to some, shall I say, consideration in this respect, let alone the ordinary individual. And I will say this—and the Attorney General, I know, has taken note

of this fact: Any individual in the Justice Department or in the prosecutor's office who is in the employ of the United States who has leaked information in this case to the press or to anybody else will be summarily dismissed from Government service. That is how strongly I feel about it, and I feel that way, because I would make this ruling whether it was the Vice President or any individual.

We have to remember that a hearing before a grand jury—and that determination in the American process is one that is supposed to be in confidence—is supposed to be in secret, because all kinds of charges are made which will not stand up in open court, and it is only when the case gets to open court that the press and the TV have a right to cover it—well, they have a right to cover it, but, I mean, have a right, it seems to me, to give such broad coverage to the charges.

THE PRESIDENT'S CAPACITY TO GOVERN

[11.] Q. Mr. President, at any time during the Watergate crisis did you ever consider resigning, and would you consider resigning if you felt that your capacity to govern had been seriously weakened? And in that connection, how much do you think your capacity to govern has been weakened?

THE PRESIDENT. The answer to the first two questions is no; the answer to the third question is that it is true that as far as the capacity to govern is concerned, that to be under a constant barrage—12 to 15 minutes a night on each of the three major networks for 4 months—tends to raise some questions in the people's mind with regard to the President, and it may raise some questions with regard to the capacity to govern. But I also know this:

I was elected to do a job. Watergate is an episode that I deeply deplore, and had I been running the campaign rather than trying to run the country, and particularly the foreign policy of this country at this time, it would never have happened. But that is water under the bridge, it is gone now.

The point that I make now is that we are proceeding as best we know how to get all those guilty brought to justice in Watergate. But now we must move on from Watergate to the business of the people, and the business of the people is continuing with initiatives we began in the first Administration.

Q. Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Just a moment.

We have had 30 minutes of this press conference. I have yet to have, for example, one question on the business of the people, which shows you how we are consumed with this. I am not criticizing the members of the press, because you naturally are very interested in this issue, but let me tell you, years from now people are going to perhaps be interested in what happened in terms of the efforts of the United States to build a structure of peace in the world. They are perhaps going to be interested in the efforts of this Administration to have a kind of prosperity that we have not had since 1955—that is, prosperity without war and without inflation—because throughout the Kennedy years and throughout the Johnson years, whatever prosperity we had was at the cost of either inflation or war or both. I don't say that critically of them, I am simply saying we have got to do better than that.

Now, our goal is to move forward then, to move forward to build a structure of peace. And when you say, do I consider

resigning, the answer is no, I shall not resign. I have 3½ years to go, or almost 3½ years, and I am going to use every day of those 3½ years trying to get the people of the United States to recognize that, whatever mistakes we have made, that in the long run this Administration, by making this world safer for their children, and this Administration, by making their lives better at home for themselves and their children, deserves high marks rather than low marks. Now, whether I succeed or not, we can judge then.

SURVEILLANCE IN NATIONAL SECURITY MATTERS

[12.] We always have to have Mr. Deakin [James Deakin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch] for one.

Q. As long as we are on the subject of the American tradition, and following up Mr. Rather's question, what was authorized, even if the burglary of Dr. Fielding's office was not—what was authorized was the 1970 plan which by your own description permitted illegal acts, illegal breaking and entering, mail surveillance, and the like.

Now, under the Constitution you swore an oath to execute the laws of the United States faithfully. If you were serving in Congress, would you not be considering impeachment proceedings and discussing impeachment possibility against an elected public official who had violated his oath of office?

THE PRESIDENT. I would if I had violated the oath of office. I would also, however, refer you to the recent decision of the Supreme Court, or at least an opinion that even last year—which indicates inherent power in the Presidency to protect the national security in cases

like this. I should also point out to you that in the 3 Kennedy years and the 3 Johnson years through 1966, when burglarizing of this type did take place, when it was authorized on a very large scale, there was no talk of impeachment, and it was quite well known.

I shall also point out that when you ladies and gentlemen indicate your great interest in wiretaps, and I understand that, that the height of the wiretaps was when Robert Kennedy was Attorney General in 1963. I don't criticize it, however. He had over 250 in 1963, and of course, the average in the Eisenhower Administration and the Nixon Administration is about 110. But if he had had 10 more and, as a result of wiretaps, had been able to discover the Oswald plan, it would have been worth it.

So, I will go to another question.

FORMER ASSISTANTS TO THE PRESIDENT HALDEMAN AND EHRLICHMAN

[13.] Q. Mr. President, do you still consider Haldeman and Ehrlichman two of the finest public servants you have ever known?

THE PRESIDENT. I certainly do. I look upon public servants as men who have got to be judged by their entire record, not by simply parts of it. Mr. Ehrlichman and Mr. Haldeman, for 4½ years, have served with great distinction, with great dedication, and like everybody in this deplorable Watergate business, at great personal sacrifice and with no personal gain.

We admit the scandalous conduct. Thank God there has been no personal gain involved. That would be going much too far, I suppose.

But the point that I make with regard to Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman is

that I think, too, that as all the facts come out, that—and when they have an opportunity to have their case heard in court and not simply to be tried before a committee and tried in the press and tried in television—they will be exonerated.

FUNDS FOR THE WATERGATE DEFENDANTS

[14.] Mr. Horner [Garnett D. Horner, Washington Star-News].

Q. Mr. President, could you tell us your recollection of what you told John Dean on March 21 on the subject of raising funds for the Watergate defendants?

THE PRESIDENT. Certainly. Mr. Haldeman has testified to that, and his statement is accurate. Basically, what Mr. Dean was concerned about on March 21 was not so much the raising of money for the defendants, but the raising of money for the defendants for the purpose of keeping them still—in other words, so-called hush money. The one would be legal—in other words, raising a defense fund for any group, any individual, as you know, is perfectly legal, and it is done all the time. But if you raise funds for the purpose of keeping an individual from talking, that is obstruction of justice.

Mr. Dean said also on March 21 that there was an attempt, as he put it, to blackmail the White House, to blackmail the White House by one of the defendants. Incidentally, that defendant has denied it, but at least this was what Mr. Dean had claimed, and that unless certain amounts of money were paid—I think it was \$120,000 for attorneys fees and other support—that this particular defendant would make a statement, not with regard to Watergate, but with regard to some national security matters in which Mr. Ehrlichman had particular responsibility.

My reaction, very briefly, was this: I said, "As you look at this," I said, "isn't it quite obvious, first, that if it is going to have any chance to succeed, that these individuals aren't going to sit there in jail for 4 years? They are going to have clemency; isn't that correct?"

He said, "Yes." I said, "We can't give clemency." He agreed. Then, I went to another point. I said, "The second point is that isn't it also quite obvious, as far as this is concerned, that while we could raise the money"—and he indicated in answer to my question, it would probably take a million dollars over 4 years to take care of this defendant, and others, on this kind of basis—the problem was, how do you get the money to them, and also, how do you get around the problem of clemency, because they are not going to stay in jail simply because their families are being taken care of. And so, that was why I concluded, as Mr. Haldeman recalls perhaps and did testify very effectively, one, when I said, "John, it is wrong, it won't work. We can't give clemency, and we have got to get this story out. And therefore, I direct you, and I direct Haldeman, and I direct Ehrlichman, and I direct Mitchell to get together tomorrow and then meet with me as to how we get this story out."

And that is how the meeting on the 22d took place.

PLANS FOR DEFENSE AGAINST CHARGES

[15.] Q. Mr. President, earlier in the news conference you said that you gave Mr. Haldeman the right to listen to one tape because you wanted to be sure that "we are correct"—I think I am quoting you correctly.

Now, you have indicated that you still

feel that Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman are two of the finest public servants that you have ever known. You have met with their lawyer at least twice that we know of. Are you and Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman coordinating their and your defense and, if so, why?

THE PRESIDENT. No. No, as far as my defense is concerned, I make it myself. As far as their defense is concerned, their lawyer has demonstrated very well before the committee that he can handle it very well without any assistance from me.

THE VICE PRESIDENT

[16.] Mr. Theis [J. William Theis, Hearst Newspapers and Hearst Headline Service].

Q. Mr. President, a follow-up question on the Agnew situation. You have said in the past that any White House official who was indicted would be suspended and that anyone convicted would be dismissed. Should Vice President Agnew be indicted, would you expect him to resign or somehow otherwise stand down temporarily until cleared?

THE PRESIDENT. Now, Mr. Theis, that is a perfectly natural question and one that any good newsman, as you are, would ask. But as you know, it is one that it would be most inappropriate for me to comment upon. The Vice President has not been indicted; charges have been thrown out by innuendo, and otherwise, which he has denied to me personally and which he has denied publicly. And to talk about indictment and to talk about resignation, even now—I am not questioning your right to ask the question, understand—but for me to talk about it would be totally inappropriate, and I

make no comment in answer to that question.

EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGE

[17.] I will take the big man.
[Laughter]

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. I know my troubles if I don't take him—or if I do. [Laughter]

Q. Mr. President, looking to the future on executive privilege, there are a couple of questions that come to mind——

THE PRESIDENT. I thought we got past that, Clark [Clark R. Mollenhoff, Des Moines Register and Tribune], that was a year ago.

Q. But we have it for the future——

THE PRESIDENT. All right, fine.

Q. Where is the check on authoritarianism by the executive if the President is to be the sole judge of what the executive branch makes available and suppresses? And will you obey a Supreme Court order if you are asked and directed to produce the tapes or other documents for the Senate committee or for the Special Prosecutor? And, if this is not enough—[laughter]—is there any limitation on the President, short of impeachment, to compel the production of evidence of a criminal nature?

THE PRESIDENT. Is there anything else?

Q. No, I think that would be enough.
[Laughter]

THE PRESIDENT. No, I was not being facetious, but I realize it is a complicated question. The answer to the first question is that the limitation on the President in almost all fields like this is, of course, the limitation of public opinion and, of course, Congressional and other pressures that may arise. As far as executive privi-

lege is concerned in the Watergate matter and, I must say, the ITT file and so forth, that this Administration has, I think, gone further in terms of waiving executive privilege than any Administration in my memory, certainly a lot further than Mr. Truman was willing to go when I was on the other side, as you recall, urging that he waive executive privilege.

Now, with regard to what the Supreme Court will do or say, the White House Press Secretary—assistant Press Secretary, Mr. Warren, has responded to that already. I won't go beyond that, and particularly, I won't make any statement on that at this time while the matter is still being considered by Judge Sirica. I understand his decision will come down on Wednesday, and then we will make a determination. But as far as the statement that Mr. Warren has made with regard to the President's position of complying with a definitive order of the Supreme Court is concerned, that statement stands.

MOTIVATIONS OF WATERGATE CRITICS

[18.] Q. Sir, last week in your speech you referred to those who would exploit Watergate to keep you from doing your job. Could you specifically detail who "those" are?

THE PRESIDENT. I would suggest that where the shoe fits, people should wear it. I would think that some political figures, some members of the press, perhaps, some members of the television, perhaps would exploit it. I don't impute, interestingly enough, motives, however, that are improper, because here is what is involved. There are a great number of people in this country that would prefer that I do resign. There are a great number of people in this country that didn't accept the

mandate of 1972. After all, I know that most of the members of the press corps were not enthusiastic—and I understand that—about either my election in '68 or '72. That is not unusual.

Frankly, if I had always followed what the press predicted or the polls predicted, I would have never been elected President. But what I am saying is this: People who did not accept the mandate of '72, who do not want the strong America that I want to build, who do not want the foreign policy leadership that I want to give, who do not want to cut down the size of this government bureaucracy that burdens us so greatly and to give more of our government back to the people, people who do not want these things, naturally, would exploit any issue—if it weren't Watergate, anything else—in order to keep the President from doing his job.

And so I say I impute no improper motives to them; I think they would prefer that I fail. On the other hand, I am not going to fail. I am here to do a job, and I am going to do the best I can, and I am sure the fair-minded members of this press corps—and that is most of you—will report when I do well, and I am sure you will report when I do badly.

WIRETAPS AND PROTECTION OF THE PRESIDENTS

[19.] Q. Mr. President, you recently suggested today that if the late Robert Kennedy had initiated 10 more wiretaps he would have been able to discover the Oswald plan, as you described it, and thereby presumably prevent the assassination of President Kennedy.

THE PRESIDENT. Let me correct you, sir. I want to be sure that the assumption is correct. I said if 10 more wiretaps could

have found the conspiracy, if it was a conspiracy, or the individual, then it would have been worth it. As far as I am concerned, I am no more of an expert on that assassination than anybody else, but my point is that wiretaps in the national security area were very high in the Kennedy Administration for a very good reason; because there were many threats on the President's life, because there were national security problems, and that is why that in that period of 1961 to '63, there were wiretaps on news organizations, on news people, on civil rights leaders, and on other people. And I think they were perfectly justified, and I am sure that President Kennedy and his brother, Robert Kennedy, would never have authorized them, as I would never have authorized them, unless he thought they were in the national interest.

Q. Do you think then that threats to assassinate the President merit more national security wiretaps particularly?

THE PRESIDENT. No. No, as far as I am concerned, I was only suggesting that in terms of those times—of those times—to have the Oswald thing happen just seemed so unbelievable. With his record—with his record—that with everything that everybody had on him, that that fellow could have been where he was, in a position to shoot the President of the United States, seems to me to have been a terrible breakdown in our protective security areas.

I would like to say, however, that as far as protection generally is concerned, I don't like it, and my family does not like it. Both of my daughters would prefer to have no Secret Service. I discussed it with the Secret Service. They say they have too many threats, and so they have

to have it. My wife does not want to have Secret Service, and I would prefer—and I recommended this just 3 days ago—to cut my detail by one third, because I noticed there were criticisms of how much the Secret Service is spending.

Let me say that we always are going to have threats against the President, but I frankly think that one man probably is as good against a threat as a hundred. That is my view, but my view does not happen to be in a majority there, and it does not happen to agree with the Congress—so I will still have a great number of Secret Service around me, more than I want, more than my family wants.

WATERGATE INVESTIGATION

[20.] Q. Mr. President, during March and April, you received from your staff on several occasions information about criminal wrongdoing and some indication that members of your staff might have been involved. My question, sir, is why didn't you turn this information over immediately to the prosecutors instead of having your own staff continue to make these investigations?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, for the very obvious reason that in March, for example, the man that was in constant contact with the prosecutors was my Counsel, Mr. Dean. Mr. Dean was talking to Mr. Petersen. I assumed that anything he was telling me he was telling the prosecutors. And in April, after Mr. Dean left the investigation, Mr. Ehrlichman was in charge. I would assume—and incidentally, Mr. Ehrlichman did talk to Mr. Kleindienst—that is why it was done that way. The President does not pick up the phone and call the Attorney General

every time something comes up on a matter; he depends on his Counsel or whoever he has given the job to—or he has given that assignment to do the job. And that is what I expected in this instance.

U.S. BOMBING OF CAMBODIA

[21.] Q. Mr. President, in your Cambodian invasion speech of April 1970, you reported to the American people that the United States had been strictly observing the neutrality of Cambodia. I am wondering if you in light of what we now know, that there were 15 months of bombing of Cambodia previous to your statement, whether you owe an apology to the American people?

THE PRESIDENT. Certainly not, and certainly not to the Cambodian people, because as far as this area is concerned, the area of approximately 10 miles which was bombed during this period, no Cambodians had been in it for years. It was

totally occupied by the North Vietnamese Communists. They were using this area for the purpose of attacking and killing American Marines and soldiers by the thousands. The bombing took place against those North Vietnamese forces in enemy-occupied territory, and as far as the American people are concerned, I think the American people are very thankful that the President ordered what was necessary to save the lives of their men and shorten this war which he found when he got here, and which he ended.

HELEN THOMAS (United Press International). Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Nixon's thirty-second news conference was held at 11:30 a.m. on Wednesday, August 22, 1973, on the grounds of his residence at San Clemente, Calif. It was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

On the following day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Henry A. Kissinger on his nomination to be Secretary of State and matters of foreign policy. Dr. Kissinger's briefing is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 1026).

237 Letter Accepting the Resignation of William P. Rogers as Secretary of State. August 22, 1973

Dear Bill:

It is with the greatest reluctance and regret that I accept your resignation as Secretary of State.

I cannot do so without thinking back gratefully on our quarter century of close personal friendship, on the battles we have fought together and the crises we have weathered together, and on your unwavering good spirits, good judgment and good sense.

I vividly recall that you were the first person I turned to for advice and counsel

after receiving the terrible news of President Eisenhower's heart attack in 1955, and I recall how much your calm, reasoned encouragement meant to me as I sought to do what was right in the course of that ordeal. But that was only one of many times, before and since, when I have instinctively turned to you for advice and relied heavily on your judgment at those critical moments that are the truest test not only of an associate's friendship, but also of his character.

Few men have given so much of them-

selves to their country as you have, with your eight years of distinguished service as Deputy Attorney General and Attorney General in President Eisenhower's Administration, and now having carried the heavy responsibilities of Secretary of State for four and a half years at a particularly crucial time in the evolution of the Nation's foreign policies. Throughout, your service has been completely dedicated and completely selfless. The Nation owes you an enormous debt of gratitude.

As Secretary of State, you have represented this country abroad with great skill. You have played an historic role in the formulation and execution of those policies which I believe, and I know you believe, can at long last produce a structure of peace in the world that will endure long into the future, and that will make it possible for differences among nations to be settled at the negotiating table rather than on the battlefield. This is an achievement of which you should be immensely proud, just as I am immensely proud of the vital contribution you have made to it.

Not only in foreign policy, but also on the wide range of other issues on which I have sought your advice, it has always been given with candor and courage and with exceptional insight. I have appreciated this greatly, and the Nation is much the better for your service—service which I know has been at great personal sacrifice.

Pat joins me in wishing you and Adele the very best in the years ahead, and in trusting that we will continue to see both of you often.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The President's letter was dated August 20, 1973, and released August 22 at San Clemente, Calif.

Secretary Rogers' letter of resignation, dated August 16 and released with the President's letter, read as follows:

Dear Mr. President:

I herewith submit my resignation as Secretary of State effective September 3, 1973.

Because of our personal friendship which has extended over such a long period of time I take this action with a bit of sadness. You will recall, though, that when I accepted the post I did it with a firm resolve to return to the private practice of the law at the end of your first term of office. However, because of several pressing matters, particularly the closing phase of our involvement in the war in Viet-Nam, an uncertain cease-fire in the Middle East, the initial phase of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the need for immediate attention to our relations with NATO, CENTO, Japan, South Korea and our Latin American allies it was agreed that I should stay on for awhile.

Now that the United States has ended its long war in Indochina; that the cease-fire in the Middle East has had its third anniversary; that the first phase of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has ended satisfactorily; and that our relations with our allies as well as with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China are on a good basis I believe the time is right for a change.

It has been a great privilege and honor to serve the nation as Secretary of State during the last four and one-half years. Under your strong and effective leadership the conduct of our foreign affairs has been marked with extraordinary success. Because of your policies, initiative and resolve, and the loyal support and assistance of many others including those in the State Department with whom I have been privileged to be associated, the world is a much more peaceful place than it was four and one-half years ago.

Under your leadership we are on the way to constructing a structure of international relationships which gives hope of providing peace and stability for future generations. It is the completion of this task especially which is so

important to all mankind and which will continue to command great public support during the remainder of your term.

Please accept my thanks and deep appreciation for giving me the opportunity to serve the country during these critical and important

years in our nation's history. Adele joins me in sending you and Pat our warmest personal regards.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM P. ROGERS

[The President, The White House]

238 White House Statement About a Reported Indian-Pakistani Agreement on the Return of Prisoners of War. *August 28, 1973*

WE HAVE NOT yet seen the text of the reported agreement, so we cannot comment in detail. However, the United States welcomes this most recent and heartening forward step which strengthens the prospects for a new era of peace, stability, and cooperation in the Subcontinent. India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh

have demonstrated both their willingness and their ability to work out problems on their own. The agreement is a tribute to the steadfastness and farsightedness of the leaders of each of these nations.

NOTE: The statement was issued at San Clemente, Calif.

239 Statement About United States Flood Relief Assistance for Pakistan. *August 29, 1973*

THE American people have the deepest concern and sympathy for the people of Pakistan as they battle terrible floods, the most serious of this century, under the leadership of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Whole areas of Pakistan are being ravaged. Initial reports indicate that the number of people dead or missing is tragically large, that millions of people are homeless, and that the extent of property damage is mounting into hundreds of millions of dollars. The previously bright prospects for Pakistan's development have been temporarily dimmed.

In an immediate response to this situation, U.S. helicopters and boats with their crews are already engaged in helping with immediate rescue work and with the movement of vital relief supplies. Medical and other urgent needs are being met.

Pakistan needs help, and I know its friends in the international community will respond generously.

In response to longer-term needs, I have directed that 100,000 metric tons of U.S. wheat be made available to the people of Pakistan to provide some immediate relief before their next harvest.

Further, I am directing that the United States begin now in helping with the rehabilitation and recovery of Pakistan to assure prompt and effective action for immediate relief and for our contribution to an early recovery. I have asked AID Deputy Administrator Maurice J. Williams, my special relief coordinator for major disasters abroad, to go to Pakistan to review with the Pakistan Government immediate relief and longer-range reconstruction needs. He will report to me, and

after appropriate consultation with the Congress, we will continue to assure that the Government of the United States, in cooperation with other countries, will do all that it can to help our Pakistani friends recover from this terrible devastation.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

On August 17, 1973, the President sent a message to Pakistani President Chaudhry Fazal Elahi extending American condolences to the victims of the flooding along the Punjab and Indus Rivers.

240 White House Statement Following a District Court Order Requiring Production of Presidential Tape Recordings and Documents. *August 29, 1973*

AS MR. WRIGHT pointed out in his oral argument before the court, *in camera* inspection of these tapes is inconsistent with the President's position relating to the question of separation of powers as provided by the Constitution and the necessity of maintaining the precedent of confidentiality of private Presidential conversations for this President and for Presidents in the future. The President consequently will not comply with this order.

White House Counsel are now considering the possibility of obtaining appellate

review, or how otherwise to sustain the President's position.

NOTE: The statement was issued at San Clemente, Calif.

Charles Alan Wright was consultant to the Counsel to the President.

John J. Sirica, Chief Judge of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, issued the order on August 29, 1973. The text of the order, calling for the production of the subpoenaed tape recordings and documents for the Court's examination *in camera*, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 1044).

241 White House Statement About the Decision To Appeal the Court Order Requiring Production of Presidential Tape Recordings and Documents. *August 30, 1973*

THE PRESIDENT met today with his White House Counsel, and it has been decided that Counsel will seek review in the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia of Judge Sirica's order. Appropriate papers for obtaining review are being prepared and will be filed prior to the expiration of the stay of the order next

Thursday.

NOTE: The statement was issued at San Clemente, Calif.

The texts of documents filed by attorneys for the President as part of the appellate process are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, pp. 1061, 1100, and 1154).

242 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Deferment of Federal Pay Increases. August 31, 1973

To the Congress of the United States:

At a time when the rising cost of living is a major concern to us all, the Federal Government and its employees have a special obligation to avoid any action that would needlessly fan the flames of inflation. This obligation must not be taken lightly, even in cases when meeting it involves a reasonable element of self-denial.

It is in this spirit, and with the knowledge that the action I am taking will help to hold down the cost of living for all Americans, that I now recommend a sixty day deferral in the pending pay adjustment for Federal employees.

As required by law, I am also transmitting to the Congress an alternative plan designed to meet both the rightful needs of those who serve the Government and the common interest of the general public who must bear the burden of increased inflation.

Under this plan, a pay increase for all Federal employees based upon an appropriate comparability adjustment would become effective on the first pay period beginning on or after December 1, 1973. The level of the comparability adjustment will be determined during the next few weeks. My "agent" on Federal pay, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget and the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, has recommended an average pay increase of 4.77 percent. This recommendation is now being reviewed by my advisory committee on pay, and this committee will make its own recommendations to me in late Sep-

tember. At that time, I will make my decision on the appropriate comparability adjustment.

I regret asking for this postponement of a Federal pay increase but there can be no doubt of its necessity. At a critical time in the economic health of our Nation, when many are being called on to make sacrifices in order to hold down inflation, no one should enjoy special immunity. Thus far labor and management in the private sector have done their share by acting with commendable restraint in agreeing upon new wage increases. As one of the largest groups of workers in the country, Federal employees can do no less. In fact, Federal employees have a unique role to play in the fight against inflation because every dollar of their pay comes out of the Federal budget. It is especially important this year, as we seek a balanced, noninflationary budget, that Federal spending be held to a minimum.

I urge the Congress to support this action, not because it is politically expedient or the easy thing to do, but because it is in the best interest of all Americans.

The alternative plan is attached.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
August 31, 1973.

FEDERAL PAY COMPARABILITY ALTERNATIVE PLAN

In consideration of the economic conditions affecting the general welfare, I hereby transmit to the Congress the fol-

lowing alternative plan, as authorized and required by section 5305(c)(1) of title 5, United States Code:

Such adjustments in the rates of pay of each Federal statutory pay system as may be determined, based on the

1973 Bureau of Labor Statistics survey, shall become effective on the first day of the first applicable pay period that begins on or after December 1, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the message was released at San Clemente, Calif.

243 Labor Day Message.

August 31, 1973

AMERICA is a great nation because of the strength and character of the American people. Without the full-hearted support of an intelligent, energetic labor force, all of our technological and theoretical breakthroughs would have been wasted; with that support, they have made America the most prosperous, progressive nation in the world.

On Labor Day we pay tribute to the working men and women to whom America owes so much. On this day, we also give thanks for the fact that in our free society—more than anywhere else on earth—the laborer can enjoy the results of his labor and the freedom to choose where and how he will apply his skills. By working together, labor, management and government in America have achieved a standard of living and a climate of opportunity and individual rights unequalled in the history of man.

But in a competitive world, no matter how great our past achievements, we must not fall victim to complacency. The soul and sinew of American labor must continue to be a force for progress and productivity. The continuing vitality of our economy and, through it, of our entire way of life, rests in large measure on the willingness, understanding and cooperation of the working men and women of America. They have not failed us before and they will not fail us now.

For all of us, then, Labor Day 1973 should be a time of rededication as well as thanksgiving—a time when we renew our dedication to preserving an abundant America, free and secure, for this and future generations.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The message was issued at San Clemente, Calif.

244 Statement on the Death of John Ford.

August 31, 1973

IN the history of American films, no name shines more brightly than that of John Ford. A consummate master of his craft, he was one of the pioneers in transforming an infant industry into an art form that developed in America and swept the

world. He was also a man who deeply loved his country, and who helped at least three generations of Americans to a fuller understanding of their Nation and its heritage. He represented the best in American films, and the best in America.

NOTE: John Ford, 78, died in Palm Desert, Calif.

Mr. Ford directed 133 films in a period of over 50 years. He won Academy Awards for his

direction of "The Informer," "The Grapes of Wrath," "How Green Was My Valley," and "The Quiet Man."

See also Item 101.

245 Remarks at the Swearing In of William E. Colby as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. *September 4, 1973*

Ladies and gentlemen:

We are ready to swear in the new Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Judge Hart.

[At this point, George L. Hart, Jr., United States District Judge for the District of Columbia, administered the oath of office. The President then resumed speaking.]

Ladies and gentlemen, you all know Mr. Colby's background, his background as a distinguished public servant over many years and in the CIA.

We find that in making appointments of this sort, when we can find what we think is a true professional in the best sense of the word, that we prefer that kind of appointment, and Mr. Colby met all the qualifications, and his appointment has met with, I would say, almost universal acclaim, certainly within that agency, and with a very overwhelming vote, I think too, in the Senate.

I would point this out, too, that his career of service in the CIA is not as well known as most, because as we all know, in that particular organization your successes usually must remain unknown and your failures become known.

I would say, though, in the case of Mr. Colby, he is an exception to the rule in one sense: that he had a very distinguished career, when I first met him, in directing our pacification program in

Vietnam. And we now find that that country, the 17 million people of that country, are benefiting from all the years of hard work put in by the people under your direction and others in building South Vietnam into a viable peacetime country where it is now paying off.

So, the Nation is grateful for your service in the past, and I know that we will profit from your service in the future as the head of this organization.

MR. COLBY. Thank you very much, Mr. President. I appreciate very much the honor and confidence that you showed in appointing me to this duty. I take it as a major charge to fulfill both of the meanings of the word "intelligence." The one, the official meaning of an intelligence organization which provides the facts and presents them to you so that you know what is going on in the world, but the second meaning is the application of the human quality of intelligence to be able to analyze facts and come out with assessments and judgments about them.

I hope that the CIA and the whole of the intelligence community will truly serve you and, through you, the people of the United States in protecting our national security and welfare.

THE PRESIDENT. I will just conclude by saying, Mr. Colby, that I have often said to other directors—to Allen Dulles,

whom, of course, you knew well, worked under, and of course, Mr. Helms, now the Ambassador—that wherever you can, when anything is going to happen, or does happen, that the CIA could tell me before I read it in the papers. [*Laughter*]

MR. COLBY. That is a very direct charge.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

Richard Helms was United States Ambassador to Iran.

246 The President's News Conference of *September 5, 1973*

STATEMENT ABOUT LEGISLATIVE GOALS

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] Ladies and gentlemen, before going to your questions, I have a brief announcement that I think will be of interest not only to our listeners and to you but also to the Congress.

The Congress is returning today from its August recess, as I am, and as I look over the record of accomplishment this year, I find it is very disappointing in terms of the Administration initiatives, those initiatives that I believe are bipartisan in character and of vital importance to all of the American people.

Consequently, I will be sending what is in effect a new State of the Union message, one which will concentrate on the measures presently before the Congress which have not been acted upon and which I consider urgent to be acted upon before the end of this year.

I am not trying to present to the Congress an impossible task; consequently, I will not cover the whole waterfront, but it is important that in several areas that action be taken, or it will be too late to act for the interests of the people.

In my statement today, I will cover four or five areas that will be included

in that message, which will be distributed to you on Sunday night and delivered to the Congress Monday at the time of the opening of business.

FIGHTING INFLATION

[2.] The first is the very high priority area of fighting inflation. As you know, we are going into a new set of tough controls on September 13. In addition to that, the Federal Reserve is tightening up on the money supply, and we are moving on the supply front, particularly in the field of agriculture, so that we can eventually look forward to halting the rise in food prices and, we trust, eventually lowering them.

These three areas are vitally important in fighting inflation, but the three alone are not enough without a fourth area. Inflation must be fought on four fronts at all times. And the fourth area, of course, is the Federal budget. It is very disconcerting to note that already before the Congress are spending proposals which, if enacted, would bust the budget to the tune of at least \$6 billion. These proposals I do not look forward to vetoing and to go through the agony of having to fight with the Congress on the veto.

I trust that the Congress, in the spirit that Mr. "Tip" O'Neill¹ suggested, may work with the Executive in this instance in finding a way to control the spending so that we do not break the budget and raise the prices of the family budget for every American.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

[3.] The second area has to do with the area of national defense. I have noted that several Members of the Congress have suggested that the way to balance the budget is to add to the domestic budget, to whatever amount they would like, and then to take it out of defense. This would be a fatal mistake, because we can have the finest domestic programs in the world and it isn't going to make any difference if we don't have our freedom and if we are not around to enjoy them.

At the present time, we are in negotiations with regard to the reduction of our forces in Europe. The Soviet Union, as you note, is moving forward in the modernization of its own weapon system, which they have a right to do under the present SALT agreement. But we are looking forward in the next summit meeting, in which preparations are already going forward, to limiting nuclear arms—including MIRV's [multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicle] which, of course, will add a new dimension to their strength as well as to ours—limiting nuclear arms and thereby reducing not only the burden of armament but the danger of war for the whole world.

This great effort will be destroyed in

¹ Representative Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., of Massachusetts, was majority leader of the House of Representatives.

the event that the Congress reduces the Federal budget for defense in a substantial amount. It means that we will go into these negotiations in a second-class position, and there will be no incentive whatever for the Soviet Union or others involved to negotiate with us for the mutual reduction, which is the only way to assure that we can have peace as well as limiting the burden of arms.

ENERGY

[4.] The third area is one that many of you ladies and gentlemen have been writing about for some months, and with very good reason, the area of energy. We were lucky this summer. We didn't have some of the things happen that we had feared would happen with regard to brownouts, et cetera, although there were some problems in some cities. But the prospect for the future could be very dangerous.

This Saturday, I am calling a meeting in which Governor Love will report to top Administration officials with regard to the whole energy problem. But essential to our success in meeting the energy needs for this winter and particularly for the future is Congressional action.

There are seven major proposals—including the Alaska pipeline, which you have all written about, including, for example, research and development in the field of coal and other areas, including the deregulation of gas produced in the United States—there are seven of these proposals in the energy field which the Congress has not yet acted upon. If the Congress does not act upon these proposals, it means that we will have an energy crisis, not perhaps just this winter but perhaps, certainly, later on as well.

And if the Congress does not act upon

these proposals which, in effect, have as their purpose increasing the domestic capacity of the United States to create its energy, it means that we will be at the mercy of the producers of oil in the Mideast.

All of you ladies and gentlemen very properly have been writing of your concern about the developments in the Mideast which might cut off, or at least reduce, the supply of oil that goes to Europe and to the United States. Under these circumstances, to meet the problem of energy it is essential that we move in these energy areas that I have mentioned.

DOMESTIC PROGRAMS

[5.] Finally, there is the area that I could perhaps generally describe in the words of Mr. Mel Laird as being the whole domestic group of programs: the better schools act, the better communities act, and a new housing proposal that I will be sending to the Congress within the next 2 weeks. These are only three of several. I mention them because I think they are of vital importance, and I am going to urge the Congress to act on these proposals so that the country, in this period of peacetime, can begin to move forward on what are these, really, achievements and dividends for peace.

I could mention a number of other areas, but the message will speak for itself. I am simply suggesting in conclusion, at this time, that we have had this year, as far as the Congress is concerned, a disappointing performance so far. I am not placing individual blame on that. I am simply saying we have 3 months left, and I know that the Congress is usually a last quarter team. In that last quarter, we have to score a lot of points.

The Executive, the White House, all the agencies of the Government will work with the leaders of the Congress to move forward on these initiatives for the people. But it is time for us to turn to these initiatives that are in the interests of all the people and turn to them on an urgent basis.

QUESTIONS

VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW AND GOVERNOR CONNALLY

[6.] I think Miss Thomas [Helen Thomas, United Press International] has the first question.

Q. Mr. President, you met with the Vice President for 2 hours on Saturday. One, can you tell us what you talked about? Two, will you have any part in any future legal moves against the Vice President? And three, did you call John Connally afterwards, as reported?

THE PRESIDENT. Let us start, Miss Thomas, with the third part of the question. It is easier to remember the end of the question than the first.

As far as the third question, no, I have not talked to Governor Connally as reported, and I have not talked to him for the past several weeks. Nothing should be made of that one way or another, because I enjoy talking to the Governor, and it is very possible I may be talking to him in the future about energy or about a trip that he is going to be making abroad to various parts of the world, including the Mideast and possibly to the Soviet Union.

Second, with regard to the Vice President, we did meet for 2 hours. It, of course, is not appropriate for me to discuss what the subject was. We went over a number of matters of mutual interest in which he has major responsibilities.

I will say, finally, that with regard to the Vice President and all other questions that may relate to him, when I last met with you ladies and gentlemen in the sun in California—as distinguished from the sun in the East Room—I recall very well that there were several questions about the Vice President, what would happen in the event that this happened or that, in the event that he were indicted, et cetera.

Let me say that I tried to respond to those questions then. I expressed my confidence in the Vice President's integrity during the period that he has served as Vice President and during which I have known him, but I declined to comment on those questions which were purely hypothetical and which would be a grave infringement upon the rights of the Vice President—to comment upon what would happen if certain things were to occur in the course of an investigation that is presently going on, I understand, in Baltimore in a grand jury.

I will simply say this: As far as such questions are concerned, you are welcome to ask them, but I will not dignify any such questions with regard to charges that have been made by innuendo and otherwise against the Vice President. I will not dignify them with an answer; it would be an infringement on his rights.

OIL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

[7.] Q. Mr. President, you alluded to this a moment ago, but what exactly are you doing to meet these threats from the Arab countries to use oil as a club to force a change in our Middle East policy?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Cormier [Frank Cormier, Associated Press], that has been a subject of major concern, and what we are doing, some can be talked about and

some cannot. Obviously, we are having discussions with some of the companies involved. Obviously, as far as some of the nations involved—for example, Libya—our relations are not that close that we could have too much influence.

With regard to Saudi Arabia, perhaps the relations which the United States has with Saudi Arabia might lead to more influence there.

What I would suggest is this: In a broader context, the answer to the problem of oil that we presently depend upon in the Mideast—we depend on it not, of course, nearly as much as Europe, but we are all in the same bag when you really come down to it—the problem that we have here is that as far as the Arab countries are concerned, the ones that are involved here, is that it is tied up with the Arab-Israeli dispute. That is why, in talking to Dr. Kissinger both before I nominated him and since, that we have put at the highest priority moving toward making some progress toward the settlement of that dispute. That is one side of it.

The other problems, of course, are the radical elements that presently seem to be on the ascendancy in various countries in the Mideast, like Libya. Those elements, of course, we are not in a position to control, although we may be in a position to influence them, influence them for this reason: Oil without a market, as Mr. Mossadeq² learned many, many years ago, does not do a country much good. We and Europe are the market, and I think that the responsible Arab leaders will see to it that if they continue to up the price, if they continue to expropriate, if they do expropriate without fair compensation,

² Mohammad Mossadeq, Prime Minister of Iran (1951–52).

the inevitable result is that they will lose their markets, and other sources will be developed.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROPERTIES AND FINANCES

[8.] Q. Mr. President, there have been some conflicting reports about your real estate dealings in California, and I would like to ask about that. Several different versions have been released by the White House, both as to your own personal financial involvement and as to the Government's expenditures in San Clemente and at Key Biscayne, and your auditors, I understand from news reports, say that the entire audit has not been released on your financial dealings out there.

I would like to ask you why we have had so many conflicting reports to start with, and second, one of the questions that is raised by the only partial release of the audit is, have you paid the taxes on the gain realized in the sale of the land to Rebozo and Abplanalp at San Clemente?

THE PRESIDENT. Any other questions you want to go into?

Of course, whatever a President does in the field of his property is public knowledge, and questions of that sort I do not resent at all. I do resent, I might say, the implications, however, first, that whether at Key Biscayne or in San Clemente my private property was enriched because of what the Government did.

As a matter of fact, what the Government did at San Clemente reduced the value of the property. If you see three Secret Service gazebos and if you see some of the other fences that block out the rather beautiful view to the hills and the mountains that I like, you would realize

that what I say is quite true; it reduces its value as far as a residential property is concerned.

The second point is this: At rather considerable expense, and a great deal of time on my part, I ordered an audit, an audit by a firm highly respected, Coopers & Lybrand of New York. That audit has been completed.³ It covered at my request not simply the last year, but it covered the years 1969, 1970, 1971, and 1972.

The audit has been completed, and the audit gave the lie to the reports that were carried, usually in eight-column heads in most of the papers of this country—and, incidentally, the retractions ended back up with the corset ads for the most part—but on the other hand, it gave the lie to the charge that there was \$1 million worth of campaign funds, that that is how I acquired the property in San Clemente.

It also gave the lie to any other charges that as far as my acquisitions in Florida are concerned, or in California, that there was any money there except my own.

Now, I would make two or three other points briefly about it that I think all laymen could understand. I borrowed the money to acquire the property, and I still owe it. I own no stocks and no bonds—I think I am the first President in this office since Harry Truman—I don't own a stock or a bond. I sold everything before I came into office.

³ On August 27, 1973, the White House released an announcement of the Coopers & Lybrand audit of the transactions in connection with the President's properties in California and Florida. The announcement and the text of a letter to the President and Mrs. Nixon from Coopers & Lybrand detailing the results of the audit are printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 9, p. 1036).

All that I have are the two pieces of property in Florida which adjoin each other, the piece of property in San Clemente with which you are familiar, and a house on Whittier Boulevard in which my mother once lived. I have no other property, and I owe money on all of them.

Third, as far as the capital gain matter, which is a technical matter that you have mentioned, I should point out—and maybe this is good news for people who wonder if Presidents are exempt from what the IRS does—the IRS has had a full field review or audit of my income tax returns for 1971 and 1972 and included in its audit the transaction which you refer to, in which some argue there was a capital gain and some argue that there was not. It is a matter of difference between accountants.

The IRS, after its audit, did not order any change. If it had, I would have paid the tax. It did not order a change.

Now, with regard to the audit itself is concerned, the results of that audit insofar as the acquisition of the property have been put out. That is all that is going to be put out, because I think that is a full disclosure.

I would simply say, finally, that in this particular case I realize that naturally there is a suspicion that a President, because he has the great power of this office and because he has the benefit of Secret Service, GSA, and all the rest to protect him, that he some way or other is going to profit from all of that security that is provided for him.

As I pointed out in my press conference 2 weeks ago, I'd far less rather have the security than have my privacy, but that just can't be done.

INFLATION

[9.] Q. Mr. President, a couple of economic questions, please. You said in your opening statement that you hope eventually that inflation will be stopped. Can you define "eventually" more specifically? And furthermore, what, if anything, should be done now to free up mortgage money for home purposes?

THE PRESIDENT. I am afraid I cannot be any more perceptive than my economic advisers have been, and their guesses with regard to, as you know, the numbers, insofar as inflation this year, have not been very good. I do not blame them, however, because as you know, we had the problems of weather in the United States and abroad, an unprecedented demand abroad which was unforeseen as far as we were concerned, that gave the impetus to food prices, and there were other factors which led to the inflationary pressures which our economic advisers did not foresee.

I cannot set a date on it, no. I mean, if I were to try to, I would be misleading the public, the people, as to when they could expect that inflation would start to recede. I do say this, however: We are doing everything that we think should be done and that can be done, to stop the inflation without bringing on a recession, and that is the name of the game.

It is very easy to turn the crank so tight that you have a hard landing, and we don't want a hard landing. We have had too many experiences like that, as you know, since World War II. So, what we have then is a system of controls, as I have indicated earlier. We are tightening up on the Federal Reserve, we are—Arthur Burns, in his independent capacity, with

the board members are, I should say—and in addition to that we are, of course, increasing supplies on the food front.

My economic advisers tell me that over the next few months, we should begin to see some of the benefits from this, and that is as far as I will go in terms of indicating what that situation would be.

THE TAX STRUCTURE

[10.] Mr. Theis [J. William Theis, Hearst Newspapers and Hearst Headline Service].

Q. In that connection, do you now feel that the tax structure should be altered in any way to help strengthen the economy and, if so, how?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Theis, a number of my advisers, including, incidentally, Arthur Burns, have strongly recommended that the answer to this whole problem of inflation is the tax structure, you know, or there is this gimmick and that one. And by saying "gimmick," I don't mean to say anything disrespectful to Arthur Burns, because he is very important to us at this moment, or to Wilbur Mills, who has talked about some of these things.

For example, there has been the suggestion, as you know, insofar as the investment credit is concerned, to have it in the power of the President to move it from 3 percent to 15 percent. I think that is an excellent idea, but there isn't a chance that Congress is ever going to give the President that power.

President Kennedy found that out—Wilbur Mills told me about the conversation in a very amusing dialog we had in the office a few weeks ago—when he asked for the power of the President, then, even

when the Congress was, the Members, in control of his own party, to move taxes up and down, depending upon the needs of the economy.

So, what I would say, Mr. Theis, is this: I think a number of suggestions have been made on the tax front which might be helpful in the control of inflation, but there isn't a chance that a responsible tax bill would be passed by this Congress in time to deal with that problem.

PRESIDENTIAL TAPE RECORDINGS AND COURT RULINGS

[11.] Mr. Jarriel [Tom Jarriel, ABC News].

Q. Mr. President, in association with the legal dispute going on over possession of the Presidential tapes relating to Watergate conversations in your office, you and your attorneys have said you would abide only by a definitive ruling of the Supreme Court in this case. As it moves along, the definitive ruling—an interpretation of "definitive ruling" takes on great importance. Would you elaborate for us what you mean by a "definitive ruling?"

THE PRESIDENT. No, Mr. Jarriel, that would not be appropriate. I discussed this with White House Counsel, and as you know, the matter is now on appeal, and the appellate procedure will now go to the Circuit Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia and, if necessary, further on. The matter of definitive ruling is one that will be discussed in the appeal procedure, and for me, in advance of the discussion, the briefs, the oral arguments, to discuss that would be inappropriate.

I think we should come to Mr. Rather [Dan Rather, CBS News] now.

Q. Mr. President, if I may follow on to

my colleague Tom Jarriel's question, while I can understand——

THE PRESIDENT. It shows the two networks working together.

Q. No, not always, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank heaven you are competitors.

Q. This is a question that we find a lot of people ask us.

THE PRESIDENT. Surely.

Q. As you know, President Lincoln said, "No man is above the law." Now, for most, if not every other American, any Supreme Court decision is final, whether the person, in terms of the decision, finds it definitive or not. Would you explain to us why you feel that you are in a different category, why, as it applies to you, that you will abide only by what you call a definitive decision and that you won't even define "definitive?"

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Rather, with all due deference to your comment with regard to President Lincoln, he was a very strong President, and as you may recall, he indicated several times during his Presidency that he would move in the national interest in a way that many thought was perhaps in violation of the law—the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, for example, during the Civil War for 15,000 people, and other items, to mention only one.

As far as I am concerned, I am simply saying that the President of the United States, under our Constitution, has a responsibility to this office to maintain the separation of power and also maintain the ability of not only this President but future Presidents to conduct the office in the interests of the people.

Now, in order to do that, it is essential that the confidentiality of discussions that

the President has—with his advisers, with Members of Congress, with visitors from abroad, with others who come in—that those discussions be uninhibited, that they be candid, they be freewheeling.

Now, in the event that Presidential papers, or in the event that Presidential conversations as recorded on tapes, in my opinion, were made available to a court, to a judge *in camera*, or to a committee of Congress, that principle would be so seriously jeopardized that it would probably destroy that principle—the confidentiality which is so essential and indispensable for the proper conduct of the Presidency.

That is why I have taken the hard line that I have taken with regard to complying with the lower court's order.

Now, when we come to the Supreme Court, the question there is what kind of an order is the Supreme Court going to issue, if any. And as I have said in answer to Mr. Jarriel, it would not be appropriate for me to comment on whether an order would be definitive or not. I will simply say that as far as I am concerned, we are going to fight the tape issue. We believe, my Counsel believe, that we will prevail in the appellate courts.

And so, consequently, I will not respond to your question until we go through the appellate procedure.

WATERGATE INVESTIGATION

[12.] Q. Mr. President, to follow up on that Watergate question, you have referred repeatedly to having ordered a new Watergate investigation on the 21st of March of this year. Now, several high officials of your Administration, Mr. Petersen, Mr. Gray, and Mr. Kleindienst, have

testified before the Senate committee that they didn't know anything about it, this investigation that you referred to. And I wonder if you could explain how it is that they apparently didn't know anything about this new investigation?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, because I had ordered the investigation from within the White House itself. The investigation, up to that time, had been conducted by Mr. Dean, and I thought by him working with, as he had been, in close communication with the Justice Department.

I turned the investigation—asked Mr. Dean to continue his investigation as I, as you remember, said last week, 2 weeks ago, in answer to a similar question. When he was unable to write a report, I turned to Mr. Ehrlichman. Mr. Ehrlichman did talk to the Attorney General, I should remind you, on the 27th of March—I think it was the 27th of March. The Attorney General was quite aware of that, and Mr. Ehrlichman, in addition, questioned all of the major figures involved and reported to me on the 14th of April and then, at my suggestion—direction, turned over his report to the Attorney General on the 15th of April. An investigation was conducted in the most thorough way.

PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP

[13.] Q. Mr. President, you listed several areas of domestic concern—

THE PRESIDENT. Now we have the three networks.

Q. You listed several areas of domestic concern in the message you are going to send to Congress, but it has also been written that one of the major problems

facing your Administration now is rebuilding confidence in your leadership. Do you share that view, and if so, how do you plan to cope with it?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Valeriani [Richard Valeriani, NBC News], that is a problem, it is true. It is rather difficult to have the President of the United States on prime time television—not prime time, although I would suppose the newscasters would say that the news programs are really the prime time—but for 4 months to have the President of the United States by innuendo, by leak, by, frankly, leers and sneers of commentators, which is their perfect right, attacked in every way without having some of that confidence being worn away.

Now, how is it restored? Well, it is restored by the President not allowing his own confidence to be destroyed; that is to begin. And second, it is restored by doing something. We have tried to do things. The country hasn't paid a great deal of attention to it, and I may say the media hasn't paid a great deal of attention to it because your attention, quite understandably, is in the more fascinating area of Watergate.

Perhaps that will now change. Perhaps as we move in the foreign policy initiatives now, having ended one war, to build a structure of peace, moving not only with the Soviet Union and with the PRC [People's Republic of China]—where Dr. Kissinger, incidentally, will go, after he is confirmed by the Senate, which I hope will be soon—but as we move in those areas and as we move on the domestic front, the people will be concerned about what the President does, and I think that that will restore the confidence. What the

President says will not restore it, and what you ladies and gentlemen say will certainly not restore it.

CONTENT OF PRESIDENTIAL TAPE
RECORDINGS

[14.] Q. Mr. President, to follow up on the tapes question, earlier you have told us that your reasons are based on principle—separation of powers, executive privilege, things of this sort. Can you assure us that the tapes do not reflect unfavorably on your Watergate position, that there is nothing in the tapes that would reflect unfavorably?

THE PRESIDENT. There is nothing whatever. As a matter of fact, the only time I listened to the tapes, to certain tapes—and I didn't listen to all of them, of course—was on June 4. There is nothing whatever in the tapes that is inconsistent with the statement that I made on May 22 or of the statement that I made to you ladies and gentlemen in answer to several questions—rather searching questions I might say, and very polite questions 2 weeks ago, for the most part—and finally, nothing that differs whatever from the statement that I made on the 15th of August. That is not my concern.

My concern is the one that I have expressed, and it just does not cover tapes, it covers the appearance of a President before a Congressional committee, which Mr. Truman very properly turned down in 1953, although some of us at that time thought he should have appeared. This was after he had left the Presidency, but it had to do with matters while he was President. It covers papers of the President written for him and communications with him, and it covers conversations with the President that are recorded on tape.

Confidentiality once destroyed cannot, in my opinion, be restored.

MINIMUM WAGE BILL

[15.] Q. Mr. President, do you intend to veto a minimum wage bill, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes—with very great regret. My Secretary of Labor, Mr. Brennan, has urged me to sign it. As a team-player he, however, recognizes some of the arguments that I have made for not signing it. What it has to do is not my dedication to the minimum wage; I have always voted for it in the past, and I have signed several bills in this Administration, at least two. The difficulty is that the minimum wage bill which is presently before me on my desk would raise the minimum wage by 38 percent. It would deny employment opportunities to unskilled and younger workers who at present are in the highest numbers and the highest percentage of unemployment; it would increase unemployment. And it would give an enormous boost to inflation. Therefore, I am going to ask the Congress in my veto message to write a new bill, to send one down that will not be inflationary and that will not cost jobs for those who need jobs among the unskilled and the younger workers.

ARAB OIL

[16.] Q. Mr. President, I would like to check the Arab oil pressure, if I may, again. Is it possible that the threat of limiting the supply of oil would cause a moderation in U.S. support of Israel?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that that question is one that has been understandably speculated about a great deal in the press, but obviously for the President of the

United States, in answer to such a question, to suggest that we are going to relate our policy toward Israel, which has to do with the independence of that country to which we are dedicated, to what happens on Arab oil, I think, would be highly inappropriate. I will say this, and I will put it in another context, however. Israel simply can't wait for the dust to settle and the Arabs can't wait for the dust to settle in the Mideast. Both sides are at fault. Both sides need to start negotiating. That is our position.

We are not pro-Israel, and we are not pro-Arab, and we are not any more pro-Arab because they have oil and Israel hasn't. We are pro-peace and it is the interest of the whole area for us to get those negotiations off dead center. And that is why we will use our influence with Israel, and we will use our influence, what influence we have, with the various Arab States, and a non-Arab State like Egypt, to get those negotiations off.

Now, one of the dividends of having a successful negotiation will be to reduce the oil pressure.

BIPARTISAN CONCERNS

[17.] Mr. terHorst [J. F. terHorst, *Detroit News*, *North American Newspaper Alliance*].

Q. Sir, you mentioned a while ago Representative O'Neill's proposal that the Democratic leadership of Congress and the President get together on some bipartisan areas. Can you suggest some bills or some measures of vital concern which a new bipartisanship in his format would work out?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I would suggest, Mr. terHorst, the ones I mentioned in my opening statement would all fit in that

category, with the possible exception of those that I said were in Mr. Laird's particular responsibility—better schools, better housing, and also the better communities act. Those do involve basic philosophic differences, and bipartisanship may not be possible, but on the other hand, holding the budget down so that we don't have inflation is a bipartisan concern.

Maintaining a national defense that is adequate so that the United States is not in a second position in dealing with the Soviet Union or any other country in the world is a bipartisan concern. Seeing to it that we have adequate energy supplies. In fact, some of the best conversations I have had and the best suggestions I have had in the field of energy have come from Democrats, Senator Jackson among them. I think that we should get a bipartisan policy going with regard to dealing with the problems of energy, and there could be others.

PRESIDENTIAL TAPE RECORDINGS

[18.] Q. Mr. President, could I ask you one more question about the tapes. If you win the case in the Supreme Court—

THE PRESIDENT. That's the fifth one.

Q. —and establish the right of confidentiality for Presidents, then would you be willing voluntarily to disclose the tapes to dispel the doubt about their content?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, again I would like to respond to that question in a categorical way, but I shall not, due to the fact that when the matter, as it is at the present time, is actually in the appeal process, White House Counsel advise that it would not be appropriate to comment in any way about what is going to happen during that process. You put that

question to me a little later, I will be glad to respond to it.

MR. CORMIER. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Nixon's thirty-third news conference was held at 3:05 p.m. in the East Room at the White House on Wednesday, September 5, 1973. It was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

247 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on United States Participation in the United Nations. *September 6, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress the 27th annual report on United States participation in the work of the United Nations during calendar year 1972.

This report reflects the increasing range of global concerns with which United Nations agencies are dealing. It highlights not only the opportunities but also the limits of operating through the United Nations system during an era of growing international interdependence.

In recent years, United Nations agencies have come to deal increasingly with the economic and technical agenda of the world in addition to the long-standing agenda of peace and security questions. Indeed, as this account makes clear, these agencies are now engaged in some manner in virtually every governmental activity that crosses national lines.

The United States participated actively in these cooperative efforts to help safeguard peace and lessen world tensions, to foster economic and social progress, and to cope with a wide array of legal and technological problems.

Three themes characterized our participation during 1972:

(1) Even though we recognized the limitations of the United Nations in solving or even abating many political dis-

putes, we supported its participation where appropriate to reconcile such disputes, to curb international terrorism and outbreaks of violence, and to devise workable arrangements for peacekeeping operations. In order to serve the long-term interest of the international community, we worked in the General Assembly, the Security Council, and subsidiary bodies to have the United Nations deal evenhandedly and pragmatically with such politically-charged issues as the Middle East, decolonization, and human rights.

(2) We took the lead in seeking new arrangements and institutions to deal with worldwide social and technological concerns. Although we encountered some resistance, we pressed forward toward the goals of assuring the safety of civil aviation, protecting the environment, checking the illicit flow of narcotics, organizing relief for victims of disaster, strengthening the law of the sea, and slowing world population growth.

(3) We stressed the importance of having the United Nations act responsibly, equitably, and efficiently in ordering its financial and administrative affairs so that it could carry out its tasks more effectively. Progress was made in holding down the budgets of some agencies, budgeting procedures were improved, and the principle of a lower maximum ceiling for the

United States assessment was endorsed. Nevertheless, the underlying financial problems were not solved and further administrative and procedural reforms are needed in the United Nations.

This report shows that, despite political and administrative shortcomings, multilateral agencies connected with the United Nations offered practical responses to worldwide problems of pressing concern to the American people. Given the fast pace of political, social, and technological change in recent years, it is not surprising that the record of accomplishments was uneven and there were setbacks as well as successes.

During 1972 developments at the United Nations were affected by certain long-term trends which both hold promise and pose problems for effective United Nations action.

—The loosening of old antagonisms, the entry of the People's Republic of China into the mainstream of United Nations work, and the growing importance of powers such as Japan could in the long run enable a near-universal United Nations to become a more effective instrument for dealing with serious world political and security problems.

—However, we also have to recognize that the continuing tendency to use the United Nations for propaganda advantage and to pursue political rivalries makes accommodation more difficult. For the near term, where the interests of its strongest members are engaged, the organization can deal only in a limited way with highly contentious political issues.

—The emergence in United Nations bodies and conferences of an active majority led by a number of the developing nations continued to make for some distortions in determining the areas of

greatest United Nations attention. While we fully recognize the inherent right of all member nations to be heard, the voting weight of this majority, with its sometimes narrowly defined preoccupations, has tended to create imbalance and to place strains on the effective functioning of the organization.

This report reflects the growing cohesion which has taken place among the third world countries, notably with respect to colonial issues and to demands that rules of international trade and aid be altered in their favor. We were particularly concerned when, under the pressure of bloc voting, the organization adopted one-sided resolutions on certain political issues or failed to take concrete action on such important matters as international terrorism. To call this trend disturbing is not to depreciate the value to the United States of multilateral institutions in which all nations can be heard on matters that affect their security and welfare, conciliation can be pursued, and vital public services can be provided for the international community.

We attempted to adjust our policy during 1972 to take account of these changes. It became increasingly clear that for the present the most productive possibilities for United Nations action are on global problems of an economic, social, and technological nature. United Nations system expenditures reflected this concentration, with some 95 percent of the resources in 1972 going for programs designed to transfer techniques and skills to less developed nations, set standards for international behavior, and provide public services of benefit to all nations.

The following developments during the year were especially noteworthy:

We were gratified by the General As-

sembly's endorsement of the reduction of our United Nations budget assessment from 31.52 percent to 25 percent. We believe this to be a healthy development for the organization, which should not be unduly dependent on the contributions of one member. The maximum assessment ceiling beginning next year is expected to fulfill the requirement enacted by the Congress that the United States should pay no more than 25 percent in the United Nations and in certain specialized agencies after January 1, 1974. The vote of over two-thirds in favor of our position reflected a widespread recognition of the equities involved and of political reality, as well as concern for the maintenance of generous United States voluntary contributions to United Nations development programs.

Following the landmark conference in Stockholm in June, the institutional foundation was laid for international action to protect the environment and a work program was initiated for this purpose. Measures were taken to deal with environmental problems such as pollution from ocean dumping and the preservation of natural, cultural, and historic heritage areas, and a United Nations fund for the environment, which I had recommended earlier, brought pledges from a number of nations.

On the other hand, a major setback was the United Nations failure to take strong and speedy international legal action to combat international terrorism and provide adequate protection for diplomats—measures advocated by the United States and other concerned nations. The Assembly did, however, set up a committee to study the comments of governments on the problem of international terrorism

and submit a report to the next session. While we regret the delay, we hope that the Assembly can make progress on this issue this fall. Progress was made in the International Civil Aviation Organization on the matter of aircraft safety.

The United Nations also advanced its programs for delivering technical assistance to developing nations and setting standards for international behavior in specific fields.

—Management reforms (notably adoption of a country programming system) were implemented which will enable the United Nations Development Program to handle an expanded program of technical assistance more efficiently.

—The organization's capacity to respond to disaster situations was strengthened by the establishment of a United Nations Disaster Relief Office in Geneva, largely as the result of a United States initiative in 1971. The United Nations carried out an unprecedented number of relief activities, notably in Bangladesh and the Sudan.

—There was growing cooperation in outer space. A United Nations working group cooperated in making available to other nations data from our first experimental satellite designed to survey earth resources, and the Convention on International Liability for Damage Caused by Space Objects, which had been negotiated by a United Nations committee, entered into force on September 1.

—The momentum of international action against drug abuse was furthered in several ways: with the drafting of an amending protocol to the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, through increased activity by and contributions to the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse

Control, and through a more active role by the International Narcotics Control Board.

—The population program was placed on a sounder administrative footing by linking the United Nations Fund for Population Activities to the United Nations Development Program. Preparations were continued for the World Population Conference in 1974, which is expected to be as important as the 1972 environment conference.

—Perhaps of the greatest potential significance were the steps taken to accelerate preparations for the Law of the Sea Conference, which will come to grips with such matters as the nature of the international regime for the deep seabed, the breadth of the territorial sea, free transit through international straits, fisheries, marine pollution, and scientific research. A successful resolution of these very difficult issues would help to prevent conflict and assure that the resources in and under the oceans will be equitably and rationally utilized.

The “quiet side” of the United Nations also produced important accomplishments which are covered in this report. Especially noteworthy were the International Atomic Energy Agency’s expanded “safeguards” program to prevent the diversion to weapons use of nuclear materials intended for peaceful uses; the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consulta-

tive Organization’s efforts at spurring agreement to control pollution from ocean dumping; the International Civil Aviation Organization’s efforts to devise effective measures for safe and efficient air travel; the World Health Organization’s continued campaign to suppress communicable diseases and raise the standards of health care; the Food and Agriculture Organization’s work to expand agricultural production and improve nutrition; and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization’s activities to expand scientific communication and protect the world’s cultural heritage.

All these activities clearly demonstrate the stake we have in United Nations efforts to control new technologies for the common good, to bridge the gap between developed and developing countries on matters of trade and aid, to facilitate the exchange of technical and scientific knowledge, and to set standards of behavior for international activity. To these concerns—and to the need to improve the functioning of all multilateral institutions—our nation must give increasing attention in the coming years.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

September 6, 1973.

NOTE: The message is printed in the report entitled “U.S. Participation in the UN, Report by the President to the Congress for the Year 1972” (Government Printing Office, 232 pp.).

248 Veto of the Minimum Wage Bill.

September 6, 1973

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning today, without my approval, H.R. 7935, a bill which would

make major changes in the Fair Labor Standards Act.

This bill flows from the best of inten-

tions. Its stated purpose is to benefit the working man and woman by raising the minimum wage. The minimum wage for most workers has not been adjusted for five years and in the interim, as sponsors of this bill recognize, rising prices have seriously eroded the purchasing power of those who are still paid at the lowest end of the wage scale.

There can be no doubt about the need for a higher minimum wage. Both fairness and decency require that we act now—this year—to raise the minimum wage rate. We cannot allow millions of America's low-income families to become the prime casualties of inflation.

Yet in carrying out our good intentions, we must also be sure that we do not penalize the very people who need help most. The legislation which my Administration has actively and consistently supported would ultimately raise the minimum wage to higher levels than the bill that I am today vetoing, but would do so in stages over a longer period of time and thereby protect employment opportunities for low wage earners and the unemployed.

H.R. 7935, on the other hand, would unfortunately do far more harm than good. It would cause unemployment. It is inflationary. And it hurts those who can least afford it. For all of these reasons, I am compelled to return it without my approval.

ADVERSE EFFECT ON EMPLOYMENT

H.R. 7935 would raise the wage rate to \$2.00 for most non-farm workers on November 1 and 8 months later, would increase it to \$2.20. Thus in less than a year, employers would be faced with a 37.5 percent increase in the minimum wage rate.

No one knows precisely what impact such sharp and dramatic increases would have upon employment, but my economic advisors inform me that there would probably be a significant decrease in employment opportunities for those affected. When faced with the decision to increase their pay rates by more than a third within a year or to lay off their workers, many employers will be forced to cut back jobs and hours. And the worker will be the first victim.

The solution to this problem is to raise the minimum wage floor more gradually, permitting employers to absorb the higher labor costs over time and minimizing the adverse effects of cutting back on employment. That is why I favor legislation which would raise the floor to a higher level than H.R. 7935 but would do so over a longer period of time. The bill supported by the Administration would raise the minimum wage for most non-farm workers from \$1.60 to \$1.90, effective immediately, and then over the next three years, would raise it to \$2.30. I believe this is a much more prudent and helpful approach.

INCREASING INFLATION

Sharp increases in the minimum wage rate are also inflationary. Frequently workers paid more than the minimum gauge their wages relative to it. This is especially true of those workers who are paid by the hour. An increase in the minimum therefore increases their demands for higher wages—in order to maintain their place in the structure of wages. And when the increase is as sharp as it is in H.R. 7935, the result is sure to be a fresh surge of inflation.

Once again, prudence dictates a more

gradual increase in the wage rate, so that the economy can more easily absorb the impact.

HURTING THE DISADVANTAGED

Changes in the minimum wage law as required by H.R. 7935 would also hurt those who need help most. The ones who would be the first to lose their jobs because of a sharp increase in the minimum wage rate would frequently be those who traditionally have had the most trouble in finding new employment—the young, members of racial and ethnic minority groups, the elderly, and women who need work to support their families.

Three groups would be especially hard hit by special provisions in this bill:

Youth: One major reason for low earnings among the young is that their employment has a considerable element of on-the-job training. Low earnings can be accepted during the training period in expectation of substantially higher earnings after the training is completed. That is why the Administration has urged the Congress to establish a modest short-term differential in minimum wages for teenagers, coupled with protections against using teenagers to substitute for adults in jobs. H.R. 7935, however, includes no meaningful youth differential of this kind. It does provide marginal improvement in the special wage for students working part-time, but these are the young people whose continuing education is improving their employability anyway; the bill makes no provision at all for the millions of nonstudent teenagers who need jobs most.

Unemployment rates for the young are already far too high, recently averaging three to four times the overall national

unemployment rate. H.R. 7935 would only drive that rate higher, especially for young people from minority groups or disadvantaged backgrounds. It thus would cut their current income, delay—or even prevent—their start toward economic improvement, and create greater demoralization for the age group which should be most enthusiastically involved in America's world of work.

Domestic household workers: H.R. 7935 would extend minimum wage coverage to domestic household workers for the first time. This would be a backward step. H.R. 7935 abruptly requires that they be paid the same wages as workers who have been covered for several years. The likely effect would be a substantial decrease in the employment and hours of work of current household workers. This view is generally supported by several recent economic studies.

Employees in small retail and service establishments: By extending coverage to these workers for the first time, H.R. 7935 takes aim at the very businesses least able to absorb sharp, sudden payroll increases. Under the burden of this well-intended but impractical requirement, thousands of such establishments would be forced to curtail their growth, lay off employees, or simply close their doors altogether. A "paper" entitlement to a higher minimum wage would be cold comfort indeed to workers whose jobs were eliminated in this squeeze.

OTHER PROBLEMS

H.R. 7935 would also bring almost all government employees under the Fair Labor Standards Act. For Federal employees, such coverage is unnecessary—because the wage rates of this entire group already meet the minimum—and undesir-

able, because coverage under the act would impose a second, conflicting set of overtime premium pay rules in addition to those already governing such pay for Federal employees. It would be virtually impossible to apply both laws in a consistent and equitable manner.

Extension of Federal minimum wage and overtime standards to State and local government employees is an unwarranted interference with State prerogatives and has been opposed by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

NEED FOR BALANCE AND MODERATION

In sum, while I support the objective of increasing the minimum wage, I cannot agree to doing so in a manner which would substantially curtail employment of the least experienced and least skilled of our people and which would weaken our efforts to achieve full employment and price stability. It is to forestall these un-

acceptable effects that I am vetoing H.R. 7935.

I call upon the Congress to enact in its place a moderate and balanced set of amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act which would be consistent with the Nation's economic stabilization objectives and which would protect employment opportunities for low wage earners and the unemployed and especially nonstudent teenagers who have the most severe unemployment problems. To the millions of working Americans who would benefit from sound and carefully drawn legislation to raise the minimum wage, I pledge the Administration's cooperation with the House and Senate in moving such a measure speedily onto the statute books.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

September 6, 1973.

NOTE: The House of Representatives sustained the President's veto on September 19, 1973.

249 Remarks During a Meeting With Economic Advisers. *September 6, 1973*

GEORGE P. SHULTZ [Secretary of the Treasury]. Here are some statistics that will show that the commodity prices have decreased since the wholesale price index figures were collected.

THE PRESIDENT. That is the thing you were mentioning this morning.

SECRETARY SHULTZ. Yes. For example, in the middle of August the prices for soybeans were \$10.26 per bushel. Yesterday, they were at \$7. It has come down \$3.26, or 32 percent.

THE PRESIDENT. That is since the figure that we will read tomorrow?

SECRETARY SHULTZ. That is since the

figure that we will read tomorrow. Those are the soybean futures for today. It is down here, 29 percent. Wheat is still way up there.

THE PRESIDENT. Wheat is no problem. It is corn and soybeans.

HERBERT STEIN [Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers]. Hogs are down. Hogs are down 21 percent.

THE PRESIDENT. How could hogs be down? Because those hogs were fed on that higher-priced corn, weren't they?

MR. STEIN. Well, people aren't buying them. They went up even though they were fed on the higher-priced corn.

THE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will have a press conference tomorrow before he leaves for talks at the Tokyo meeting. It will be general in character.

There has been a rather dramatic drop. Let me say, since we always say, when we give the briefings, don't pay any attention to one month's figures when they are bad—this one-week figure, which was very good and is one which must be kept in context, will report a dramatic drop in soybeans and corn which has taken place since they took the numbers off. They publish tomorrow as to the increase in the wholesale price index which is, of course, very substantial as predicted.

And then he's going on first to Japan and then coming back here and then going to Nairobi, and then you are going from Nairobi to Russia?

SECRETARY SHULTZ. To Russia.

THE PRESIDENT. And then to Bonn?

SECRETARY SHULTZ. Then to Bonn and Yugoslavia finally.

THE PRESIDENT. When are you going to be back here? [*Laughter*]

SECRETARY SHULTZ. I'll be gone for 2 weeks all together.

THE PRESIDENT. Is that all? Fine, fine. When do you sleep? [*Laughter*]

SECRETARY SHULTZ. On the airplane.

REPORTER. What time is the press conference?

SECRETARY SHULTZ. Well, I think probably around noon. I think you have a Cabinet meeting at 10, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. The Cabinet is at 10, and you should be ready for that—I consider this, incidentally, an important press conference—and you can also go into these tax matters and all the prospects in that field and so forth.

One of our major problems, incidentally, I might say, is, as you were just talk-

ing about the trade bill, Wilbur Mills' incapacity. I don't know whether you knew he has just had an operation, a disc operation, which, incidentally, if he had asked me, I would have told him never to have it. I haven't had one, but I have never known one that was successful.

SECRETARY SHULTZ. Well, it was reported. I talked to him earlier this week.

THE PRESIDENT. Surgeons always want to cut, but nevertheless, I remember when he sat in a chair the other day, one of those straight chairs, that is when he told me about his—when he lectured John Kennedy on the fact. "Look here, Mr. President," he said, "there is no chance for even a Democratic Congress to give a Democratic President the chance to move taxes up and down." Remember, he said that. So, he said, "Please don't ask us for the investment tax credit."

But the problem in Mr. Mills' case is that he is so vital for our trade legislation. He is the leader in this area, not that Mr. Ullman—

SECRETARY SHULTZ. Mr. Ullman is taking hold very well.¹

THE PRESIDENT. He is a top-flight man. But Mills we have counted on, we have been working with a great deal, and when he is not there, we miss him. That doesn't mean we are pessimistic about the outcome. It does mean that our timetable may slow down just a bit.

SECRETARY SHULTZ. Well, the committee met yesterday, and they have met today, and all of our reports—and I have talked to Congressman Ullman a couple of times in the last few days—are that the committee is moving well through the bill.

¹ Representative Al Ullman was acting chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee during Representative Wilbur D. Mills' absence.

And they are, I hope, going to give me a statement that I can make at the opening of the trade negotiations next week, on their expectations about getting the bill through.

THE PRESIDENT. You might want to question the Secretary tomorrow on the trade bill and its various problems.

REPORTER. Mr. President, when you spoke of a dramatic drop, did you mean a dramatic drop in the price of corn and soybeans?

THE PRESIDENT. What we call futures. Here is a little preview to the press conference.

SECRETARY SHULTZ. Here is the average price for soybeans per bushel in the period August 13 to 17.

THE PRESIDENT. That is the figure that is going to come out tomorrow and scare everybody to death.

SECRETARY SHULTZ. I don't know what has happened today. Yesterday, the cash price for soybeans was \$7, so that is a decrease of \$3.26, or about 32 percent.

THE PRESIDENT. Over a period of 2 weeks.

SECRETARY SHULTZ. When you look at a chart of this, it is really pretty interesting. The price went way up, and now it has come down. The following month, assuming the prices stay around this level, we will see a big decrease. But in the farm area, the prices are very volatile. They go up and down a lot.

THE PRESIDENT. Except lately they have been going up.

SECRETARY SHULTZ. Yes, that is right.

THE PRESIDENT. However, on both soybeans and corn, one of the factors that has been helpful has been the very considerable increase in production, and also a somewhat lessening demand—Herb, you pointed that out this morning to the

leaders—abroad, somewhat; isn't that true?

MR. STEIN. Well, the export demand doesn't seem to be quite as big as had been expected.

THE PRESIDENT. That is right. It is less than our expectations, although still big. Don't feel sorry for the farmers. They are doing very, very well in spite of this, right? \$2.20 corn, you make plenty of money. They won't make as much as they want, but they will make a lot, right?

MR. STEIN. Right.

THE PRESIDENT. And \$7 soybeans, you don't lose any money on that, do you? I don't even know what a soybean is. *[Laughter]*

REPORTER. Are these August figures, and then you will project for the future?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, you see the figures come out tomorrow.

SECRETARY SHULTZ. I won't give them out. They will be released by the Department of Labor.

THE PRESIDENT. He will interpret them.

SECRETARY SHULTZ. People have been able to calculate what this index is likely to show fairly well.

REPORTER. What were those prices for, Mr. Secretary, wholesale?

SECRETARY SHULTZ. Well, there are prices in the wholesale market, there is a cash price here on this table. There is a September price, and there is a November price, and I was looking at the cash price and you can see it here.

THE PRESIDENT. Let me keep it all in context by saying that this report, that is somewhat encouraging, does in no way change our attitude toward the urgency of the problem. The problem of rising food costs is still with us and will continue to be with us, but it does indicate that our

approach of really pouring the coal on, in terms of getting the supplies up, may be beginning to bear some fruit. Now we will see what happens to the prices next time. If they go up, you were wrong.

MR. STEIN. I am not a forecaster. I just pointed out what has happened. *[Laughter]*

THE PRESIDENT. We leave the forecasting to Stein. You take the credit or discredit. Economists are expected to be wrong.

MR. STEIN. It averages out. Nine times you're wrong, and once you're right.

THE PRESIDENT. You are battling like the California Angels.

REPORTER. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The exchange of remarks, which began at 3:37 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House, took place during a portion of the meeting when reporters and photographers were invited to be present.

The President was meeting with the Troika—Secretary Shultz, Mr. Stein, and Roy L. Ash, Director of the Office of Management and Budget—to discuss Wholesale Price Index figures for August and other economic matters. Also present were Counsellors to the President Melvin R. Laird and Bryce N. Harlow.

On the following day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Secretary Shultz on economic matters and his forthcoming trips to Tokyo and Nairobi.

250 Remarks About the Nation's Energy Policy. *September 8, 1973*

AS you know, we have just completed a 2-hour meeting in the Cabinet Room of the major Administration officials having responsibilities in the field of energy. Governor Love presided over the meeting at my direction and gave a report with regard to the programs that he has initiated and that had been initiated prior to his taking over this assignment.

I would like to summarize for the members of the press, before having the Governor answer your specific questions in this field, the problem as I see it at this time.

We have heard a lot about a crisis. I do not use that term, because we do not face a crisis in that sense of the word. I would simply say that in the short term we face a problem, a problem with regard to energy—heating, for example, this winter, just as we thought we faced a problem of gasoline this summer, and the possibility of brownouts.

We are not Pollyannaish about solving that problem, but insofar as the short-term problem is concerned, Governor Love has a program which he is working on and one which is designed to meet the problem and to deal with it.

So, I would summarize by saying that short-term we face a problem. But long-term, and this is the important thing for us to remember, the prospects for adequate energy for the United States are excellent. I would say the prospects for adequate energy for the United States are as good as they are for any industrial nation in the world and perhaps better, better because of our enormous research capabilities.

This morning we addressed both the short-term problem and the long-term problem and the legislative problem and the administrative problem.

In my press conference a couple of days ago, I mentioned seven pieces of

legislation. Today we have moved down to four pieces of legislation that we consider to be of the highest urgency and that must be acted upon before the end of the year. These pieces of legislation deal with both the short-term problem and address themselves particularly, however, to the long-term problem.

One is the Alaska pipeline, which is presently in conference and, of course, where the prospects are excellent. The second is the deepwater ports. The longer we wait here, the longer we are going to have to wait to have the capacity to bring in the products from abroad that we need to meet our energy needs. The third is the deregulation of gas. This we must act upon now, because only through deregulation can the new construction, which is essential, the new construction, the drilling, et cetera, and the refineries be undertaken. And the fourth is the legislation with regard to strip mining.

The strip mining legislation, as we know, has elements of controversy because of conflict with the environmentalists. But Mr. Train¹ was here at the meeting this morning, at our request, and he has been participating in all of these meetings, and he believes that the legislation that we have presented to the Congress, properly administered, is one that can be consistent with our environmental goals.

So much for what the Congress should do. These four pieces of legislation that Congress should consider on a high priority basis, because failing to act means that we could have very serious problems, not

just this year but, particularly in the years ahead.

The other points that I would make are with regard to what we can do and have done and are doing from an administrative standpoint, that do not require legislation.

One is the relaxation of emission standards. Governor Love is calling together several Governors who have particular interest in this area, and he will be meeting with them either next week or early in the following week. The relaxation of emission standards will have the effect of dealing with the immediate problem, the problem we face this winter, and unless those standards are relaxed, we could have a very serious problem this winter. That is why the Governor is moving in this particular area. This can be done, incidentally, administratively, but it requires the cooperation of the Governors because the Governors have, in many instances, as a result of our asking them to do so, had their legislators adopt standards at the State level which presently are State law. It will be necessary for those to be modified.

A second area where administrative action is possible is with regard to the Elk Hills Naval Reserve. Here, consultation with the Congress is required, and we will institute that kind of consultation that is necessary, particularly with the Armed Services Committee. But developing the Elk Hills Reserves is essential in terms of providing, from our domestic sources, for the needs that we have.

And consequently, we are moving next week in the consultative process so that we can go forward with the Elk Hills development.

¹ Russell E. Train was Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality and Administrator-designate of the Environmental Protection Agency.

And then further—and this looks down the road—we gave the go-ahead this morning for a sharp step-up in the development of peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

Now, there are many old wives tales and horror stories that are told about nuclear plants and all the rest. Russell Train was there; I asked him about the effect on the environment, to separate out the fears from what actually the facts were. He came down on the side of going forward with the program, the development of nuclear power, not only having in mind our present technology but also research which would allow us to develop nuclear energy in much more exciting ways, looking to the future, for peaceful purposes.

And in this field, I will be meeting, myself, next week with members of the Atomic Energy Commission, along with the Governor and with Russell Train so that we can give new impetus to that program of the development of nuclear power for peaceful purposes.

We were the first to make the breakthrough in nuclear power for military purposes. We have lagged behind in peaceful uses. Some nations abroad, while they certainly do not have our technology, at least have more thrust here, they have more drive here in this area than we have. But the development of nuclear power for peaceful purposes is to be a major Administration initiative from now on through the balance of our term here.

In the field of research also—this relates clear back to the strip mining a moment ago—is the area of research with regard to the use of coal. Secretary Morton pointed out in our meeting this morning that when we think of the energy sources for the United States, that 4 percent, only 4 percent presently in the

ground, come from oil, 3 percent potentially from natural gas, and 91 percent from coal.

The United States, at the present time, has almost half of the coal reserves of the world. And the problem only is to get the coal out in a way that is not too destructive to the environment, but also to find the uses for coal, liquification programs, other programs which the Governor is quite familiar with and which I am not, but which he will be glad to fill you in on.

I would simply summarize in this way. The other day in our press conference—the Governor and I did discuss this, and I have asked him, once he does have the time, to perhaps travel abroad and have an opportunity to survey the situation in some of these countries himself—I was asked about the developments in the Mideast and what that meant to us.

The United States would prefer to continue to import oil, petroleum products from the Mideast, from Venezuela, from Canada, from other countries, but also we are keenly aware of the fact that no nation, and particularly no industrial nation, must be in a position of being at the mercy of any other nation by having its energy supplies suddenly cut off.

We are going to do the very best we can to work out problems with the Mideastern countries or any other countries that may develop, so that we can continue to have a flow of imports into the United States of oil products particularly.

On the other hand, the programs that I have discussed here today, for the most part, as you know, deal with developing within the United States itself the capability of providing for our energy resources. We can develop those resources. It can be done within a matter of a very few years. I am not going to put a time-

table on it, but it can be done. Because the United States, as a great industrial nation, the most advanced industrial nation of the world, must be in a position and must develop the capacity so that no other nation in the world that might, for some reason or another, take an unfriendly attitude toward the United States, has us, frankly, in a position where they can cut off our oil or, basically more important, cut off our energy.

I would like to say finally that Governor Love in his brief time here has done a superb job of trying to pull all of the various agencies of the Government together. The conversation within the Cabinet Room was quite spirited. There were

disagreements in certain areas, and finally, however, we did agree on the program that I have outlined here today.

The Governor will be able to answer technical questions about propane and other things, where I am not, frankly, quite knowledgeable.

So, Governor, the ladies and gentlemen are yours.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:08 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House following a meeting on energy policy with Cabinet members and Administration officials.

On the same day, the White House released a transcript of the news briefing on the meeting by John A. Love, Director of the Energy Policy Office, and Charles J. DiBona, Special Consultant to the President on energy matters.

251 Statement About United States Participation in International Trade Negotiation and Monetary System Meetings. *September 8, 1973*

TODAY, at my request, an American delegation of 20 persons will leave for Tokyo for a major new round of multilateral trade negotiations.

Later this month another delegation from the United States will leave for Nairobi for the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank where we hope to build on recent progress toward fundamentally reforming the world's monetary system.

The fact that the United States will be represented by our highest-ranking economic officials at these meetings is a demonstration of our commitment to these vital efforts to improve the international economic system.

We have been working to reform that system since August of 1971. It is clear that some basic reforms are long overdue. It is equally clear that while substantial

progress has been made, there is much still to be done. That is why we particularly welcome these meetings in Tokyo and Nairobi.

The United States has four basic objectives in trade negotiations:

First, we desire to continue the 40-year movement toward freer trade, to achieve for Americans the benefits of expanding world commerce.

Second, we seek to overcome problems in the trade field which have become a source of friction between the United States and our major trading partners. In this sense, the trade negotiation is one part of a broader effort to build a stable and lasting peace.

Third, we want to reform some of the present trading guidelines and practices which reduce trading opportunities for U.S. producers, as well as those of other

countries and which favor some at the expense of others.

Fourth, and finally, we, along with other industrialized nations, are seeking ways to improve trading relationships with the less-developed countries and with countries with differing economic and political systems.

In order to attain these goals, we need the legislative authority contained in the trade bill which I proposed to the Congress last April. I am particularly pleased and encouraged by the progress which the House Ways and Means Committee is now making on this legislation.

I am confident that the major international effort which my delegation will help to launch can lay the foundation for an improved world economic order which

can help increase the prosperity of all Americans, and of people throughout the world. I am heartened by the international consensus which has led to these negotiations. The way is now open for an historic effort of joint statesmanship. If we approach these negotiations in this spirit, there will be no losers—we can all benefit. And their success, by helping to create a more stable and more prosperous world, will be an essential ingredient in achieving our goal of world peace.

NOTE: The United States delegation to the trade negotiations in Tokyo was headed by George P. Shultz, Secretary of the Treasury, and Ambassador William D. Eberle, Special Representative for Trade Negotiations. Secretary Shultz also headed the delegation to the meeting on the world's monetary system in Nairobi.

252 Radio Address About a Special Message to the Congress on National Legislative Goals. *September 9, 1973*

Good afternoon:

Now that the Congress has returned from its August recess, it is important that we focus our attention on what the Congress and the Administration can do together to improve the well-being of all the American people.

Tomorrow, I shall send to the Congress an extensive special message highlighting more than 50 major legislative proposals which this Administration has urged and which still await final Congressional action. Each of these messages is a measure in which you have a stake, because the needs it addresses are your needs.

Today, I want to share with you some thoughts about these proposals and about

the way in which together we can best advance the business of the people.

In these few minutes, I shall not run through all the details, or even all the proposals. Those will be spelled out in tomorrow's message. What I do want to do is to focus on some of the highlights, to explain why I believe action is needed promptly, and to indicate how you can help get that action.

Together, the Congress and the Administration have a heavy legislative workload in these remaining months of 1973. We were elected less as Republicans or Democrats than as public officials charged with a public responsibility. The work to be done is your work, and every week's delay is a week of your time lost.

In considering the work before us here at home, there is a lesson in our achievements internationally.

We have ended America's longest and most difficult war. By working together, we now can build America's longest and best peace.

This year, for the first time in 12 years, Americans are not at war anywhere in the world, and our courageous prisoners of war have returned to their homes.

This year, for the first time in a generation, no American is being drafted into the Armed Forces.

In these past 4½ years, we have set the Nation on a new course internationally, and we have laid the foundation for a structure of peace that can last far into the future.

The particular lesson I would stress today is this: We were able to achieve this because we sought to turn the world away from those things that divide it and to build a new pattern of relationships on the basis of those things that can unite nations and peoples whatever their differences.

By the same token, the time has come to focus here at home on those great goals that can unite all Americans, that affect all Americans, and in which all Americans have a direct and personal stake.

Today, for example, we face urgent needs in six major areas that affect all of the people and in which the Congress has an opportunity to take actions that will help all the people.

We all share a common interest in establishing a stable prosperity without inflation.

We all share a common interest in ensuring that the Nation's energy needs are met.

We all share a common interest in building better and more livable communities.

We all share a common interest in making full use of our Nation's human resources and ensuring greater opportunity for all.

We all share a common interest in combating the scourge of crime and drugs.

We all share a common interest in maintaining a level of national defense that will enable us to maintain the peace.

In all of these six areas, as well as in the other areas of important common interest which I shall also stress in tomorrow's message, legislative proposals now before the Congress can have a significant impact on the life of each of you.

Of these six major areas, the one that affects all of us most urgently and most directly is the Nation's economy.

Our goal is to achieve what America has not enjoyed since the days of President Eisenhower—full prosperity, without inflation and without war.

We have already made substantial progress toward this goal, and because of this progress, the average American family today—despite inflation—has a higher level of real spendable income than ever before. For the first time in 16 years, unemployment in peacetime is below 5 percent.

However, we still face a major challenge. We must check the rise in prices.

We must move on four fronts at once if we are to win the battle against inflation. We must expand production. We must exercise monetary restraint. For as long as controls are necessary, we must make sure they are effective.

We are doing all these things. The tough new Phase IV controls come into

full force this month. The Federal Reserve is checking the growth in the Nation's money supply. We have moved vigorously to expand production, especially food production, and so to reduce the pressure on food prices.

But we could succeed on these three fronts that I have mentioned and we still would lose the battle against inflation, unless we prevail also on the fourth front, and that is—we must hold the line on Federal spending.

We still face the prospect of strong new inflationary pressures as a result of overspending by the Federal Government.

Programs which the Congress either has already passed or is now considering would produce an additional deficit of \$6 billion, and in addition, the Congress has not yet made nearly \$1½ billion of cuts that I have recommended. If these actions by the Congress stand, the result will be higher prices for every American family.

The Federal budget is your budget. It is your budget because you pay for it with your taxes; it is also your budget because it determines whether the prices of what you buy allow you to stay within your family budget.

The most important contribution the Congress can make toward holding down the cost of living is to hold down the cost of Government. But we cannot expect the Congress to do this without your help, without your support in those difficult decisions every Member of Congress faces when confronted with a vote on a bill that would help some of the people, but that would raise the cost of living for all of the people.

The stable prosperity we seek depends also on our full participation in an increasingly prosperous world. A unique and historic opportunity now exists to nego-

tiate an open and equitable world of trade. Most nations have declared their readiness to join in this endeavor. To give us the tools we need for this full participation in this effort, I urge the Congress to act promptly on the Trade Reform Act of 1973, which I proposed in April. This legislation will enable us, in the difficult negotiations which lie ahead, to assure jobs for American workers, markets for American products, opportunities for American investors, and lower prices for American consumers.

Assuring sufficient energy supplies, now and in the future, is another area of urgent national concern. We had a gasoline scare this summer. We could have serious shortages of heating oil this winter. Unless we take prompt and effective action, we can expect little relief from fuel scarcity in the years ahead.

We have taken important administrative actions already to relieve the situation, and we will take additional steps in the next few weeks. But the solution to the energy problem in the long run requires action by the Congress and action now.

There are seven important proposals now before the Congress, designed to help meet our energy needs, on which I am awaiting action. To avoid a major energy crisis in the years ahead, it is vitally important that the Congress act on these seven proposals before it recesses this year. These proposals include, among others, measures to expand the supply of natural gas by deregulating prices; to open the way for creation of the deepwater ports needed for modern oil tankers; to improve our organization to meet energy needs; and of particular importance, to give the go-ahead for building the Alaska pipeline, which already has been delayed

too long and which is vital for making the enormous oil reserves of Alaska available to all of the American people.

I call upon all of you to join me in urging decisive action by the Congress on energy legislation, so that we will have enough heat for our homes, enough fuel for our transportation, enough energy to run the factories that produce our goods and provide our jobs.

Making our towns and cities more livable affects each of us individually and all of us as a nation—and so does the plain fact that the time has passed for the old, paternalistic, Washington-knows-best ways of doing things. We need new and better ways of meeting our social needs, ways that place the power and resources where the problems are, that enlist the energies of the people and the communities themselves, and that recognize that not all wisdom is in Washington.

This Administration has submitted to the Congress a landmark Better Communities Act, which would greatly enhance the ability of all of our communities to make effective use of Federal assistance and to shape their own future. Within the next 10 days, I shall send to the Congress new housing policy recommendations, based on an intensive 6-months study of the strengths and failures of the old legislation and of the changing pattern of the Nation's needs. Vital transportation legislation also awaits action—including a measure to keep the bankrupt railroads serving the Northeast and Midwest in operation without saddling an undue share of the burden on the taxpayer.

America's greatest resource is its people themselves—you, your family, your neighbors. In the area of human resources, among the measures awaiting action is a better schools act which would help con-

centrate Federal education dollars where the needs are greatest, for example, on education for the disadvantaged, for the handicapped, and on vocational education—education to prepare people for jobs. Most important, what we need is a measure which would have the decisions affecting your child's education made by your State, by your local school board, rather than by social planners in Washington, D.C.

Also pending are important proposals in the areas of pension reform, job training, health, and others that can go far toward expanding opportunity for millions of Americans, and thus make this a better nation for all of us.

After nearly 20 years of continuous and sometimes shockingly dramatic increases in the rate of crime, the figures for 1972—released just last month—show that we have finally turned the tide in our battle for a safer America. For the first time in 17 years, serious crime in 1972 was down from the year before.

Much of the credit goes to the new crime legislation that has been enacted during the past 4 years. Much of the credit goes to local law enforcement officials, and much of the credit goes to a changed public attitude toward crime and criminals—away from the era of permissiveness and toward a renewed respect for law, order, and justice.

We must now step up our efforts to ensure that this will be a decisive turning point and that we can continue to make our communities safer once again for law-abiding citizens. Three of the legislative measures on which I urge swift action are designed to do just that: a heroin trafficking bill to tighten enforcement against heroin pushers, a bill to restore the death penalty for certain of the most serious

offenses, and a bill to modernize and reform the entire Federal Criminal Code.

Finally, we come to an area of transcendent importance—that of national defense. In recent years, it has been fashionable to suggest that whatever we want in the way of extra programs at home could be painlessly financed by just lopping \$5 or \$10 or \$20 billion out of the defense budget. This approach is worse than foolhardy, it is suicidal, because we could have the finest array of domestic programs in the world and they would mean nothing if, because of our weakness, we lost our freedom or we were plunged into the abyss of nuclear war.

The world's hope for peace depends on America's strength. It depends absolutely on our never falling into the position of being the second strongest nation in the world.

For years now, we have been engaged in a long, painstaking process of negotiating mutual limits on strategic nuclear arms. Historic agreements have already been reached; others are in prospect. Talks are also going forward this year aimed at a mutual and balanced reduction of forces in Europe. But the point of all these negotiations is that if peace is to be preserved, the limitations and the reductions of arms must be mutual. What one side is willing to give up for free, the other side will not bargain for.

If America's peace and America's freedom are worth preserving, they are worth the cost of whatever level of military strength it takes to preserve them, and we must not yield to the folly of breaching that level and so undermining our hopes and the world's hopes for peace now and in the future.

The questions at issue in achieving these

various goals are not ones of partisanship—of Republicans versus Democrats. And neither, for the most part, are they ones of the President versus the Congress.

In some cases, there are real philosophical differences over how best to meet the needs that we face. The American tradition has always been that we argue these differences out—we compromise some, we settle others by a test of strength. But it is important that we act, that we decide, that we get on with the business of government—that we not let whatever may be our disagreements over the means of achieving these goals bar us from the achievement.

It is important, on all sides, that we approach this legislative season with a willingness to make those reasonable adjustments that are necessary to reach a common objective.

Within that spirit, there are three basic principles which I feel are essential.

We must maintain a national defense sufficient to safeguard us from attack and to provide an incentive for mutual reductions in the burden of armaments for all the world.

We must hold down the total of our expenditures, so that new programs will not be bought at the cost of losing the war against higher prices and higher taxes.

We must recognize that the American system requires both a strong Congress and a strong Executive, and we, therefore, must not place limits on Presidential powers that would jeopardize the capacity of the President, in this and in future Administrations, to carry out his responsibilities to the American people.

There is still enough time to make 1973 a year in which we not only ended

the longest war in America's history but in which we laid the foundation for turning the blessings of peace into a better life for all.

With the Congress, the Administration, and the people working together toward this goal, we can achieve it. It means using to the fullest the days and weeks remaining in this year 1973. It means a willingness on the part of both the Executive and the Congress to cooperate and to seek solutions that are in the common interest.

It also means holding the spotlight of public attention and public debate on those issues that directly and personally affect you and your lives. For it is your attention—your participation in the debate and discussion—that in the final analysis

will determine whether and how well these goals are achieved.

It means that the Congress should join the Executive in making up for the precious time lost this year in failing to act on those measures which vitally affect every American—by going into extra session, if necessary, to complete the people's business before the year ends.

It will take all of us together—the Congress, the Administration, and the public—but we can make this a year of achievement of which we can all be proud. I ask for your best efforts, and I pledge you mine.

Thank you and good afternoon.

NOTE: The President's address was recorded for broadcast at 2 p.m. on nationwide radio.

253 Special Message to the Congress on National Legislative Goals. *September 10, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

As the Congress reconvenes for the closing months of the 1973 legislative season, it returns to a critical challenge.

Our country faces many pressing problems which must be solved with dispatch.

Americans want and deserve decisive action to fight rising prices. And they want every possible step taken now—not a year from now or in the next session of the Congress.

Americans want and deserve decisive action this year to ensure that we will have enough heat for our homes, enough power for our factories, and enough fuel for our transportation.

They want and deserve decisive action this year to combat crime and drug abuse. The national rate of serious crime is now heading down for the first time in 17

years, and they want that downward spiral to continue.

There is also an immediate need to improve the quality of our schools, reform Federal programs for our cities and towns, provide better job training, revamp our housing programs, institute lasting reforms in campaign practices, and strengthen our position in world markets.

Of transcending importance is America's continuing commitment to building a lasting structure of world peace. Our people are now at peace for the first time in more than a decade, and they expect their leaders to do all that is necessary to maintain the peace, including those actions which preserve the Nation's strong defense posture.

At the same time, it is apparent as the fall legislative season begins that many

Members of the Congress wish to play a larger role in governing the Nation. They want to increase the respect and authority which the American people feel for that great institution.

Personally, I welcome a Congressional renaissance. Although I believe in a strong Presidency—and I will continue to oppose all efforts to strip the Presidency of the powers it must have to be effective—I also believe in a strong Congress.

In campaigning for the Presidency in 1968, I called for “national leadership that recognizes the need in this country for a balance of power. We must maintain,” I said, “a balance of power between the legislative and the judicial and the executive branches of Government.”

I still believe in that division of responsibility. There can be no monopoly of wisdom on either end of Pennsylvania Avenue—and there should be no monopoly of power.

The challenge is thus clear. The problems of the Nation are pressing, and our elected leaders must rise to the occasion. These next four months will be a time of great testing. If the Congress is to play its proper role in guiding the affairs of the Nation, now is the time for it to take swift and decisive action.

In sending this message to the Congress today, I want to refocus attention on more than 50 legislative measures which I proposed earlier this year. These proposals, along with my regular authorization requests, are now of the highest priority if we are to meet our responsibilities.

Frankly, the action taken by the Congress on my proposals so far this year has been far less than I had expected. Commendable progress has been made on some fronts, and I have signed into law several bills which were the result of con-

structive compromise between the Congress and the Administration. Among them have been a new approach to farm legislation, a Federal highway bill which will also spur the development of mass transit systems, an increase in social security benefits, airport development legislation, amendments to the Rural Electrification Act, the Economic Development Administration and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration authorizations, an Older Americans bill, an emergency farm loan bill, a national cemeteries bill and a medical care bill for veterans.

Yet the work that lies ahead in the final quarter of the year is far heavier and even more critical than that which has been accomplished so far. Nearly all of the significant proposals that I have submitted to the Congress still await final action. In addition, with more than two months of the new fiscal year already behind us, the Congress has passed only three of thirteen regular appropriations bills, all of which ideally should have been passed before the fiscal year began. I regret that it has also been necessary for me to veto six bills this year. Four of those vetoes have been sustained, and the final disposition on two of them has not yet been determined. I am hopeful that in some of these areas where I have exercised the veto, such as minimum wage legislation, the Congress will pass new legislation this fall which will meet my objections. The Congressional agenda for the next four months is thus long and urgent.

I realize that it will not be possible for the Congress to act this year on all of the legislation which I have submitted. But some of these measures respond directly to the most immediate problems before the country. I will give special attention to them in this message, just as I trust the

Congress to give special attention to them before the last gavel falls later this year.

In the spirit of responsible cooperation which must prevail between the Executive and the Congress if we are to make genuine progress this fall, I am fully prepared to work closely with Members of the Congress in hammering out modifications to these bills. Already this year I have met more often with the bipartisan leaders of the Congress than in any other year of my Presidency, and I hope to meet even more frequently with Members of the Congress during the coming weeks. In addition, Cabinet members and all other appropriate members of the Administration will be fully accessible and available. There are, of course, certain principles of vital national concern which cannot be compromised—the need for budgetary discipline, for a strong national security posture, and for the preservation of the requisite powers of the executive branch. But within these limits I stand ready to find workable compromises wherever possible on solutions to our national problems.

The overriding question, however, is not the degree of compromise which is reached between the executive branch and the Congress, nor is it a matter of who receives the credit. The most important question concerns the results we achieve for the American people. We must work hard and we must work constructively over the next four months to meet the country's pressing needs. It is on that basis that we shall be judged.

THE FIRST GOAL: A BALANCED BUDGET

No issue is of greater concern to the American public than rising consumer prices. The battle against inflation must

be our first priority for the remainder of this year.

The executive branch is already actively engaged in this fight:

—We have imposed a strong, new set of economic controls which should help to bring a reduction in the rate of inflation by the end of this year.

—We have taken a series of measures to expand food supplies, so that production will keep up with growing demands. The farm bill passed by the Congress and signed into law last month will make a significant contribution to this effort.

—Thirdly, the Federal Reserve System has been working to maintain reasonable controls on the flow of money within the economy, which is essential to reducing inflation.

We are moving in the right direction, but we must recognize that we can reach our goal only if we also apply the single most important weapon in our arsenal: control of the Federal budget. Every dollar we cut from the Federal deficit is another blow against higher prices. And nothing we could do at this time would be more effective in beating inflation than to wipe out the deficit altogether and to balance the Federal budget.

Eight months ago I submitted to the Congress a new budget calling for Federal outlays of \$268.7 billion during fiscal year 1974. Since that time, the Congress has undertaken a serious and commendable effort to establish its own mechanism for controlling overall expenditure levels. If that effort succeeds, the Congress will have a much more reliable tool for holding spending to acceptable totals.

At the same time, the Administration has been working to increase the efficiency and thus cut the cost of the Government.

We now expect to end the current fiscal year with no increase of civilian employees over last year's level and with 80,000 fewer employees than in 1972, despite the fact that the workload has increased. I have also acted to delay a pay increase for all Federal employees for a period of 60 days in order to hold the spending line. Clearly, the men and women in the Federal Government are doing their fair share in the inflation fight.

Yet the battle for essential budgetary discipline is still far from won. Although we are only two months into the new fiscal year, the Congress has already enacted programs which would exceed my total budget by some \$2 billion and it is considering additional legislation which, if passed, would add another \$4 billion of spending in excess of my budgetary requests. In addition, the Congress has failed to enact specific program reductions I have recommended which amount to nearly \$1½ billion. Thus, if the Congress continues to follow its present course, the American taxpayers will soon receive a bill for more than \$7 billion in increased spending.

These increases, if allowed to stand, would drive this year's budget over the \$275 billion mark. That figure would represent a 12 percent increase over last year's budget level. A continuation of that trend would increase the annual budget burden to some one-half trillion dollars by 1980. Clearly we need to draw the line against this tendency. And the time to draw the line is 1973, when excessive spending packs an inflationary wallop that is particularly dangerous.

The Congress has indicated a strong desire not only to control the total level of governmental outlays but also to determine which programs should be curtailed

to achieve those levels. I call upon the Congress to act while there is still time, while vital spending bills are still before it, and while it can still go back and reconsider actions taken earlier this year. A great deal of the recent budget busting has been done not through the conventional appropriations process, but through "backdoor" funding and mandatory spending programs approved by legislative committees—two approaches which need to be carefully reviewed. I am fully prepared to work closely with the Congress in determining the best ways to control expenditures and in discussing the particular programs that should be cut back.

In our joint efforts, however, I continue to be adamantly opposed to attempts at balancing the overall budget by slashing the defense budget. We are already at the razor's edge in defense spending. In constant dollars, our defense spending in this fiscal year will be \$10 billion less than was spent in 1964, before the Vietnam war began. Our defense forces are at the lowest level since the days just before the Korean war, and a smaller part of our gross national product is being spent on defense than in any year since 1950. Further cuts would be dangerously irresponsible and I will veto any bill that includes cuts which would imperil our national security.

Some people have become so accustomed to Federal deficits that they think a balanced budget is impossible. But balancing the Federal budget is no pipe-dream; it is a realistic goal. The figures for fiscal year 1973 show that we held spending more than \$3 billion below our target figure—and that the budget was actually in surplus during the last three months of the fiscal year.

This record was achieved in part be-

cause of the cooperation of the Congress in certain areas, and I am grateful for that cooperation. In other areas, however, Congressional spending was excessive and I found it necessary to veto certain measures and reserve certain funds. I would have preferred not to have exercised those powers, but the public interest demanded that I take such actions. Should those actions prove necessary again in the months ahead, I will not hesitate to take them.

STRENGTHENING THE ECONOMY

The fight against inflation must move ahead on many fronts. Even as we strive to hold the line on Federal spending, we must also take a number of additional actions to strengthen the economy and curb rising prices.

TRADE REFORM ACT

One of the most important of all the bills now before the Congress is my proposed Trade Reform Act of 1973. It is important that final action on this measure be taken in the next four months.

This legislation represents the most significant reform of our approach to world trade in more than a decade. But it builds on a strong tradition, steadily maintained since the days of Franklin Roosevelt, of giving the executive branch the authority it needs to represent the Nation effectively in trade negotiations with other countries.

The weeks and months ahead are a particularly important time in international economic history. This month sees the formal opening of a new and highly important round of trade negotiations in Tokyo and the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank in Nairobi. The Nairobi meeting is

highly important to international monetary reform negotiations. Decisions which grow out of both of these meetings will shape the world's economy for many years to come. The United States can be a much more effective participant in such discussions if the Congress provides the tools contained in my proposed trade reform legislation.

The United States continues to seek a more open trading world. We believe that artificial barriers against trade among nations are often barriers against prosperity within nations. But while the trading system should be more open, it should also be more fair. The trading game must be made equitable for all countries—giving our workers, farmers and businessmen the opportunity to sell to other countries goods which they produce most competitively and, as consumers, to buy goods which their counterparts in other countries produce most competitively. In bargaining for a more open and more equitable trading system, our negotiators must be equipped with authorities comparable to those of their counterparts from other nations.

My trade reform legislation would provide a number of such authorities and thus would strengthen our bargaining position. I emphasize again that the Congress should set up whatever mechanism it deems best for closer consultation and cooperation with the executive branch to ensure that its views are properly represented as trade negotiations go forward.

At the same time, I have also requested actions to ensure that the benefits of expanding international trade are fairly distributed among our own people and that no segment of our economy is asked to bear an unfair burden. My proposals would give us greater flexibility in pro-

viding appropriate relief from imports which cause severe domestic problems and would also liberalize our programs of adjustment assistance and other forms of compensation to help workers who are displaced because of rising imports. They would also equip us to deal more adequately with the unfair trading practices of other countries, and through expanded trade, to "sop up" some of the excess dollar credits now held abroad which can play havoc with domestic markets.

Other authorities contained in the bill would give us greater flexibility to use trade policy in fighting inflation, correcting our balance of payments, expanding our exports, and advancing our foreign policy goals. One provision of this bill, authorizing the President to extend Most Favored Nation treatment to those countries which lack that status, would be particularly helpful in carrying out our foreign policy and I continue to give it my strong support.

Altogether, the proposed Trade Reform Act of 1973 represents a critical building block as we seek to construct a durable structure of peace in the world and a vibrant and stable economy at home. In the difficult negotiations which lie ahead, this legislation would enable us to assure more jobs for American workers, better markets for American producers, wider opportunities for American investors and lower prices for American consumers.

EXPORT ADMINISTRATION ACT

The Export Administration Act amendment which my Administration proposed on June 13th is another weapon which could be helpful in the fight against

rising prices. One of the most important causes of the recent inflationary surge has been the extraordinary boom abroad and the additional demand which it has generated for our products. On the whole, this boom should be seen as a healthy, long-range development for our economy as well as for other countries. But as I said last June, when we have pressing shortages in this country and when we must choose between meeting needs abroad or at home, then "we must put the American consumer first."

This is why I have asked for new and more flexible authority to establish certain controls on food and other exports when and where they are needed. I continue, however, to oppose permanent controls because they can upset and discourage our entire pattern of healthy trade relationships and thus complicate the fight against inflation. Our limited controls on soybeans were changed last Friday to permit full exports on new contracts. This action was taken because we are convinced that stocks and new crop supplies are more than adequate to meet our own needs.

Nevertheless, I still seek the authority I requested last June to be sure we will be able to respond rapidly, if necessary, to new circumstances. I also emphasize that new controls will be imposed only if they are absolutely needed.

TAX REFORM

This Administration continues its strong opposition to a tax increase. We want to fight inflation and balance the budget by placing restraints on spending and not by adding to our current tax burdens.

At the same time, I remain vitally in-

terested in finding ways to make our present tax structure fairer and simpler. Tax reform has been under consideration for some time and there is a continuing need for revising and simplifying the tax laws. My Administration has made some specific suggestions to that end and has indicated a willingness to work with the tax writing committees of the Congress in a general review of the Internal Revenue Code. This important task should be undertaken now rather than during an election year when political pressures invariably make such reform more difficult.

I would call special attention to one tax reform measure extensively discussed during the 1972 campaign and now pending before the Congress. That is my recommendation for providing property tax relief for older Americans. Retired people with low incomes bear a crushing and unfair property tax burden in many States. Even though their incomes decline with retirement, the property tax in many cases goes on rising. As a result, the home which should be a symbol of financial independence for older people often becomes another cause of financial strain. I again urge prompt action on the Administration's proposal to provide a special tax credit to help older people with lower incomes pay their property taxes. Simple justice demands it.

STOCKPILE DISPOSAL ACT

Another important action which the Congress can take in the battle against rising prices is to provide the necessary authority for selling part of our national strategic stockpile—materials which are no longer needed for national security. I requested such authority last April with

regard to \$4 billion worth of goods in our stockpile. Such sales, by allowing us to increase supplies in the marketplace of major commodities, could help provide important relief for hard-pressed American consumers. Further, this bill could help to maintain and provide employment for workers whose jobs are dependent upon the availability of basic commodities such as aluminum, zinc and copper, all of which are in short supply.

Our country's strategic stockpile still reflects the economic and military realities of the 1950's—in fact, 95 percent of the current stockpile was acquired before 1959. In the 1970's, however, our military requirements have changed—and so has our economic capacity to meet them. My proposed new guidelines for the stockpile would carefully protect our national security in the light of these changing realities, while substantially enhancing our economic health.

I regret that this legislation has not moved forward more rapidly during the past few months. In the name of national efficiency, thrift, and price stability, I call again for its prompt and favorable consideration.

OTHER ECONOMIC LEGISLATION

As I indicated in my message to Congress on August 3, I will shortly be submitting my legislation on the restructuring of financial institutions. This is a complex matter which requires thorough but prompt study by the Congress.

I call, too, for speedy enactment of legislation which has now emerged from conference which would establish the Council on International Economic Policy on a permanent basis.

MEETING THE ENERGY CHALLENGE

I have previously stated, and wish to restate in the most emphatic terms, that the gap between America's projected short-term energy needs and our available domestic energy supplies is widening at a rate which demands our immediate attention.

I am taking all appropriate measures within my authority to deal with this problem, seeking to increase our supplies and moderate our demands. Looking to the future, I have announced plans for a large scale increase in our research and development effort, and I have asked my top energy advisor, Governor John Love, to meet with State officials to seek temporary modifications of air quality standards. Such modifications would help to minimize fuel shortages this winter. In addition, I will soon be meeting with members of the Atomic Energy Commission to determine whether we can bring nuclear power plants on line more quickly. But the energy problem requires more than Presidential action; it also requires action by the Congress.

It is absolutely essential that the Congress not wait for the stimulation of energy shortage to provide the legislation necessary to meet our needs. Already we have seen some regional inconveniences this summer with respect to gasoline and this winter we may experience a similar problem with regard to heating fuels.

Over the long term, the prospects for adequate energy for the United States are excellent. We have the resources and the technology to meet our growing needs. But to meet those long-term needs and to avoid severe problems over the short term, we must launch a concentrated effort

which mobilizes the Government, American industry and the American people.

I have recently called for passage of seven major energy bills now before the Congress. Not all of those can be acted upon with equal speed, but four of these bills are of the highest urgency and must be acted upon before the end of this year. These four would provide for the construction of the Alaskan pipeline, construction of deepwater ports, deregulation of natural gas and establishment of new standards for surface mining. All four of these bills are addressed to both our short-term and long-term needs.

ALASKAN PIPELINE

Our first legislative goal—and one that should be achieved this month—is the enactment of an Alaskan pipeline bill. Construction of the pipeline would provide us with up to 2 million barrels of oil per day over which we would have full control and would simultaneously reduce by more than \$3 billion per year our need for oil imports. I have proposed legislation to avoid any further delay in the construction of the Alaskan pipeline and I am gratified that both Houses of the Congress have already passed variations of this proposal. I urge the earliest possible attention to these bills by the House-Senate Conference Committee, so that pipeline construction can begin.

DEEPWATER PORTS

Until domestic resources are in full production and technological progress has reached a point where sufficient energy sources are within reach, we will have to rely upon imports of foreign oil. At the

present time, however, continental port facilities are inadequate to handle our import requirements.

Because of our limited port capacity, the super-tankers presently used for petroleum transport cannot be off-loaded anywhere on our Atlantic coast. I have therefore proposed measures to authorize the construction and operation of deep-water port facilities in a manner consistent with our environmental priorities and consonant with the rights and responsibilities of the States involved.

We must not delay this important legislation. To do so would further delay the economical import of petroleum and would mean increased costs to the American consumer, unnecessary threats to our coastal environment, and further loss of revenues to Canadian and Caribbean ports which are already capable of off-loading large super-tankers.

NATURAL GAS

For several years Federal regulation of natural gas has helped to keep the price of that product artificially low. Large industrial consumers have welcomed this system of regulations—it has helped them to hold their fuel costs down, and since natural gas is the cleanest of our fossil fuels, it has also enabled them to meet environmental standards at an artificially low cost. This system of regulation, however, has also had the unfortunate result of discouraging producers from expanding supplies. As a result of high consumption by industrial uses coupled with the reluctance of producers to explore and develop new sources of natural gas, we now face a natural gas shortage.

I have therefore proposed that we begin a gradual move to free market prices for

natural gas by allowing the price of new supplies of domestic natural gas to be determined by the competitive forces of the marketplace. This action should provide a secure source of natural gas at a price significantly lower than alternative sources. While there may be an increase in the price of natural gas over the short term that increase should be modest.

SURFACE MINING

Our most abundant domestic source of energy is coal. We must learn to use more of it, and we must learn to do so in a manner which does not damage the land we inhabit or the air we breathe.

Surface mining is both the most economical and the most environmentally destructive method of extracting coal. The damage caused by surface mining, however, can be repaired and the land restored. I believe it is the responsibility of the mining industry to undertake such restorative action and I believe it must be required of them.

I have proposed legislation to establish reclamation standards which would regulate all surface and underground mining in this country. These standards would be enforced by the States. I call again for enactment of this proposal, for it would enable us to increase the supply of a highly economic fuel while avoiding the severe environmental penalties which we have often paid in the past.

REORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL ENERGY EFFORT

The four energy bills discussed above can and should be passed by the Congress this year. There are three additional measures proposed by the Administration

whose early passage is important but not so critical that they require action this year. I would hope that these measures would be near the top of the legislative agenda in the future.

One of these bills provides for reorganization of the Federal energy effort. While energy is one of our Nation's most pressing problems, and while the preservation and effective use of our natural resources is an imperative policy goal, it is presently impossible to administer these related objectives in a coordinated way. Our ability to manage our resources and provide for our needs should not be held hostage to old forms and institutions.

I have noted repeatedly the need for thorough reorganization of the executive branch of the Federal Government. I believe the need for reorganization is especially acute in the natural resource area. I have urged and I urge again the creation of a Department of Energy and Natural Resources to permit us to deal with these questions in a more comprehensive and more effective manner.

I also again ask the Congress to create a new, independent Energy Research and Development Administration so that we can make the very best use of our research and development funds in the future. Our research and development effort could produce the most helpful solutions to the energy problem. For that reason, I recently announced plans to initiate a \$10 billion Federal effort in this field over the next five years. No legislative action is needed by the Congress this year to provide funding, but it will be necessary for the Congress to approve such funding in the years ahead.

Since regulation of atomic energy resources can be better and more fairly performed if it is disengaged from the ques-

tion of their development and promotion, I have also included in this reorganization package a separate and independent Nuclear Energy Commission to perform these vital duties.

SITING OF POWER PLANTS

One of the major energy questions we face in 1973 is whether we can provide sufficient electric power to light our cities, cool and heat our homes, and power our industries in the decades ahead. One of the solutions to that problem lies in the increased use of nuclear energy. It is estimated that by the year 2000 nuclear power can provide nearly half of this country's electrical production.

We now have adequate safeguards to ensure that nuclear power plants are safe and environmentally acceptable, but the way in which we apply those safeguards sometimes causes unreasonable delays in construction. Similarly, protracted delays have been encountered in the siting of our plants that are powered by fossil fuels, which still must provide the majority of our electric generation capacity over the next three decades. Accordingly, I have proposed legislation which would streamline the process for determining the sites of power plants and transmission lines while continuing to provide full protection for public health and for the environment. This legislation has been under study for two years, and I am anxious to get it out of committees and onto the statute books.

SANTA BARBARA ENERGY RESERVE

It is important to the necessary expansion of our domestic energy resources that we make more effective use of the vast oil

and gas reserves along our Outer Continental Shelf. That is why I have ordered the Department of the Interior to triple the leasing schedule in this area and have directed the Council on Environmental Quality to study the feasibility of extending Outer Continental Shelf leasing to the waters off our Atlantic Coast and the Gulf of Alaska. I am equally determined, however, that our efforts to expand energy production should not run rough-shod over our valid concern to protect and enhance the natural environment.

I have therefore proposed in the past, and have resubmitted to the Congress this year, legislation to cancel oil leases in the Santa Barbara Channel and to create in that area a National Energy Reserve. Under this legislation, oil from Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 1 in California would be substituted for the oil off Santa Barbara and part of the proceeds from that production would be used to meet the expenses of exploring other potentially vast oil and gas reserves in Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 4 in Alaska. I believe that this legislation would permit us to maintain momentum in exploration and development while at the same time removing the threat of oil spills as a result of the unique geological formations off the Southern California coast.

In view of the present scarcity of fuels, it is important that we act now to draw upon the oil available in the Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 1 (Elk Hills). During the next several days, at my direction, representatives of the Administration will seek the necessary consultations with members of the Congress in order to increase production of oil from Elk Hills. This increased production should help to meet the fuel needs of the West Coast this winter.

RESTORING AND RENEWING OUR ENVIRONMENT

In my message to the Congress on February 15th of this year, I was able to report that our Nation had moved away from an era of environmental neglect into a new era of restoration and renewal. The 92nd Congress helped in this process by enacting a number of important measures in 1971 and 1972.

Unfortunately, that Congress failed to act upon nineteen of my environmental proposals, and the Administration therefore resubmitted them last winter to the new Congress. While most of these measures still await action, I continue to hope that the Congress will turn its attention to them.

Some say we have been the victim of our own success—that we have passed important legislation in the environmental area and that many are now tempted to rest on these laurels. But such lassitude would be dangerous. There are many areas of environmental concern still to be addressed. Three particularly important matters are national land use policy, the regulation of toxic substances, and the assurance of safe drinking water.

NATIONAL LAND USE POLICY ACT

The management of our lands is an emerging need of the highest priority. I firmly believe that land use policy is, and must remain, a basic responsibility of State and local governments and that the Federal Government should not usurp their functions. Nevertheless, the Federal Government should exercise leadership concerning the land use decisionmaking process, since our land is part of our national heritage and since decisions about

land use often have regional and national consequences. The proposals I have made are designed to strike a careful balance between the setting of general standards at the Federal level and specific enforcement at the State and local level.

We first transmitted the proposed National Land Use Policy Act to the Congress in 1971, but there has been no law enacted since then. I am pleased, however, that the Senate has passed legislation incorporating many of the policies I have proposed. This legislation properly delineates the respective roles of the Federal, State and local governments in land use regulation. The Senate bill is deficient, however, in that it imposes an excessive financial burden on the Federal Government. I am hopeful that a responsible compromise can be worked out in the weeks ahead.

TOXIC SUBSTANCES

Because the great quantities of new chemicals now being used by industry pose undefined hazards to human life and the environment, I also asked the Congress again last February for legislation that would set standards for determining whether such chemicals are hazardous.

Such legislation has now passed both Houses of the Congress and is in conference committee. Although the Congressional version differs somewhat from the proposals the Administration has submitted, this new legislation would take the essential step of providing the Environmental Protection Agency with significant new authorities in this area. I am confident that a reasonable solution will be ironed out in conference, and I urge the Congress to move forward as rapidly as possible.

SAFE DRINKING WATER ACT

Finally, we must take new steps to protect the purity of our drinking water. The Federal Government's role in this process, however, should not be that of direct regulation but rather that of stimulating State and local authorities to ensure that national standards are met. I have asked that the primary monitoring and enforcement responsibilities for such standards be left with the States and localities.

This legislation has passed the Senate and awaits action in the House. While I urge prompt approval of this important new authority for the Environmental Protection Agency, I caution the Congress not to impinge on State and local powers and not to shift the responsibility for financing this program to the Federal Government and away from the users, where it belongs.

HUMAN RESOURCE NEEDS

It is an old adage that people are our most precious resource, but our legislative progress so far this year scarcely reflects that belief. Only a handful of bills has been passed in this important field. There are many other human resource measures proposed by the Administration and now pending before the Congress which deserve prompt consideration.

EDUCATION

As the Congress resumes its work for the fall legislative session, some 50 million young Americans are returning to elementary and secondary school classrooms all across the country. There they will pursue the education which is so important in broadening their horizons for the future

and keeping our country progressive and free. Making sure that real educational excellence is available to all of those children must rank high on any list of human resource priorities for our Nation.

Constructive cooperation between the Administration and the Congress has already produced notable gains on this front over the past several years. The dismantling of dual school systems in the South is now virtually complete and the task of remedying school discrimination elsewhere in the country is proceeding harmoniously with forced busing being kept to a minimum. The National Institute of Education, which was created at my request by the Congress in 1972, is becoming the center for educational reform and innovation we hoped it could be. Total Federal outlays for education will reach \$13.8 billion under my 1974 budget proposal—an increase of \$4.8 billion over the 1969 level.

Of crucial importance now, however, is whether those funds are being channeled in such a way as to purchase maximum educational benefit for the students they are intended to help. The experience of nearly a decade since the Federal Government shouldered a major school aid role under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 indicates that these funds are not being used as effectively and equitably as they should be. Elementary and secondary education grant programs have proved so rigid, narrow, fragmented and encumbered with red tape that reform, consolidation, greater equity and simplification are now essential.

It was to meet this need that I first asked the Congress early in 1971 to shift most Federal education programs from a categorical grant basis to a special revenue sharing approach. The need is still unmet

as another school year starts. The best remedy is contained in the principles of the education legislation which the Administration proposed in 1971 and again in March of this year. The principles are more important than the question of how the bill is titled or who gets the credit.

I realize that the Better Schools Act has encountered difficulties in the Congress. I believe, however, that an acceptable proposal can be developed, and I am ready to work closely with the Congress to see that this goal is accomplished.

It will take political courage for the House and Senate to reject proposals which would perpetuate the more than 30 categorical grant programs perennially popular with legislators. But these programs are so tangled that we must move toward streamlining them and toward transferring key decision-making power out of the Washington bureaucracy back to the State and local levels where it can be exercised more intelligently. But if the Congress will keep its attention focused on the question of what best serves our school children, I believe it will recognize the need for prompt action.

Another area of renewed interest this fall is busing. My position is well known. I am opposed to compulsory busing for the purpose of achieving racial balance in our schools. I continue to believe in the neighborhood school—in the right of children to attend schools near their homes with friends who live near them. I continue to believe that busing is an unsatisfactory remedy for the inequities and inequalities of educational opportunity that exist in our country, tragic as those discrepancies are. We have been working to end those discrepancies, and we will continue to do so. But we should also place effective and reasonable curbs on busing in a way which

would aid rather than challenge the courts. Last year I proposed legislation designed to achieve this goal. I will continue to work with the Congress in an effort to enact legislation which will end involuntary busing for purposes of racial balance and concentrate our effort on true opportunity in education.

WELFARE REFORM

Another critical need in the human resource area is to overhaul our welfare system. Earlier this year I directed that vigorous steps be taken to strengthen the management of the welfare program through administrative measures and legislative proposals. I have further directed that the study of legislative proposals include a review not only of the basic welfare program but also its relationship to other programs designed to assist low-income families, such as food stamps, public housing and medicaid. That study is now going forward, and I will be reviewing its results in the weeks ahead.

MANPOWER TRAINING AND RELATED LEGISLATION

A second basic concern of public policy in the area of human resources involves the effort to guarantee to all our people the opportunity and satisfaction of working at a good job for a good wage. The Administration and the Congress have worked together effectively to foster the economic expansion which has now brought our total employment to record levels and has raised real wages significantly. In addition, we have taken important steps to improve the quality of the work environment. These steps have in-

cluded passage of the landmark Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 and a major overhaul of the unemployment insurance system.

But much remains to be done, especially for those workers on the fringes of the labor force whose low skills or other disadvantages leave them "on the outside looking in." Massive Federal aid in the manpower training field, as in education, dates from the 1960's—and here, too, it has become clear from the perspective of the 1970's that reform must be the order of the day. A special revenue sharing approach permitting States and communities to tailor their own programs to local needs will get better results for the dollar than those achieved by inflexible categorical grant programs designed in Washington.

In the face of Congressional rejection of my proposals in this area in 1971 and 1972, I directed the Secretary of Labor last January to implement administratively the principles of manpower revenue sharing, in so far as possible under existing law. That effort is now going forward, but I am certainly prepared to work with the Congress to achieve this same goal through legislation.

Working men and women will also be looking to the Congress this fall for action on three other bills which the Administration is requesting in their interest:

—*The Job Security Assistance Act*, which would establish minimum benefit levels for State unemployment compensation programs and extend coverage to farm workers;

—*The Vocational Rehabilitation Act* amendments, which would extend and improve job training programs for the handicapped, taking the place of an earlier measure whose severe over-spending provisions and pro-

gram distortions necessitated my veto in March; and

- A constructive measure that would *raise the minimum wage* in light of the cost of living increases since the last such adjustment in 1968. Such legislation is essential to replace an earlier minimum wage bill which I felt compelled to veto last week because it would have hurt low-income workers and would have added to inflationary pressures in the economy.

PENSION REFORM

For most Americans, there are now two principal ways of providing for retirement. The first is the social security system, which is the largest system of its kind in the world and one of the most effective. The second is the system of private pension plans. Those plans now cover some 30 million workers and pay benefits to another 6 million retired persons.

As private pension plans have developed, certain flaws have also become apparent. The Federal Government should now act to help correct them. I first asked the Congress to enact pension reform legislation in 1971 and, after 16 months of additional study and hearings, I submitted two new bills to the Congress in the spring of this year.

One of these bills, the Retirement Benefits Tax Act, would give each worker greater rights in his pension plan and require that more money be put into it so that he will be more fully protected if he leaves his job before retirement. Unlike some of the alternative bills, it would also maintain strong encouragement for other employers to set up pension plans—an important provision since about half of the

total private labor force is not covered at the present time.

The second bill, the Employee Benefits Protection Act, would establish tighter fiduciary standards for the administration of the more than \$160 billion now invested in private pension and welfare funds. The unscrupulous activity which has sometimes characterized the administration of these funds in the past convinces me that the Federal Government should play a watchdog role.

I am aware that several other pension proposals have support on Capitol Hill. A reasonable compromise seems in order, and my Administration is anxious to work with the Congress to achieve agreement in the months ahead.

HEALTH LEGISLATION

In the field of health care and medical protection, the Administration remains committed to a broad national health strategy which will eliminate financial barriers to needed medical help for every American family and will open to all our people the promise of longer, fuller lives with increasing freedom from disease. We have nearly doubled Federal outlays for health since I took office, and we have been mobilizing to conquer cancer and to fight other particularly cruel enemies such as heart disease, and drug abuse.

My number one priority in this field over the long term remains the building of a balanced health insurance partnership in which the public and private sectors join to bring the costs of quality care within every family's reach. However, the present crowded calendars of key Congressional committees make it seem more likely to me that the real push for this

reform must come in 1974. We will move forward this fall with the work needed for the introduction of legislation at an early date.

An attainable goal for these final months of 1973 is passage of the Administration's proposed Health Maintenance Organization Assistance Act, which would provide Federal money to demonstrate the promising innovation of group medical centers where quality care can be maximized and costs minimized. The Senate has passed a bill to further the HMO concept. That bill, however, calls for a full-scale development effort rather than a limited demonstration program. A national development effort would require funding levels far beyond what is needed or what we can afford. The House is presently developing a bill which would be a fiscally responsible demonstration effort. If such a bill is passed by the full Congress, I will support it.

LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION

The Administration will also work closely with the Congress in the weeks ahead to obtain final passage of our bill to establish a Legal Services Corporation which would provide the poor with quality legal representation, would be free from political pressures, and would include safeguards to ensure its operation in a responsible manner. Legal Services legislation has passed the House. Nothing should now stand in the way of prompt Senate action.

INDIAN LEGISLATION

The steadfast policy of this Administration is to advance the opportunities of American Indians for self-determination

without bringing an end to the special Federal relationship with recognized Indian tribes. To that end, there are now six major pieces of legislation pending in the Congress which I proposed as long ago as July of 1970. This legislation would help to foster greater self-determination for the Indians, to expand their business opportunities, and to provide better protection of their natural resources. Many Indian leaders have indicated strong support for this legislation, and I would hope that the Congress will now act on it with the speed that it so clearly deserves.

PENSIONS FOR VETERANS

This Administration strongly believes that the Nation owes a special debt to its veterans, and we have tried to fulfill that obligation by supporting a number of improvements in veterans legislation. During the past four years, for instance, I have twice signed bills increasing the educational benefits for veterans and, during the current year, I have signed into law bills covering health care and cemetery benefits. All of those bills were the product of close cooperation between the Congress and the Administration.

The Congress is currently considering new pension legislation for veterans. With certain modifications, this bill would be a good first step toward the full reform which I believe to be necessary and which should be considered during the early days of the next session of the Congress.

CONSUMER AFFAIRS

Early in 1971, after the Congress had failed to act on my proposal to create an Office of Consumer Affairs, I established such an office by Executive order. The of-

office is now a part of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. In addition to playing an important role in forming Administration policy on consumer affairs and helping to educate the public on better ways to make consumer choices, the office seeks to represent consumer interests in testimony before the Congress and acts as a general ombudsman for the individual consumer.

I am convinced that we can do a good job for the consumer without excessive Federal intervention which could destroy the freedom of the American marketplace. However, I believe that more should be done in this field. To that end, I outlined this spring appropriate legislative specifications for establishing a separate Consumer Protection Agency and I am prepared to work further with the Congress on this issue.

VOLUNTEERISM

More than two years ago, in order to advance our tradition of voluntary action, I created a new Federal agency called ACTION. That agency is now responsible for directing federally funded domestic volunteer programs as well as the Peace Corps. ACTION has now proved to be an effective way of encouraging greater voluntary action here and abroad, and I am now anxious to place it on a more permanent footing. Accordingly, I ask that the Congress act this fall to provide legislative authority for this agency. Appropriate language for this legislation was agreed to prior to the August recess by a bipartisan group of sponsors in the House and Senate and by the Administration. I hope that this legislation will soon be sent to me for signature.

BUILDING BETTER COMMUNITIES

As we look back over the past decade, we can take pride in the fact that we have substantially slowed the processes of social upheaval in our cities. Yet by any yardstick, there is a great deal of work ahead if we are to make life in our communities as healthy and enriching as it should be.

It would be reassuring to believe that the expensive Federal Government programs of the past have made great inroads on our urban problems, but that is clearly not the case. Many of the programs designed for this purpose, such as urban renewal and the Model Cities experiment, have not done the job that was expected of them and often have had a counter-productive impact. Consequently, I have recommended they be scrapped. We have learned from experience that we cannot cure our social ills simply by throwing money at them or dictating prescriptions from Washington.

What we are seeking now is a set of new approaches and a set of new programs: we are seeking change that works. My Administration has proposed a series of initiatives which would guide us along a more productive path. I have been keenly disappointed that some Members of the Congress seem so interested in continuing programs that are proven failures that we are unable to gain a full hearing for new approaches that clearly deserve a chance.

So far, the only significant legislative breakthrough this year has been the enactment of a modified highway bill, permitting some of the money in the Highway Trust Fund to be used for vitally needed mass transit systems. This is a concept which I vigorously advocated and I signed

it into law with a strong sense of pride and hope. Other Administration initiatives, however, still languish on Capitol Hill. To break the present stalemate, I am prepared to accept something less than the full legislative measures I have proposed. I would hope that in the same spirit some Members of the Congress would drop their insistence upon continuing the programs which have produced such limited social returns.

THE BETTER COMMUNITIES ACT

The Better Communities Act is the centerpiece of the legislative package which my Administration has sent to the Congress this year in the community development field. Embodied in this bill is a fundamentally different approach to the problems of community life. If it were passed, the Federal Government would continue to funnel money into our communities, but essential decisions on how that money was to be spent would no longer be made in Washington but at the local level. Five categorical grant programs and two loan programs which have proven to be inflexible and fragmented would be replaced and local governments would no longer be hamstrung by Washington's red tape.

I am aware that action on this bill has been delayed partly because some Members of the Congress wish to consider the Administration's housing proposals simultaneously. As I indicated in March, I ordered an intensive six-month study of Government housing policies to be conducted before I submitted such proposals. That study has just been completed and I plan to submit shortly a new set of housing policy recommendations to the Con-

gress. When those recommendations arrive, I am hopeful that the Congress will move swiftly on both the Better Communities Act and the housing requests. Final action in 1973 may be an unrealistic goal, but I would certainly hope that we might have new laws on the books by early spring in 1974.

Finally, it is important that the Congress pass the simple one-year extension of the FHA mortgage insurance programs which will expire October 1. Last week the House of Representatives took constructive action by refusing to act on an extension bill which contained several undesirable "Christmas tree" amendments. The Congress should now act swiftly and responsibly in order to prevent a repeat of the month-long gap in FHA insurance activity which occurred early this summer.

RAILROADS

There can be no doubt that the plight of the rail lines in the 17 States of the Northeast and Midwest presents an immediate and far-reaching transportation problem. Six major railroad lines in this area are now bankrupt and shutdowns are threatened. The danger extends across the country because railroads in other parts of the Nation still use the bankrupt lines. A failure of any significant part of our Nation's railroad system would impair our ability to move freight efficiently and cheaply to all parts of our Nation.

The solution proposed by the Administration would provide for the restructuring of the railroad system so that new, privately-owned and economically viable rail systems could be developed from those now in bankruptcy. The Federal Government would provide some \$125

million over an 18-month period to assist in this process. While we are always open to suggestions for improvement in our proposal, I feel that some of the alternatives which have been aired in the Congress—especially those which would merely postpone action or would saddle the Federal Government with a heavy financial burden, or could lead to quasi-nationalization—are beyond the pale of acceptability. Present bankruptcy proceedings and the possibility of liquidation make it imperative that the Congress act promptly to meet the emerging crisis.

I will soon submit to the Congress my Transportation Improvement Act of 1973. This legislation is designed to address some of the outmoded and excessively restrictive regulatory procedures which affect the entire railroad industry. The steps recommended are critical to creating a healthy system of railroads for our Nation—a matter of increased urgency as we face environmental and energy problems. I urge prompt Congressional action on this important legislation.

DISASTER PREPAREDNESS AND RELIEF

This Administration has had ample opportunity to test our Federal programs for dealing with natural disasters. Since taking office in 1969, I have had to declare 147 major disasters in 42 States and 3 Territories. The year 1972—punctuated by Hurricane Agnes—proved to be a record-setting year in this respect: there were 48 major disasters, accounting in part for the food shortages we have had in 1973.

As a result of these experiences, I am convinced that we can do a better job in preparing for disasters and in providing

assistance to those who are hardest hit. I have proposed two major pieces of legislation designed to insure that 1973 will mark a turning point in the story of our disaster programs.

The first of these measures is the proposed Disaster Preparedness and Assistance Act. This bill is based upon a major recent study of all disaster relief activities of the Federal Government. It is designed to provide badly needed emphasis upon preventive measures and to encourage the use of insurance before disasters strike. It would increase the role of State and local officials in determining how Federal money would be spent in assisting disaster-stricken communities—and it would provide for automatic release of Federal funds in the case of major disasters. Red tape, bureaucratic delays, and Federal interference would be substantially reduced, while Federal assistance would be provided more rapidly. The bill also includes generous grant features for those disaster victims unable to repay Government loans while continuing grants to help communities restore their public facilities.

To date, this legislation, so vital to our efforts to mitigate disaster damage, has received only one perfunctory hearing in the Congress. It deserves more serious consideration.

The second major Administration initiative in this area is the proposed Flood Disaster Protection Act. Flood insurance is a key part of any disaster assistance program. This bill would expand the flood insurance program by increasing insurance coverage from \$6 to \$10 billion. It would also require participation in the flood insurance program by communities that are known to be flood prone, so that residents of these communities would

have more adequate protection and would help to bear a reasonable share of the cost.

The Congress has moved rapidly on this bill; but unfortunately in floor action this past week, the House added a number of amendments that would seriously hamstring the administration of the program and would badly erode its effectiveness. I hope that we can iron out our differences on these crippling amendments in a spirit of constructive compromise that preserves the effectiveness of the bill for those who need it so badly.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

In 1969 I first proposed a series of actions intended to bring about an orderly transfer of political power to the people of the District of Columbia. I called for a Constitutional Amendment giving the District at least one representative in the House and such other additional representation as the Congress may approve. I proposed, and Congress enacted, legislation providing for an interim non-voting Congressional delegate and for the creation of a Commission on the Organization of the Government of the District of Columbia, the so-called Nelsen Commission.

The Nelsen Commission's recommendations deserve careful consideration. If enacted, these proposals would greatly strengthen the capability and expand the authority of the City's government and moderate the Federal constraints over its operation. Once again, I urge rapid action by the Congress.

As the American Bicentennial dawns, I pledge the Administration to work receptively and cooperatively in this area to achieve true and effective self-government for the District of Columbia.

FIGHTING CRIME AND DRUG ABUSE

In recent years, America's peace officers, with the assistance and encouragement of Federal law enforcement agencies and with the support of far-sighted legislation passed by the Congress, have made commendable inroads against crime. After 17 years of continuous and sometimes shocking increases in the rate of crime, the nationwide rate of serious crime went down in 1972.

But this progress must not be taken as evidence that we can now relent in this struggle. Rather, we must redouble our efforts to restore law and order to America, whether it be in the boardrooms of our corporations, in the halls of our government, or on our city streets. We must do all we can to make the present moment a decisive turning point so that our communities will once again be safe. Three of my legislative proposals are designed to do just that: a bill to modernize and reform the Federal Criminal Code; a heroin trafficking bill to crack down on drug pushers; and a bill to restore the death penalty for certain of the most serious Federal offenses.

CRIMINAL CODE REFORM

There is a compelling need for greater clarity and consistency in our criminal laws, especially in those which fall within the Federal ambit. The Federal Criminal Code, which dates back to 1790, has never been thoroughly revised. It is no longer a fully effective instrument for the administration of criminal justice—just as the national transport systems of 1790 would no longer be adequate to the demands of 20th century America.

Since 1966, a number of public and

private studies have been directed to the development of necessary reforms in the Federal Criminal Code. It is time that such reforms be undertaken. I have submitted a sweeping proposal for reform, based upon a five-year study by a bipartisan national commission. This measure would eliminate a number of inadequate, obsolete, or frivolous statutes from the Code and would reorder other statutes into a rational, integrated Code responsive to the needs of our modern society.

Although extensive consideration has already been given to this matter by public and private commissions, I realize that a prudent Congress will still wish to study this matter carefully. Senator McClellan has also introduced his own proposals for comprehensive Code reform. Certainly the best parts of each set of proposals can be joined as the legislative process goes forward. Fortunately, hearings have already begun in the Senate and I trust that both Houses will move with appropriate dispatch on this complex but vital endeavor.

HEROIN TRAFFICKING ACT

In spite of our encouraging progress in eliminating the scourge of drug abuse in America, we still have a long way to go in this vital work.

The center of gravity for America's drug problem rests in the area of "hard drugs"—with heroin at the top of the list. Heroin trafficking is involved with the entire spectrum of criminality, ranging from international organized crime to muggings on the street. It is one of the most remunerative areas of criminal activity and we will never be able to cope with it effectively until the sanctions we

can bring to bear against it are as severe as its profits are attractive.

Recent studies have shown that tens of thousands of those arrested on narcotics charges are put right back on the street for periods ranging up to a year and more as they successfully play for time against the courts. More alarming still is the fact that many thousands of those convicted on narcotics charges are never sent to jail. Such facts mean that the penalties for hard drug trafficking are an ineffective deterrent when compared with the potential gains from this multi-billion dollar criminal activity.

The conclusion is simple. We must have laws that will enable us to take heroin traffickers off the streets. I have submitted a proposal which would do precisely that. It would provide tough new penalties for heroin traffickers including minimum mandatory prison sentences. It would also allow a judge to consider the danger to the community before releasing arrested heroin traffickers on bail.

Heroin traffic is a clear and present danger, the pernicious effects of which all reasonable men can agree upon. While many of the proposals which I have placed before the Congress may require extended consideration, the need for cracking down on the heroin traffic cannot reasonably be supposed to be among them. I ask therefore that the immediate attention of the Congress be given to legislation which would help us eliminate this market for misery.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

The death penalty is not a sanction to be employed loosely or considered lightly, but neither is it to be ignored as a fitting

penalty, in exceptional circumstances, for the purpose of preventing or deterring crime. I wish to reaffirm my conviction that the death penalty should be restored for treason, assassination, acts of sabotage and espionage, which are particularly serious, and for violations of selected Federal laws in which death results.

I am deeply troubled by the fact that our courts are often now deprived of a credible sanction in their efforts against violent crime while prospective criminals are provided with the comfort and encouragement of knowing that they will often suffer only limited and mitigable consequences to themselves. I ask that the Congress continue its efforts to correct this discrepancy.

REFORM OF CAMPAIGN PRACTICES

No subject over the last few months has so stirred public comment and reflection as the question of campaign practices.

For nearly four months now, the Congress has had before it my proposal to establish a Non-Partisan Commission on Federal Election Reform so that we could overhaul our campaign practices in a comprehensive, sound and expeditious manner. In light of the great interest of the public and the Congress in such reform, I am at a loss to understand why only the Senate has acted on this request.

In order to have made any reform effective for the 1974 elections, the Commission should have been established and prepared to submit a report by December 1, as I initially proposed. Unfortunately, this opportunity appears to be slipping by and the American public might well ask whether the interest in reform is restricted

to calling for changes rather than making changes.

While the passage of time has already made it unlikely that reforms which spring from the Commission's study could be made effective prior to the 1974 Congressional elections, it is not too late for the Congress to move forward to establish the Commission.

PREPARING FOR THE BICENTENNIAL

America is virtually on the eve of its Bicentennial anniversary. Yet a great deal of preparation remains to be accomplished in a relatively short time if our celebration of two hundred years of liberty is to be equal to the importance of the occasion. To this end, I have proposed the creation of an American Revolution Bicentennial Administration to continue and expand upon the work of the present American Revolution Bicentennial Commission. The House has passed a bill in this area and the Senate is moving toward final consideration of its version of the bill.

We are moving rapidly toward a fixed point in time, and we must act swiftly if all agencies of the Federal Government, along with State, local, and private institutions, are to be given the maximum opportunity to prepare properly for the Bicentennial year.

Since the expanded resources of the Arts and Humanities Endowments would be designed in part to aid in these preparations, I am also confident that the House and Senate conferees will soon complete needed action on the authorization bill for these two institutions. It is now widely recognized that both of the endowments are playing an effective role in

enriching our cultural and intellectual life, and they continue to deserve our strong support.

METRIC CONVERSION

Americans cherish tradition and our own way of doing things. Having been acculturated from childhood to the concepts of an inch, a mile, or a pound, we are understandably nonplussed when we consider the notion of a centimeter, a kilometer, a gram or a kilo. However, when we realize that the rest of the world is equally confused by our system of measurement, we must conclude, however sadly, that we are the ones who are out of step.

In a world of integrated commerce and increasing personal exchange, it is only prudent for us to adjust our own conceptions and devices for measuring and delineating quantity.

I have recommended to the Congress that it pass legislation to convert America to the metric system. This can be done in a reasonable manner, one which is not abrupt or disconcerting. I am pleased to note that the Administration's proposal is presently before the appropriate House subcommittee. I ask that the Senate give equally expeditious consideration to effecting this necessary change.

REORGANIZATION AUTHORITY

The authority of the President to submit Reorganization Plans to the Congress lapsed in April of this year and has not yet been renewed.

This authority permits the President to organize programs and agencies in order to achieve the most effective and efficient performance. It is, therefore, an im-

portant executive management tool which provides flexibility and increased capacity to respond to changing needs.

This authority has been made available to every President for more than 25 years. It is essential that it be renewed with great dispatch.

KEEPING THE PEACE

For the first time in more than a decade, America is at peace. Now we must learn how to keep that peace—a task that is at least as demanding and in many ways even more subtle than the struggle to end a war.

There is always a temptation after war to enter into a period of withdrawal and isolation. But surely we have learned from past lessons of precipitate disarmament that this temptation must be resisted. And surely we have also learned that our progress in securing peace is due in large measure to our continued military strength and to the steadfast, responsible role we have played in the affairs of our world.

DEFENSE SPENDING

In recent years, it has been fashionable to suggest that whatever we want in the way of extra programs at home could be painlessly financed by lopping 5 or 10 or 20 billion dollars off the defense budget. This approach is worse than foolhardy; it is suicidal. We could have the finest array of domestic programs in the world, and they would mean nothing if we lost our freedom or if, because of our weakness, we were plunged into the abyss of nuclear war.

The world's hope for peace depends on America's strength—it depends absolutely on our never falling into the position of

being the world's second strongest nation in the world.

For years now we have been engaged in a long, painstaking process of negotiating mutual limits on strategic nuclear arms. Historic agreements have already been reached and others are in prospect. Talks are also going forward this year aimed at a mutual and balanced reduction of forces in Europe. But the point of all these negotiations is this: if peace is to be preserved the limitations and the reductions must be mutual. What one side is willing to give up for free, the other side will not bargain for.

If America's peace and America's freedom are worth preserving, then they are worth the cost of whatever level of military strength it takes to preserve them. We must not yield to the folly of breaching that level and so undermining our hopes and the world's hopes for a peaceful future.

Although my military budget—measured in constant dollars—is down by almost one-third since 1968, the Congress is now threatening further defense cuts which would be the largest since 1949. To take such unilateral action—without exacting similar concessions from our adversaries—could undermine the chances for further mutual arms limitations or reductions. I will therefore actively oppose these cuts.

The arms limitations agreement signed with the Soviet Union last year has at last halted the rapid growth in the numbers of strategic weapons. Despite this concrete achievement, much needs to be done to ensure continued stability and to support our negotiation of a permanent strategic arms agreement. A vigorous research and development program is essential to provide vital insurance that no adversary will

ever gain a decisive advantage through technological breakthrough and that massive deployment expenditures will therefore not become necessary. Yet the Congress is in the process of slashing research and development funding below minimum prudent levels, including elimination of our cruise missile and air defense programs. The Trident and B-1 programs, which are critical to maintaining a reliable deterrent into the next decade, are also facing proposals to cut them to the bone.

On top of this, the Senate has approved a staggering and unacceptable cut of 156,000 men in our military manpower. Such action would force us to reduce the number of ships in our Navy while the Soviet Union continues an unprecedented naval buildup and to reduce the size of our Army and Air Force while the Soviet Union and the Chinese continue to maintain far larger forces.

In addition to these cuts, there is also a major Senate proposal requiring substantial unilateral troop withdrawals from Europe, a mistake that could begin a serious unraveling of the NATO alliance. Negotiations for mutual and balanced force reductions begin on October 30. On the very eve of negotiations, the troop cuts in Europe and the reduction in military manpower would destroy our chances of reaching an agreement with the Warsaw Pact countries to reduce troop levels in Europe on a mutual basis. If the Congress were to succeed in making these proposed cuts, the United States would be making far-reaching concessions even before the talks begin.

Cuts in other defense programs are equally unacceptable. It is illogical to cut America's capabilities at the very time the Soviet Union increases hers. And it would be difficult to stabilize delicate situations

in the Middle East and Asia if the Congress removes the influential tools which have made stability possible.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT

Another matter of prime concern to me is our commitment to a sound program of bilateral and multilateral foreign aid. Last spring I sent to the Congress reasonable requests for our economic and military assistance programs. These programs represent a central element in America's ability to work with her allies to maintain peace and stability in the world. Unfortunately, the Congress has not treated these requests favorably.

The House has already cut about 25 percent from the military aid program and the Senate has cut it by one-half. Not only have extraordinary cuts been made in the funding, but restrictive amendments have been added in committee and others may be suggested on the floor. I cannot stand by while these crucial programs are gutted in haste and reaction.

Current foreign aid programs are being funded through a continuing resolution which ends on September 30. This approach is unsatisfactory, especially in light of demands resulting from North Vietnamese truce violations in Cambodia. Yet the Congress continues not only to provide smaller dollar amounts but also to make unreasonable requests for access to sensitive information and impose counterproductive conditions on specific programs. Such demands are unacceptable; they would badly compromise our ability to maintain security around the world.

I intend to make every effort to increase the funding for fiscal year 1974 security assistance requirements. I shall also strongly resist efforts by the Congress to

impose unreasonable demands upon necessary foreign policy prerogatives of the executive branch. A spirit of bipartisan cooperation provided the steel which saw America through the Cold War and then through Vietnam. We must not jeopardize the great potential for peaceful progress in the post Vietnam era by losing that strong bipartisan spirit.

To build a truly durable structure of peace, our progress in reforming the world's trade and monetary systems must be accompanied by efforts to help the poorer countries share more equitably in the world's growing prosperity. To this end, I ask the Congress to support our fair share of contributions to the multilateral development banks—both the proposed contributions now pending in the Congress and other proposals about which I am currently consulting with the Congress and which will be formally submitted in the near future. Our bilateral assistance programs are also an essential part of our effort to stimulate world development and I urge the Congress to give them full support.

All these efforts represent short-range investments in peace and progress which are of enormous long-range importance. To try to save a few dollars on these programs today could cost us far more tomorrow.

CONCLUSION

With the Congress, the Administration and the people working together during the coming weeks, we can achieve many of the goals described in this message. And we will work together most effectively if we remember that our ultimate responsibility is not to one political party, nor to one philosophical position, nor even to one branch of the Government. Our ulti-

mate responsibility is to the people—and our deliberations must always be guided by their best interests.

Inevitably, we will have different opinions about what those interests demand. But if we proceed in a spirit of constructive partnership, our varying perspectives can be a source of greater creativity rather than a cause of deadlock.

We already know that the year 1973 will be recalled in history books as the year in which we ended the longest war in American history. Let us conduct ourselves in the next four months so that

1973 will also be remembered as the time in which we began to turn the blessings of peace into a better life for all.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
September 10, 1973.

NOTE: On the same day, Speaker Carl Albert, Majority Leader Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., and Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford of the House of Representatives breakfasted with the President at the White House and discussed the legislative agenda before the Congress and the Executive.

254 Message to the Annual Assembly of the Atlantic Treaty Association. *September 10, 1973*

IN SENDING my greetings and best wishes for a successful meeting to the Atlantic Treaty Association on the occasion of its 19th Annual Assembly, I am conscious of the unstinting service its members have long given to the cohesion and strength of the Atlantic Alliance. A close and vigorous Atlantic relationship remains vital to the security and prosperity of all of our countries during this period of profound changes in the Atlantic Community and the world at large—changes that offer new opportunities.

Collective defense remains the cornerstone of the Atlantic Alliance. The Government of the United States is pledged to maintain our commitments to the Alliance and to make a substantial contribution on a mutual defense. We confidently expect that each of our allies

will assume its share of the common defense burden, joining in equitable arrangements which strengthen the solidarity of the Alliance. And we expect that the Alliance will continue to evaluate our mutual defense effort in light of the strategic and political conditions prevailing in this decade.

Not only in defense, but in all spheres we have the opportunity as equal partners to chart our future course, to define our common purposes and to strengthen the principles of mutual understanding on which our future relation will depend. I believe that in this we can infuse our old ties with a new dynamism. The United States will do its part, and we look to our partners to join in fulfilling the promise of the years that lie ahead.

255 Remarks at the First National Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime Conference. *September 11, 1973*

Ladies and gentlemen:

I am very happy to welcome you all to the East Room of the White House and to welcome you to this conference. As you can imagine, the responsibilities of whoever is President of this country often include welcoming various groups, and each one, I am sure, believes that it is the most important group ever to come to the White House. Yours very well might be. I say this to others, too, though, I want you to know.

But the point is that we consider that this trip that you have taken was necessary. We want you to return to your cities, to your counties, to your States, feeling that it was worthwhile and that it was not just one of those junkets where people gather together in Washington, talk about a problem, and then go home and continue to do just what you have always been doing in dealing with that problem.

Incidentally, what most of you have been doing in many areas has been the right thing. What we are trying to do here is to bring together the experts in the field to get their ideas to you and to get from you, from the grassroots, your ideas, so that throughout this country we can have a program in dealing with drug abuse which will be more effective than the one we presently have.

Now, my views on this subject, I think, are pretty well known to most of you here in this group. Let me tell you how they developed.

When I came into office in that first year 1969, before the Nation was the problem of drug abuse as a very, very serious

problem. And in a press conference I referred to drug addiction as public enemy number one in this Nation and that therefore it should have the very highest priority within the Federal Government, as well as in State and local governments in dealing with that problem.

And then various people came to see me to talk about the problem and to tell me how to attack it, and it was interesting to find the different approaches. There were some who said the real problem is the source or the supply. If we can just cut off the supply, particularly of hard drugs, heroin, then that means that we will lick the problem, because if we don't have the supply rolling into this country, they will not be able to get it, and that means that you will not have the drug addiction.

So, we have been working on the supply side and working very, very effectively. You know the success of our program with regard to Turkey—Ambassador [William J.] Handley, incidentally, is here today who is now working on this problem—but not only in Turkey but in our relations with France and a number of other countries, we have dramatically cut the source of supply of hard drugs flowing into the United States. We still have a lot to do, and this will still have a very high priority within the Administration.

A second group who discussed this problem came in to see me back in the year 1969 and said, "Now, the supply problem is, of course, very, very important, and we are glad you are working on it. But the real way to get at this is through law enforcement. What we need are stiffer

penalties; what we need are more individuals who can go out and deal with the pushers and the others in a more effective way. And if we can just get the law enforcement tools and the law enforcement personnel, we can turn around the drug problem in the United States."

And so, we moved in the law enforcement front. And we have moved very, very heavily and very effectively at the Federal level, and we have had cooperation from States and local governments in that respect. And those in law enforcement—and I have met with many of them, in New York, in Texas, in California, here in the District of Columbia very, very often—those in law enforcement, many of them, feel that theirs is the most important aspect of this problem.

And then a third area was brought to my attention very, very effectively when Dr. Jaffe¹ came aboard, and that was, it isn't the source—that is important, yes—or law enforcement, but the real way to get a handle on this problem is through treatment, treatment of those who become addicted.

So, we went into a treatment program, one that is not as spectacular as law enforcement and one that is not as spectacular as picking up a big supply of heroin when it comes into the United States—and there have been some very spectacular achievements in that respect—but one which is enormously important. And it is interesting to note, and I am glad that we had the opportunity to note, as this conference begins that two-thirds of the three-quarters of a billion dollars that we are spending at the Federal level in the

treatment of the drug problem goes to the treatment problem, rather than the others that I have mentioned.

That indicates our sense of priorities and also indicates the needs. It doesn't mean that we are not spending as much as we think we need to cut off the source of supply; that is well funded. It doesn't mean that we are not spending as much as we think we should in the field of law enforcement. But it does mean that on the treatment side, there needed to be an enormous push given, and that is why at the present time, as we look at the amount that is being spent by the Federal Government, it is 10 times as much as it was 4½ years ago when we began these programs.

And then finally, there are others who call on the President and his associates and say, now all these things you are doing are very, very important, but in the final analysis you have got to stop the demand, and the way to stop the demand is to educate people. And so, you have noted the educational program, the programs that you have in your cities and in your counties, also the programs in which the National Advertising Council, the football association, and the others run their various advertisements to try to educate, particularly, young people with regard to the dangers in the whole field of hard drugs.

So, let me summarize briefly what our program is. I could summarize it in terms that we are spending 10 times as much money. I could summarize it in terms of the fact that drug addiction is down. We have turned the corner on drug addiction in the United States—haven't solved the problem, because we have a long way to go. There is a long road after turning that corner before we get to our goal of getting

¹Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe was Director of the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention from the creation of the office in June 1971 until his resignation in June 1973.

it really under control, but we have turned the corner. The numbers, the statistics, are beginning to be better.

Take, for example, drug-related crime in New York City, Washington, D.C., two cities which we followed very, very closely. There has been a reduction. But as we look at the whole situation, what we all have to understand is that like any problem as serious as this, it is not enough to attack it just on one front, your front, the one that you think is important. It must be attacked on all fronts, and in this case, that is exactly what we are doing.

We place, therefore, great emphasis upon the need to continue to cut off the source of supply from foreign countries, of heroin and other hard drugs flowing into this country. We intend to continue to strengthen our law enforcement capacity, and we urge you at local government to do likewise, to deal with those who are the pushers and those who start people on the long road, the disastrous road of drug addiction.

We intend to continue the program of treatment in which so many of you are interested, and we intend to continue in our program of education. But finally, it all comes down to the individual.

In this room are judges, law enforcement officials, educators, and other officials from all over the United States, and you would not be here if all we were talking about and the results of your work were simply turning around the statistics in this field.

You are here because you care about one person, one young boy, one young girl, maybe a teenager who, but for what you did or will do in the years ahead, could become addicted to drugs, and not only become addicted to drugs, possibly then going from there into a life of crime.

If what you do and if, as a result of this conference, we are able to save one of those individuals, this conference is worthwhile, and we would like all of you to think that way. I would like for you to, because I think of each of you in the work that you do, whether it is in stopping the source of supply, whether it is in the field of education, whether it is in the field of enforcing the law, or whether it is in the field of treatment, I consider each of you, individually, indispensable to this total program.

Now, the program has one of those public relations names, it is called Outreach, a very good name; and we are outreaching, certainly, in order to deal with this problem. Each of you plays an enormously important role, and for that reason, I want you to know that the whole country is in your debt. We are going to win this battle. We have turned the corner, but, having turned the corner, we are going to go on down this road until the whole Nation realizes that drug addiction in the United States is under control.

So with that, I conclude my part in the program and turn over the balance of it to the experts from whom you will hear. Dr. [Robert L.] DuPont, who is the Director of our Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention, will follow me on the platform, and John Bartels, who will be nominated to be the director of Drug Enforcement Administration within the Federal Government will also be on your program today. Ambassador Handley, I know, will also be addressing you, and a number of other experts from the State and local level.

So thank you for coming to this conference. I suppose when I said—used the word, this “trip” was necessary, that could be taken in a number of ways. [*Laughter*]

Let me say, as a result of the trip you have taken to Washington, we know that many young people in this country will not be taking unhappy trips to other places through other means in the future.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:02 a.m. in the East Room at the White House to representatives of the criminal justice system from 23 cities and counties who were attending the conference.

On the same day, the White House released fact sheets on the conference and Administration initiatives in the fields of drug abuse law enforcement, treatment, and rehabilitation. Also released was biographical data on John R. Bartels, Jr., in connection with his nomination to be Administrator of Drug Enforcement, Department of Justice. The announcement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 1126).

256 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Statutes of the World Tourism Organization. *September 12, 1973*

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, the Statutes of the World Tourism Organization done at Mexico City on September 27, 1970. The report of the Department of State is enclosed for the information of the Senate.

The Statutes establish the World Tourism Organization as an international organization of intergovernmental character replacing the International Union of Official Travel Organizations, a non-governmental organization.

The World Tourism Organization will continue the activities of the International Union of Official Travel Organizations

in promoting and facilitating international tourism. Additionally, because of the World Tourism Organization's intergovernmental character and close association with the United Nations system, it is anticipated that it will become an even more effective organization. I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Statutes and give its advice and consent to ratification.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
September 12, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the statutes and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive R (93d Cong., 1st sess.).

257 White House Statement on House Action Sustaining the Emergency Medical Services Bill Veto. *September 12, 1973*

THE PRESIDENT is pleased by the action of the House of Representatives in voting to sustain his veto of the emergency medical services bill. This shows restraint on the part of some Members of Congress to hold the line on spending and join the

President's efforts in fighting inflation.

The President feels those Members of the House of Representatives who voted to sustain deserve the thanks of all Americans for their actions.

258 Jewish High Holy Days Message.
September 14, 1973

WITH the coming of the High Holy Days, Mrs. Nixon and I express our warmest greetings to our fellow citizens of the Jewish Faith.

This is a time of introspection and spiritual self-renewal for Jews. But for all Americans it is an occasion to remember the essentially democratic theme of Judaism: that the most exalted and the lowest

stand equal before God.

May the High Holy Days provide for all of us an opportunity for renewed commitment to the sacred principles upon which our nation is established, and may the conduct of our national life be a testament to the strength and vitality of those principles in our personal lives.

RICHARD NIXON

259 Statement About the National Endowment for the Arts and the Reappointment of Nancy Hanks as Chairman.
September 14, 1973

FOUR years ago I named Nancy Hanks Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts. The subsequent contributions of the endowment to the cultural enrichment of our national life give abundant testimony to the vitality and vision she has brought to that post.

Today, a firm partnership exists between the Endowment and the cultural agencies of the States. Early fears about government domination of the arts have been dispelled as the National Endowment for the Arts has stimulated private patronage at ever-increasing levels.

With the aid of Federal, State, and private programs, hundreds of dancers, musicians, poets, painters, sculptors, filmmakers, craftsmen, and actors are coming into the classrooms and meeting halls of our communities.

The Artists-in-the-Schools program, now in operation in every State and special jurisdiction, has added a new and vital element in public education. The Expansion Arts program has brought recog-

nition and support to groups whose cultural activities have been undervalued in the past. Fellowships are available to America's gifted individual artists. And, in response to the Presidential directive of May 16, 1972, the Endowment is involved in an effort which, I hope, will make the Federal Government a model for the finest examples that our Nation can offer in architecture and design.

The effect of these endeavors on the quality of our national life reaffirms the truth that art is not a luxury, but a necessity to which all our citizens can and should have access. More than ever before—and, in part, because of the work of the Endowment—the American people have now come to recognize how central the arts are to the continued enrichment of our lives, both individually and as a nation.

As we look to the next 4 years, our concern for the arts will focus increasingly on the commemoration of America's Bicentennial. That occasion prompts us to

recognize the need to preserve this Nation's heritage of paintings, of films, and of buildings of historic importance and appeal which can be saved for the future by being adapted to new uses today. It prompts us further to look to our leading cultural organizations to bring us together in performances of the most memorable works created by Americans in music, opera, theater, and dance, and through exhibitions in our Nation's museums. In the service of these objectives, I look to the National Endowment for the Arts, and to the cultural agencies of the States, to play an important role.

Under the leadership of Miss Hanks during the past 4 years, the Endowment

has convincingly proved its capacity to serve the Nation. The Congress has demonstrated its confidence in Miss Hanks' leadership by increasing appropriations for the Endowment almost sevenfold during her tenure. Recognizing her accomplishments, and the need for her leadership in continuing the important work which she has so far advanced, I take great pleasure today in nominating Nancy Hanks for a second term as Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts.

NOTE: On the same day, the President met with Miss Hanks and members of the National Council on the Arts in the Oval Office at the White House.

260 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality. *September 17, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress this Fourth Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality.

The year 1970, when I transmitted the Council's First Annual Report, signalled a time of great environmental awakening in the United States. Much has been accomplished in the succeeding three years.

In place of organizational disorder and fragmentation, we have developed institutions capable of dealing with environmental problems in a systematic and effective way. At the Federal level, the Council on Environmental Quality and the Environmental Protection Agency were established in 1970. Most States have created similar offices, giving greater prominence and coherence to their own environmental programs.

We have also enacted new and stronger

environmental protection laws and have made substantial progress in defining problems, establishing goals, and designing strategies for abating pollution and preserving our natural heritage. The chapter in this report entitled "Perspectives on Environmental Quality" describes the important progress we have made. In some instances, such as air pollution, a national program is well advanced. In other areas, such as noise pollution, our work is just beginning. But in all areas, our knowledge about the environment and our capacity to protect and preserve it increase day by day.

Our energies have not been confined to domestic environmental problems. In the world community we have provided strong leadership in responding to environmental concerns and in fostering international efforts to solve problems which

transcend national boundaries. The chapter "International Action to Protect the Environment" summarizes the progress made in recent years in protecting the oceans, controlling transboundary pollution, and preserving the fragile natural heritage of our planet.

Other chapters in this report further illustrate the gains that have been made. American initiative—our ability to solve problems rather than simply bemoaning them—has increasingly been turned to environmental improvement in recent years and the results are becoming evident in one area after another.

The chapter on "Cleaning Up the Willamette," for example shows that a grossly polluted river can be restored to purity and health. Fifty years ago this Oregon river was offensive to the senses. Today the waters are clean and salmon migrate upstream in the fall. The people of Oregon, whose determination brought about the cleanup, are now taking action to preserve and assure public access to the shoreline of this restored river.

The chapter entitled "The Urban Environment: Toward Livable Cities" describes new signs of life and vigor in our cities and shows what private citizens can do to create urban environments that enhance the quality of life.

The chapter on "Environmental Status and Trends" indicates that the air quality in our cities is improving. Further progress will occur as the Clean Air Act continues to be carried out.

As in so many other areas of national concern, our progress should inspire us to get on with the job that still remains. In my National Resources and Environment Message in February, I resubmitted 19 bills for Congressional action and also submitted several new proposals. Some

of the most important measures—including proposals for the regulation of land use and the control of toxic substances—have been before the Congress for 2½ years. Passage of these measures is crucial to the environmental well-being of America. The time for action is upon us.

Land use control is perhaps the most pressing environmental issue before the Nation. How we use our land is fundamental to all other environmental concerns. There is encouraging evidence that the American people have reached a new perception and appreciation for this challenge. In our past, we wrestled a nation out of wilderness. We cleared and developed the land. If we despoiled it, there was always fresh land over the horizon, or so it seemed. But now we know that there must be limits to our use of the land, not only limits imposed by nature on what the land can support, but also limits set by the human spirit—for we need beauty and order and diversity in our surroundings.

I believe that land use regulation should be primarily a responsibility of local governments, where responsive leaders are most likely to understand the choices that have to be made. Nevertheless, I am also convinced that Federal legislation is needed now both to stimulate and to support the range of controls that States must institute. I urge the Congress to enact my proposal for land use control, a proposal which would authorize Federal assistance to encourage the States—in cooperation with local governments—to protect lands of critical environmental concern and to control growth and development which has a regional impact.

I also urge the Congress to act quickly to prevent continued ravaging of our land and water through uncontrolled mining.

My proposed Mined Area Protection Act would establish Federal requirements to regulate surface and underground mining. By requiring mining operators to post adequate performance bonds and satisfy stringent Federal reclamation standards, this legislation would require that mined lands be restored to their original condition or to a condition that is equally desirable. We need the fuels and minerals that are now in the earth, but we can—and must—secure them without despoiling and devastating our landscape.

There is other important land use legislation pending before the Congress which also deserves prompt enactment. The Powerplant Siting Act would assure that needed generating facilities are constructed on a timely basis with full consideration of environmental values. The Natural Resource Land Management Act would provide a management policy emphasizing strong environmental safeguards for one-fifth of our Nation's land area that is managed by the Bureau of Land Management.

Because a number of differing values and perspectives must be reconciled, the regulation of land use will never be a simple matter. The "Perspectives" chapter of this report describes the anti-growth sentiment emerging in some communities and points to the need to reconcile controls on unwanted growth with provision for essential regional development. The chapter on "The Law and Land Use Regulation" discusses the balance which must be struck between the need to protect private property and the need to preserve the environment. This is not a question to be dealt with from Washington, however, but one that State and local

governments and courts must work out. The Council's chapter on this subject should be helpful to these groups, the legal profession and private citizens in developing a more complete understanding of this important issue.

In the final analysis, the struggle for environmental quality rests with the citizens of our Nation. The chapter on "The Citizens' Role in Environmental Improvement" shows that concern for the environment is not merely a passing fad but rather has become an integral part of American life.

The Fourth Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality demonstrates our considerable progress in arresting environmental decay. It also helps to chart the path we must follow if we are to continue this progress in the future. I commend the members and staff of the Council for their efforts in producing this valuable document, and I urge the Congress and the public to give this report their full and careful consideration.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

September 17, 1973.

NOTE: The message is printed in the report entitled "Environmental Quality: The Fourth Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality—September 1973" (Government Printing Office, 499 pp.).

The President received the Council's report during a meeting at the White House on September 17, 1973, with John A. Busterud, Acting Chairman, Beatrice E. Willard, member, and Russell E. Train, former Chairman.

On the same day, the White House released a summary of the report and the transcript of a news briefing on the report and their meeting with the President by Acting Chairman Busterud and Dr. Willard.

261 Remarks of Welcome to Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali
 Bhutto of Pakistan. *September 18, 1973*

Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Bhutto, all of our distinguished guests from Pakistan, and all of our other distinguished guests from the United States:

Mr. Prime Minister, you are no stranger to our country. You not only have made many visits here, we are very proud of the fact that in my native State of California you attended the great University of California for 3 years.

I am no stranger to your country. I have visited it with Mrs. Nixon when I was Vice President on two occasions, on two occasions or three occasions when I was out of office, and then again in 1969.

As you come to our country today, however, you come in a different capacity. For the first time, it is my honor on behalf of all of our guests and the American people to welcome you as the head of your government. In welcoming you, it gives me an opportunity to remind the American people and the people of Pakistan, and for that matter the people of the world, of the friendship that has bound our two countries together for over a generation. You, who have seen our country, know that friendship. I, who have visited your country, know it well.

I can only say that it is a friendship that will continue in the years ahead. And I can add this: that the independence and the integrity of Pakistan is a cornerstone of American foreign policy.

I can also add that our hearts have gone out to you in the difficult times through which Pakistan has passed over the past few months—and years, for that matter. And certainly you deserve the congratulations of the whole world for the way that you have guided your country in

this era of trying to restore the nation after the ravages of war. And as if that were not enough, then to have come upon your country one of the worst floods in history would seem to have been too much for a brave people, as your people are brave, but also for a new leader.

But even in that period, too, your people have shown that whether it is war or whether it happens to be the ravages of nature, you will survive and you will come through stronger in the end, and with your leadership, you have demonstrated that over and over again.

In our meetings, we will, of course, discuss the bilateral issues which we have between us in which we find ourselves on basic agreement in so many areas. We will discuss what contribution we can make to an era of peace in the whole subcontinent, as well as in the balance of Asia, and I trust also we will have the opportunity to get your views on world problems generally, because no country in the world can any longer be apart from the rest of the world, and what happens halfway around the world, in Pakistan, for example, affects us, and what happens halfway around the world from you affects you. And so together, I am sure that our talks will contribute to not only better relations between our two countries but also a more peaceful world for our children in the years to come.

And finally, on one, shall we say, symbolic note, as you know, we are having this ceremony in the East Room, and only a few of those who wanted to welcome you could be here. I woke quite early this morning, at 7:30, and it was raining, and all of the splendid honor guards that had

trained for weeks for your arrival were gone, and I thought of the fact that on your previously scheduled visit that I contracted pneumonia, and you were unable to come at that time, and the rain was coming down. And I reluctantly gave the order, because we could not tell how long the rain would last, that we would move inside.

But now as you arrive at 10:30 today, the skies have cleared, and so your country, which has had the ravages of floods—you now see clear skies, and I think these clear skies indicate that for the time ahead, Pakistan and the United States can look forward to a better time, a time of peace and a time of progress.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:40 a.m. in the East Room at the White House.

Prime Minister Bhutto was given a formal welcome with military honors at the North Portico. Then, because of inclement weather, the President and the Prime Minister proceeded to the East Room for the exchange of remarks.

The Prime Minister responded as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, distinguished friends:

Mr. President, your kind and generous words of welcome are heartwarming, and I am overwhelmed by the sentiment you have expressed.

As you have said, I have come to these shores before as a student and on many occasions as a representative of my country. I have seen the magnificent evolution of the relations between your great country and my country; vast oceans and continents separate our two peoples, and yet there is an ease of communication and of understanding.

Our relations are not burdened or encumbered by modern postulations and sermoniza-

tions to each other. We share a host of common affinities despite the diversities and the distances that separate us.

I can assure you, Mr. President, that the people of Pakistan warmly cherish this relationship with your country and your people.

We are aware of the wholesome contribution that your country and your Government have made to the cause of peace and to the normalization of relations in the subcontinent. We value your contribution, and as we admire the search you are making for a new international structure based on the concept of lasting peace which has eluded us so far, we feel confident that with the imagination you have demonstrated and the tenacity you have shown to evolve this structure of peace, that your efforts will succeed. And to whatever extent Pakistan can travel with you on this magnificent search for a lasting peace, we will wholeheartedly offer that cooperation to the extent that our limited goal traverses with your worldwide responsibilities.

The memories of the past are many, but I can assure you that these memories do not in any way displace or dispel the newness of this occasion when I come here to represent my country as its Prime Minister.

I am looking forward to our discussions. We know that you are well-acquainted with our problems. At one time it was said that in the recent past your Administration tilted towards Pakistan. That, Mr. President, was a tilt for justice and a tilt for equity, which is characteristic of your distinguished career as a statesman and a builder of peace.

I am sorry that the ceremonies were somewhat marred by the rains, but nothing can mar the eternal friendship and warmth between our two peoples, and that is more important. It has augured well by the sudden reappearance of the blue skies, and I am glad that the blue skies are smiling at us.

Thank you.

262 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Bhutto of Pakistan. September 18, 1973

Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Bhutto and our distinguished guests from Pakistan and the United States:

We are very honored, Mr. Prime Minister, to have you, Mrs. Bhutto, the members of your official party here in this room tonight, and we only regret that the room is so small that all of the friends that you have—and there are legions in this country—could not be here to honor you and to express their friendship for Pakistan and the people of Pakistan.

On this occasion, I would like to speak in somewhat personal terms, since this is essentially a dinner honoring you personally and your wife personally. I think of all of the leaders of great nations that have visited this country since I have had the privilege of being here as President, and in a way I think I have known you longer, although we did not meet at the time, than any other, because in the year 1950, when I was a very young Congressman campaigning for the United States Senate, you were a very young student at the University of California. And so, while we did not meet, we knew each other, in a way.

Much has happened since then. Neither of us would have guessed that in 1953 we would meet again in Pakistan, when you were still very young. You and Mrs. Bhutto had been married only 2 years, and Mrs. Nixon and I were so honored to meet you then at the residence of our Ambassador on our first trip around the world.

In 1964, there was another meeting. I should not really disclose this to such a large group, but this is a group that is so

small that a secret can be kept. [Laughter] And in Washington that is saying a very great deal today.

But in 1964, I met Mrs. Bhutto again, at a private party, at which her husband was not present and my wife was not present. [Laughter] I was traveling around the world by myself with a friend on a business trip, and the Prime Minister was on his official duties traveling abroad.

And then, of course, again we have had the occasion of meeting, particularly just 2 days before the Prime Minister assumed his present duties.

Now, what I have just referred to is not meant to be simply a personal recounting of our association, but is to make a point and it is this: Pakistan and the United States of America have been friends since the time that Pakistan became an independent nation.

I, as an American, sometimes in office and sometimes out—out not at my own choice—[laughter]—but nevertheless, I can assure you that Pakistan and the people of Pakistan have always been very close to my heart. I admire them, I respect them, as do all of the people, Mr. Prime Minister, in this room, and many others across this Nation. That friendship has lasted through a generation, and it will continue to last. And it will last for reasons that we do not need to go into now, but one of the reasons that appeals to me particularly to mention on this occasion relates to what could have been a total national disaster for your nation, a natural and national disaster of the past few months. I refer to the floods that have been ravaging your country just at a time

that with your leadership the nation was moving on after the very difficult and traumatic experience of war.

I asked your wife, Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Bhutto, what was the spirit of the people. I said, none of the leaders, none of the members of Parliament, but the peasants, the others, the people that worked the land—were they discouraged, were they giving up after a war and after all of the bloodshed and the tragedy, and now the flood.

And her answer, it seems to me, tells us something about Pakistan and also something about human nature generally that is quite profound.

She said, no, as she visited the areas most ravaged by the floods and talked to the farmers and their wives, they did not talk about the past. They said, yes, the floods had destroyed their crops for this year, but the floods had brought new silt into the land, and the land would be richer for the crops next year.

And so, rather than looking backward, they were looking forward. Rather than letting adversity destroy them, they were proving the profound truth that from adversity grows strength.

And this is the story of Pakistan and of many other countries, including our own, from time to time. Pakistan has had more than its share of adversity in recent years, but out of that adversity has come a strong people, 65 million in numbers, and out of that adversity has come a strong leader, our Prime Minister, who is our guest today, his wife, and the members of his official party.

And in paying our respects to him, to his people, we do so because we have an official obligation to do so which we welcome, but also because of a deep personal respect which I have tried to convey, be-

cause of a deep personal friendship which I have tried to convey.

And so I know all of you in this room and many others who could not be here would like to join me in our toast to the friendship between the people of Pakistan and the people of the United States and express that friendship by raising our glasses to the health of the Prime Minister.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:56 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

See also Items 261 and 266.

Prime Minister Bhutto responded as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, distinguished guests, and friends:

Mr. President, you have been most gracious in your remarks, and you have said that this is an intimate gathering of friends. I will proceed from that point.

Since it is an intimate gathering of friends, with your permission, I would like to tell them about our discussions, the inner truth of our talks.

We discussed three matters—economic matters, cultural matters, and military matters. I don't know how, but cultural and military matters got intertwined, perhaps because Dr. Kissinger was there.

And we discussed these highly complicated problems. We were told that since military and cultural matters are interrelated we must know that Jill St. John is booked for the Soviet Union and Raquel Welch is earmarked for China. As far as our old friend Pakistan is concerned, Tallulah Bankhead is there available for Pakistan.

THE PRESIDENT. What do we get?

THE PRIME MINISTER. So we said we are old friends but not in that sense. And then we were told that that is all we can do. And that also is true of either Saudi Arabia or Iran.

So we told our friends candidly that what we are interested in is not obsolete spare parts, but in red hot weapons. [*Laughter*]

Mr. President, I have been in your great country as a student. You have made mention of it, and my sojourn here was a warm one. It is here that I came to respect the vitality of the people. And I remember that on one

occasion in 1949 I was standing outside your White House, this distinguished house resplendent with history, and I was standing by the rails looking at it, its architecture, its beauty, and a Negro friend, a gentleman passing by, stood by as well. And we both had our hands on the railing. He looked at me and asked me from which country I came, and I told him from where I came, and he said that, "If you were an American, what would you like to be?"

So I said, "If I were an American, I would like to be inside that house."

So he told me that, "You better get the hell out of this country because we are going crazy picking the man for the house itself in our own country."

But that is how the past is, and it is remembered vividly. We know that you have been a good friend of our country, not in the subjective sense, because you have known that Pakistan has been a good friend of the United States, and I don't use this word in its chauvinistic sense, in the sense of its past chivalry.

The world has changed, and we must learn to adjust ourselves to the changes.

If you ask me, sir, what we have to offer to your great country, I would tell you candidly, nothing. We are not a nuclear power; we are not a technologically advanced country. There is nothing we can offer in that sense, but there is something which we can offer to you as your friends, and that is that our country stands by its pledges. Our country is dedicated to its principles according to its own light, and we have shown in the existence of Pakistan that in the last 25 years, no matter what the price—and sometimes we have had to pay a very heavy price—but we have stood by our principles and our pledges.

And if there is any place for us in your big wide world, please do remember that, that although you might not need the friendship or the assistance or collaboration of my country far away from yours, it is a country which is allied to your country. It is a country which has stood by its commitments and pledges with your country throughout the vicissitudes and buffets of life, and we have every intention of doing so in the future.

This is our outlook, and this is our conception of our relationship with the United States. We have admired, Mr. President, your own contribution to a new world order, and when the history of this country is written and when the history of the great Presidents of the United States is penned, what will they say of President Nixon?

As far as we are concerned, not only as a Pakistani but as an Asian coming from Asia, I can tell you that at least my history books, the history books of my country, will say here was a great and a lofty President who broke the barriers of prejudice and who chalked out a bold, new policy according to the finest traditions of American history and brought peace to a tormented part of the world.

There will be a stamp on the Vietnam chapter; there will be your mark on your relations with the People's Republic of China; there will be your image and your sign on your relations with the Soviet Union.

To us in Asia, these are very important pillars, and we feel that the world would have been further tormented if you had not taken these splendid initiatives for peace in that part of the world where most of the humanity lives in. And this is not how we alone feel, this is how many of the other countries in Asia feel.

So, history will pay rich and glowing tributes to your statesmanship, not only as an American President but as a world statesman.

When we look on the future in this light, the present trivialities will be brushed aside and a more glorious people dedicated to the cause of eternal peace will emerge. And in that struggle and in that quest, you, Mr. President, will be in the forefront.

This is how we see your role, as the leader of the free world—if that expression is used anymore—as the leader of Western civilization and as a man of peace.

So, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of my friends from Pakistan, let me salute the American people and their great President for their everlasting contribution to world peace and international tranquillity.

Thank you.

263 Message to the Senate Transmitting the United States-Soviet Convention on Matters of Taxation.

*September 19, 1973**To the Senate of the United States:*

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Convention between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Matters of Taxation, with related letters, signed at Washington on June 20, 1973.

For the information of the Senate, I transmit also the report of the Department of State with respect to the Convention.

The primary purpose of this Convention is to promote economic and cultural relations between the two countries by eliminating tax barriers to the extent possible. The general content of the Convention is similar to conventions between the United States and other countries on the avoidance of double taxation on income. However, because of dissimilarities between the tax systems of the two countries and the limited experience of each with the tax system of the other, in this Con-

vention somewhat more emphasis than usual is given to tax exemptions.

Through its system of exemptions, the Convention should largely insulate the entities and citizens of the respective parties from income tax in the other state. As with most tax conventions, a principal benefit is to free to a great extent the companies and persons involved from the compliance and administrative problems of dealing with a foreign tax system. This, in turn, can be expected to contribute to the smooth development of United States-Soviet Union trade, cooperation, and exchanges. I recommend that the Senate give prompt consideration to the convention and consent to its ratification.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

September 19, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the convention and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive T (93d Cong., 1st sess.).

264 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Legislation and Outlining Administration Actions To Deal With Federal Housing Policy. *September 19, 1973**To the Congress of the United States:*

Six months ago, in my State of the Union Message on Community Development, I announced a sweeping study of Federal housing policy. I said then that its results would be used in formulating new Administration recommendations in this extremely important field.

That study has been completed—and

my recommendations are ready. In keeping with the breadth of the issues involved in housing, both the study and my proposals cover a wide spectrum.

—Some of the actions discussed in this message are designed to ease the tight credit conditions in the current housing market.

—Others are intended to improve pros-

pects for potential homebuyers to obtain mortgages over the longer term.

—Some of these proposals reflect my conviction that the housing needs of lower income families require a different approach than we have taken in the past.

—Still other actions are designed to meet other special needs and to update and improve current Federal programs which have been working.

The measures I suggest today can bring us closer to a long-established goal. As I indicated in my message last March, this Administration will not waiver in its commitment to the objective of the Housing Act of 1949: "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family." While our Nation has made tremendous strides toward that objective in the quarter-century since it was first enunciated, those very strides have carried us into new terrain, presenting new problems and new opportunities. The nature of the challenge has been changing—and our response must change accordingly.

A PROUD RECORD

The housing record of recent decades should be a source of pride for all Americans. For example, the proportion of our people who live in substandard housing dropped from 43 percent in 1940 to only 7 percent in 1970. During the same period, the proportion of Americans living in houses with more than one person per room dropped from 20 percent to 8 percent and the proportion of our housing which is considered "dilapidated" fell from over 18 percent to less than 5 percent.

To be sure, these indicators are imprecise—and we need to improve the ways we collect housing data. But all of these

measures, however crude, point to an inescapable conclusion: very substantial progress has been made in the housing field and the benefits have been shared by Americans of all races and economic groups in all regions of the country.

In recent years, housing production in America has reached unprecedented levels. The average number of housing starts in the last twelve months was more than double the average for the previous two decades and we expect the next twelve months to be another excellent year for housing.

The ability of our economy to provide vastly expanded housing has been one of the strongest indications of its fundamental vitality. Our people have been able to match their growing desire for housing with growing purchasing power. Our housing industry has been able to expand its production and update its product. And our credit institutions have been able to finance this massive wave of construction in a way which has enabled a broad cross-section of Americans to participate in its benefits.

The state of America's housing will continue to depend on the state of America's economy more than on any other factor. Specific policies aimed at housing can help. But—as our housing study concludes—the forces which will do the most to shape the future of housing in America will be the forces of the marketplace: families with sufficient real income and sufficient confidence to create an effective demand for better housing on the one hand, and builders and credit institutions able to respond to that demand on the other.

But even as good housing has become a reality for most Americans, it is clear that certain important problems still ex-

ist. Two are especially significant. First, we are facing certain problems in providing adequate housing credit—and we must move promptly to resolve them. Second, too many low-income families have been left behind: they still live in substandard, overcrowded and dilapidated housing—and we must help them meet their needs. This message and the legislation I will seek from the Congress focus primarily on these two challenges.

I. MAKING HOMEOWNERSHIP EASIER

Credit is the life-blood of housing. Without an adequate supply of credit repayable over an extended period of time at reasonable interest rates, very few families could afford to purchase their own homes. Nor could landlords either develop an adequate supply of rental housing or make it available at reasonable rental charges.

One of the most important actions the Federal Government has taken in the housing field was its decision in the 1930's to restructure our housing credit system. The introduction then of Federal insurance for low downpayment, long-term mortgages—first by the Federal Housing Administration (the FHA), and later by the Farmers Home Administration (the FmHA) and the Veterans Administration (the VA)—encouraged lenders to provide home mortgages on attractive terms to millions of American families.

At the same time, the Federal decision to insure savings deposits meant that billions of additional dollars began to flow into our banks and into thrift institutions, such as savings and loan associations. Other Federal policies led these institutions to invest most of this money in housing loans, creating vast new pools

of housing credit.

Although these systems have served us well for a long time, the need for improvement has become increasingly evident in recent years. More and more, we find ourselves facing either feast or famine with respect to housing credit.

When interest rates are relatively stable, we find that we have an abundance of mortgage credit available on reasonable terms, as was true in 1971, 1972 and earlier this year. Whenever interest rates move up rapidly, however, mortgage credit becomes extremely scarce. This occurred in 1966 and 1969 and it has been happening again in recent months. As a result, it has become more difficult for an American family to buy or sell a home. Even where credit is available, the combination of higher interest rates and higher downpayment requirements is pricing too many of our families out of the housing market.

Why does this feast or famine situation exist?

As I pointed out in my message of August 3rd on the reform of financial institutions, one principal reason is the fact that our thrift institutions are unable to compete effectively for depositors' funds when interest rates rise quickly. The problem is a structural one: savings and loan associations are now required to invest most of their deposits in residential mortgages, which carry fixed interest rates over long periods of time. When other interest rates rise rapidly, the interest rates on their mortgage portfolios cannot keep pace—and as a consequence neither can the rates they pay to their depositors. The result is that depositors often draw their savings out of the thrift institutions—or at least cut down their rate of saving—leaving the thrift institutions with much less money to

invest in housing. I believe this special problem can be met through the recommendations I described in my message of August 3rd.

But structural difficulties are only part of the problem. A number of additional factors also help explain why mortgage money is becoming so expensive.

One major cause is the housing boom itself, which has led to unprecedented demands for credit—and rising costs for money. In addition, inflationary fears have influenced lenders to raise their interest rates as a matter of self protection. Finally, the Federal Reserve Board has been working to restrict the money supply in order to fight inflation. Such restrictions are important, for without them we might win the immediate battle in housing but lose the long-range war in the rest of the economy, including the housing field.

But even as we pursue a responsible monetary policy, we must avoid choking off the consumer credit which families require to meet their needs. That would also be dangerous to the economy. I am particularly concerned that the burdens of fighting inflation not fall unfairly on those who want to buy a home—or sell one.

We have a delicate and difficult balance to maintain. We cannot relent in the fight against inflation, which is our number one domestic problem. Nor can we expect to insulate housing from the effects of that effort. In fact, all of our measures to control inflation—including our efforts to hold down Federal spending—are essential in keeping down both the price of housing and the price of money in the long run. This requirement necessarily limits what can be prudently done to stimulate housing credit in the short run.

Nevertheless, there are some actions that can be taken on the credit front—and I intend to take them. In fact, we have already launched a number of efforts. The Committee on Interest and Dividends has instituted voluntary guidelines designed to encourage banks to keep up their levels of mortgage lending. The Federal Reserve Board has engaged in similar efforts. The Federal National Mortgage Association has stepped up its mortgage commitment and purchasing operations to free up funds for further lending. The Federal Home Loan Bank Board has lowered the reserve requirements for lending operations of its member institutions and has stepped up its advancement of funds to them.

I am today announcing a number of additional administrative actions and legislative proposals designed to do two things: first, to help alleviate the immediate housing credit problem; and second, to improve for the longer term the supply of housing credit and the ability of our people to use it.

EASING CURRENT CREDIT CONDITIONS

1. *Increasing the incentive for savings and loan associations to finance housing construction.*

As money has become tighter, savings and loan institutions have become increasingly reluctant to commit housing construction loans for delivery at future dates. The reason is their uncertainty as to whether they will have enough funds to lend then at the interest rates which exist now.

Accordingly, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board will authorize a new program of “forward commitments” to savings and loan associations, promising to loan

money to them at a future date should they need it to cover the commitments they now are making. This authority will cover up to \$2.5 billion in loan commitments.

2. Providing interest rate assistance to Federally insured borrowers.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development will also join in the effort to ease the current mortgage credit problem by reinstituting the so-called "Tandem Plan" under the auspices of its Government National Mortgage Association. Under this plan, the GNMA will provide money for FHA-insured mortgages at interest rates somewhat below the market level. To encourage new construction, only mortgages on new housing starts will be eligible for this assistance. Up to \$3 billion in mortgages for new housing will be financed under this arrangement, making loans available at attractive rates to tens of thousands of American homebuyers.

3. Increasing the size of mortgages eligible for Federal insurance.

The Federal Government presently encourages lenders to put money into housing by insuring mortgages involving low downpayments and long repayment periods. The Government guarantees, in effect, that lenders will be protected in the event of a default on the loan. Such mortgage insurance, whether it is provided by the Federal Government or by private institutions, is particularly important in making mortgages available to younger families and others who do not have enough savings to make a large downpayment or enough income to make the higher monthly payments that come with shorter mortgage terms.

The Congress periodically sets limits on the size of a mortgage loan which the FHA can insure and adjusts the downpayment requirement. The last time this was done was in 1968. Although realistic then, the current ceiling and downpayment terms are unrealistic in today's housing market. As a result, FHA insurance for multifamily units has been completely cut off and FHA-insured financing is impossible for any home purchase in a large and growing number of areas across the country.

To remedy this problem, I ask the Congress to authorize the FHA to insure larger housing loans on a low downpayment basis both for single and for multifamily dwellings.

Such a change would revive Federal insurance activity in areas where it has been curtailed. In addition, it would permit at least a partial resumption of housing loan activity in certain States where anachronistic usury laws impose interest ceilings lower than current market rates and therefore shut off mortgage lending. Many of these States exempt Federally-insured loans from such interest ceilings—which means that Federal insurance is a prerequisite for obtaining a housing loan in these jurisdictions. This makes it all the more important that the Congress act promptly on my proposal to expand the reach of our Federal mortgage insurance programs.

MAKING LONG-TERM IMPROVEMENTS IN
THE CREDIT SYSTEM

1. Permitting homebuyers to pay market-level interest rates and still be eligible for Federal insurance.

In an effort to hold down the cost of borrowing, the Congress has limited the

interest rates which a home mortgage can carry and still be eligible for FHA and VA insurance. Unfortunately, setting the interest rate below market rates does not accomplish this intended purpose.

The reason is that lenders will simply not make their money available for housing at a lower rate than they can get from a comparable investment elsewhere. If the Government's interest limit for a mortgage is set below the general market level interest rate, the lender who still puts money into housing will supplement this artificially low interest rate by requiring a special additional payment. This payment—which is really prepaid interest—is made in a lump sum at the time the loan is made and is commonly called “points.”

Although points are usually charged to the seller of a house, they are generally added to the selling price and thus are paid by the buyer just the same.

This practice can have a number of unfortunate side-effects. By raising the overall price of the home, points can also raise the size of the downpayment. Moreover, when the price of a house goes up, so does the cost of insuring that house, of paying property taxes on it and of making monthly mortgage payments. An added inequity arises when a home is resold before the mortgage term has run its course—which is the usual case. Since the points were paid to compensate the lender for what he would lose on interest over the full term of the mortgage, the lender can reap an unfair profit when the mortgage is paid off early.

In short, the ceiling on interest rates does just the reverse of what it was intended to do. To end this practice, I again urge the Congress to allow the FHA and the VA to insure mortgages carrying market rates of interest. This proposal would

end the need for charging points; indeed, it would prohibit charging such prepaid interest points on these insured mortgages. Hopefully, those States which also have ceilings on mortgage interest rates will take similar action to eliminate their ceilings.

2. Authorizing more flexible repayment plans under Federally insured mortgages.

Many innovative changes in housing finance have been introduced by the Federal Government. It is important that we continue to pursue such innovation—and one area that is particularly ripe for new experiments involves the schedule for repaying mortgages.

To further such innovation, I will seek legislation permitting the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to allow greater flexibility in repayment arrangements for Federally insured loans on an experimental basis.

One possibility which would be tested under this authority is that of gearing the level of repayments to expected changes in family income. Rather than making the same flat payment over the life of the loan, families would make smaller payments in the earlier years—when they are hardest pressed—and larger payments later on—when their incomes are higher. This provision could help younger families purchase homes earlier in life than they can today and it could help them make an earlier purchase of the home in which they will eventually live, rather than making frequent moves from one home to another as their incomes rise.

3. Establishing a mortgage interest tax credit.

As another means of ensuring a steady supply of housing credit, I will propose

legislation which would allow investors a tax credit on the interest they earn when they put their money into residential mortgages. This proposal would make investment in housing loans more attractive in two ways: first, it would make them more attractive to those institutions which traditionally have provided mortgage money; and second, it would give organizations which pool mortgages a better chance to compete for funds in the so-called "secondary market"—from pension funds, insurance companies, various State institutions and the like.

Under my proposal, a tax credit of up to $3\frac{1}{2}$ percent would be provided on interest earnings to financial institutions which invest a certain percentage of their investment portfolio in residential mortgages. The greater the proportion of the portfolio invested in mortgages, the higher the tax credit on interest earned by all the mortgages in the portfolio. When at least 70 percent of a portfolio was invested in mortgages, the tax credit on the interest those mortgages earn would be $3\frac{1}{2}$ percent—the equivalent, at current interest levels, of an additional interest yield of more than one-half of one percent.

4. *Furthering the development of private mortgage insurance companies.*

Another significant proposal in the credit area concerns private mortgage insurance companies. These companies perform a function similar to that of the FHA, the VA, and the FmHA—they insure residential mortgages with lower downpayments and for longer terms than would ordinarily be available. However, the premiums they charge for such insur-

ance are much lower than those of the Federal agencies. Such private mortgage insurance companies have become a significant factor in the housing market in recent years and we should encourage their continued development.

To help further this objective, I recommend that the Congress—along with the Administration—consider ways of allowing private mortgage insurance companies to purchase inexpensive Federal reinsurance. To this end, I will submit legislation which can provide a basis for this discussion. Such insurance would provide added protection to the owner of a mortgage and could speed the acceptance of private mortgage insurance, especially in secondary markets. It could thus make available even more sources of low downpayment, long-term home financing for prospective home buyers.

II. THE CHALLENGE OF LOW-INCOME HOUSING

Since 1937, the Federal Government has tried to help low income families by providing housing for them. Over the years, nearly \$90 billion of the taxpayers' money has been spent or committed for public housing projects and other subsidized housing programs.

These programs have been particularly active during the past few years. Since 1969, the Federal Government has subsidized nearly 1.6 million units of new housing and over 400,000 units of existing and rehabilitated housing. These 2 million units will cost taxpayers an estimated \$2.5 billion in each of the next few years and could cost us close to \$50 billion altogether.

THE FAILURES OF FEDERAL HOUSING
PROGRAMS

But what have we been getting for all this money?

Federal programs have produced some good housing—but they have also produced some of the worst housing in America. Our recent study makes this clear—and so does my own experience.

I have seen a number of our public housing projects. Some of them are impressive, but too many are monstrous, depressing places—run down, overcrowded, crime-ridden, falling apart.

The residents of these projects are often strangers to one another—with little sense of belonging. And because so many poor people are so heavily concentrated in these projects, they often feel cut off from the mainstream of American life.

A particularly dramatic example of the failure of Federal housing projects is the Pruitt-Igoe project in St. Louis. It was nominated for all sorts of awards when it was built 17 years ago. It was supposed to house some 2,700 families—but it simply didn't work. In fact, a study of this project was published two years ago with the appropriate subtitle: "Life in a Federal Slum."

Last month, we agreed to tear down this Federal slum—every unit of it. Almost everyone thought it was the best thing we could do.

Pruitt-Igoe is only one example of an all too common problem. All across America, the Federal Government has become the biggest slumlord in history.

But the quality of Federally-assisted housing is by no means the only problem. Our present approach is also highly inequitable. Rather than treating those in equal circumstances equally, it arbitrarily

selects only a few low income families to live in Federally supported housing, while ignoring others. Moreover, the few often get a *new* home, while many other families—including those who pay the taxes to support these programs—must make do with inferior older housing. And since recipients often lose their eligibility for public housing when they exceed a certain income level, the present approach can actually reward dependence and discourage self-reliance.

The present approach is also very wasteful, for it concentrates on the most expensive means of housing the poor, new buildings, and ignores the potential for using good existing housing. Government involvement adds additional waste; our recent study shows that it costs between 15 and 40 percent more for the Government to provide housing for people than for people to acquire that same housing themselves on the private market.

One of the most disturbing aspects of the current approach is the fact that families are offered subsidized housing on a "take it or leave it" basis—losing their basic right to choose the house they will live in and the place they will live. Too often they are simply warehoused together wherever the Government puts them. They are treated as a class apart, with little freedom to make their own decisions.

DEVELOPING A BETTER APPROACH

Leaders of all political persuasions and from all levels of government have given a great deal of thought in recent years to the problem of low-income housing. Many of them agree that the Federally-subsidized housing approach has failed. And many of them also agree on the reasons for that failure.

The main flaw they point to in the old approach is its underlying assumption that the basic problem of the poor is a lack of housing rather than a lack of income. Instead of treating the root cause of the problem—the inability to pay for housing—the Government has been attacking the symptom. We have been helping the builders directly and the poor only indirectly, rather than providing assistance directly to low income families.

In place of this old approach, many people have suggested a new approach—direct cash assistance. Under this approach, instead of providing a poor family with a place to live, the Federal Government would provide qualified recipients with an appropriate housing payment and would then let them choose their own homes on the private market. The payment would be carefully scaled to make up the difference between what a family could afford on its own for housing and the cost of safe and sanitary housing in that geographic area. This plan would give the poor the freedom and responsibility to make their own choices about housing—and it would eventually get the Federal Government out of the housing business.

Not surprisingly, our recent housing study indicates what others have been saying: of the policy alternatives available, the most promising way to achieve decent housing for all of our families at an acceptable cost appears to be direct cash assistance.

Our best information to date indicates that direct cash assistance will in the long run be the most equitable, least expensive approach to achieving our goal of a decent home for all Americans—a goal I am committed to meeting. It appears to be a policy that will work—not a policy where

success will always be a mirage. However, it may develop that the advantages we now see for direct cash assistance will be outweighed by other factors not presently foreseen or that such advantages may be obtainable in alternative ways which offer additional advantages. In that event, I would, of course, reexamine the situation in partnership with the Congress before moving ahead. But right now, in my judgment, our principal efforts should be directed toward determining whether a policy of direct cash assistance—with first priority for the elderly poor—can be put into practical operation.

As we proceed with new policies for aiding lower income families, we must also move with caution. Too often in the past new Federal programs have been launched on a sea of taxpayers' dollars with the best intentions but with too little information about how they would work in practice. The results have been less than what was promised and have not been consistent with the Government's obligation to spend the taxpayers' money as effectively as possible.

One particular problem is that past efforts in one area of assistance have tended to ignore programs in other areas, resulting in an inequitable hodge-podge activity which satisfies no one. In this regard, the relationship between housing programs and welfare payments is particularly critical. We must carefully consider the ways in which our housing programs will relate to other programs which also assist low income persons.

Some field work has already begun with respect to direct cash assistance in the area of housing for those with low incomes. In 1970 the Congress authorized housing allowance experiments involving over 18,000 families and costing over

\$150 million. We expect preliminary data to emerge from these tests in the coming months and we intend to use these data as we evaluate the possibility of further efforts.

This work should help us answer some important and difficult questions.

What, for example, is the appropriate proportion of income that lower income families should pay for housing? Should this level be higher or lower for different kinds of families—for young families with children, for example, or for the elderly, or for other groups? Should families receiving Federal aid be required to spend any particular amount on housing? If they are, and the requirement is high, what kind of inflationary pressures, if any, would that produce in tight housing markets and what steps could be taken to ease those pressures? In the important case where poor families already own their own housing, how should that fact be weighed in measuring their income level? How should the program be applied in the case of younger families who have parents living with them?

All these questions are critical—and they deserve close examination.

In addition, I am also asking the Congress for authority to take two other steps to help us test the cash assistance approach.

First, we need to expand our experimental programs to test additional techniques for administration.

Second, we need to develop and put into effect the appropriate mechanisms for measuring the cost of safe and sanitary housing in various parts of the country. Sound, reliable cost information of this kind would be of vital importance to a fully operational program.

If these steps can be taken in the near future, then I believe we will have the basic information needed to make a final decision concerning this approach late in 1974 or early in 1975.

A CONTINUING NEED FOR LIMITED CONSTRUCTION PROGRAMS

During the period in which a new approach is being developed, there will be a continuing need to provide housing for some low income families. We must recognize that in some areas of the country there will simply not be a sufficient supply of housing for the foreseeable future. I therefore propose that the Federal Government continue to assist in providing a limited amount of construction for low income housing—though I would expect to use this approach sparingly.

To eliminate the many tangled problems which attend the delivery of subsidies under current construction programs, I am recommending a new approach to construction assistance by the Federal Government. Under this approach, the developer would make newly constructed units available at special rents for low income families and the Government in return would pay the developer the difference between such rents and fair market rents.

During the remainder of fiscal year 1974, the Department of Housing and Urban Development will continue to process subsidy applications for units which had moved most of the way through the application process by January 5 of this year. In addition, the Department will process applications in cases where bona fide commitments have been made.

I am advised by the Secretary for Housing and Urban Development that one of the existing construction programs—the Section 23 program under which new and existing housing is leased for low income families—can be administered in a way which carries out some of the principles of direct cash assistance. If administered in this way, this program could also provide valuable information for us to use in developing this new approach.

Accordingly, I am lifting the suspension of January 5 with respect to these Section 23 programs. I am also directing the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to take whatever administrative steps are available to him to eliminate any abuses from such programs and to bring them into line as closely as possible with the direct cash assistance approach.

Altogether, in order to meet bona fide commitments requiring action during this fiscal year and to carry out the Section 23 program, authorization has now been given to process applications for an additional 200,000 units, 150,000 units of which would be new construction.

IMPROVING THE OPERATION OF PRESENT PUBLIC HOUSING

There was a time when the only continuing Federal expense connected with public housing after it was built was paying the debts incurred in building it. Other expenses were met from rental income.

As time went on, however, laws were passed making the Federal Government liable for operating deficits. In recent years, as the operating costs of public housing projects has increased and as the

income level and rent payments of their occupants have decreased, the cost of such projects for the Federal Government has gone up at an alarming rate. The Federal bill for operating subsidies has grown more than eightfold since 1969—from \$33 million annually to \$280 million annually—and an additional \$1 billion has been obligated for capital improvements.

Moreover, as efforts have been made in recent years to prevent tenants from paying too much of their incomes for housing, some housing managements have been persuaded that some tenants should pay nothing at all. The Federal Government then picks up a good part of tab, adding considerably to the costs of maintaining these projects.

This growing financial burden for the Federal Government is only one of many problems relating to public housing. Because the local housing authority is responsible for the management of public housing projects while the Federal Government is responsible for project deficits, including those due to poor management, the local authority has little incentive to improve management standards.

There are also indications that even with improved management and a more realistic approach to rents, current Federal subsidies may need to be adjusted to provide for continued operation and maintenance of these projects.

In view of these many problems, I have asked the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to develop a set of recommendations addressing each of these problems. One of our goals will be to achieve a more equitable sharing of responsibility among the Federal Government, local communities and residents.

III. ADDITIONAL ACTIONS TO MEET OUR HOUSING NEEDS

NEIGHBORHOOD PRESERVATION

Simply providing Federal housing assistance to families without proper regard for the condition of the neighborhood as a whole too often results in unmet expectations for the families, added burdens for the municipality and a waste of the taxpayers' dollars. It is important, therefore, that all of our efforts in the housing and community development field be carried out as a partnership venture of the Federal Government, the local government, local financial institutions and the citizens of the neighborhoods involved.

Added resources such as those which would be available under my proposed \$2.3 billion Better Communities Act can provide important support for these efforts. To smooth the transition to the Better Communities Act, I am directing the Department of Housing and Urban Development to make available up to \$60 million in Section 312 rehabilitation loans in the current fiscal year. Priority will be given to those communities which need these loans to complete present projects or where complementary local rehabilitation efforts have already been launched.

In addition, I have directed the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, using his research and demonstration funds, to pursue promising approaches to neighborhood preservation which might be adopted by communities on a broader basis.

IMPROVING RURAL HOUSING

The problems of providing good housing in our rural areas are especially chal-

lenging, not only because the proportion of substandard housing is greater in rural areas but also because these areas often lack the resources to foster greater economic development—and better housing. Of course, many of our housing programs and proposals are designed to assist all families, urban and rural alike. But there is also a special need to address in a special way the rural housing challenge.

Our recent housing study concludes that the basic housing problem in many rural areas is that our major financial institutions are not represented in these areas and that credit is therefore inadequate. The Farmers Home Administration has done a great deal to help change this picture—but further efforts are needed. At my direction, the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Housing and Urban Development will seek additional ways of correcting this situation and increasing credit availability in rural areas.

In my Community Development Message last March 8th, I emphasized that “in pursuing a policy of balanced development for our community life, we must always keep the needs of rural America clearly in sight.” I mentioned then my continuing support for a revenue sharing approach for rural development, acknowledging that the Rural Development Act fell short of what I preferred in this regard. I went on to indicate my intention, after fully evaluating the effectiveness of this act, to seek whatever additional legislation may be needed. I repeat that pledge today.

A SUITABLE LIVING ENVIRONMENT

The housing we live in and the environment surrounding that housing are in-

extricably linked. In the final analysis, the quality of housing depends on matters such as transportation, proximity to educational and health services, and the availability of jobs and shopping. It also depends on economic factors which are shaped by the larger community. One important finding of our housing study was that the costs of the land on which new housing is located has risen faster than any other cost component of housing.

The Congress, too, has recognized these relationships in its finding "that Federal programs affect the location of population, economic growth, and the character of urban development [and] that such programs frequently conflict and result in undesirable and costly patterns of urban development which adversely affect the environment and wastefully use our natural resources."

It is clear that housing policy cannot be considered separately from other policies related to the economic, social and physical aspects of community development. The next Report on Urban Growth, which I shall submit to the Congress in 1974, will further address these crucial relationships.

ASSURING EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

Over the last several years, great strides have been made toward assuring Americans of all races and creeds equal and unhindered access to the housing of their choice. As I stated in 1971:

"At the outset, we set three basic requirements for our program to achieve equal housing opportunity: It must be aimed at correcting the effects of past discrimination; it must contain safeguards to ensure against future discrimination;

and it must be results-oriented so its progress toward the overall goal of increasing housing opportunities can be evaluated.

"The administration is embarked upon this course. It must and will press forward firmly.

"The chief components of such a program include the firm enforcement of laws relating to equal housing opportunity, the development of appropriate equal housing opportunity criteria for participation in programs affecting housing, the development of information programs, and the development of policies relating to housing marketing practices."

Each of these components has been put into operation and we are continuing to move ahead. It is important that all Federal agencies vigorously pursue a wide range of efforts to enforce fair housing and equal opportunity laws—and all members of my Administration will continue to be particularly vigilant in this regard.

The availability of mortgage credit has also been restricted in many instances on the grounds that the applicant's financial resources, which would otherwise have been adequate, were deemed insufficient because the applicant was a woman. These practices have occurred, unfortunately, not only in home mortgage lending but also in the field of consumer credit. I shall therefore work with the Congress to achieve legislation which will prohibit lenders from discriminating on the basis of sex or marital status.

FURTHER PROPOSALS

A number of other proposals which have grown out of our recent housing study will be included in the legislation

I will submit to the Congress. They include efforts to encourage home improvements and to facilitate the purchase of mobile homes; measures to ease the Federal burdens in disposing of the large and still growing number of properties returning to the Government upon default; and steps to streamline and reduce the processing time for FHA applications, including a proposal that would move toward the Veterans Administration technique of coinsurance. I urge their prompt consideration.

The American dream cannot be complete for any of us unless it is within the reach of all of us. A decent home in a suitable living environment is an essential part of that dream.

We have done a great deal as a peo-

ple toward ensuring that objective for every American family in recent years. Our success should not be a reason for complacency, however; rather, it should reinforce both our determination to complete this work and our confidence that we can reach our goal.

The measures I have discussed in this message can make a significant contribution to that great undertaking. I look forward to working closely with the Congress in advancing these efforts.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

September 19, 1973.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the Federal housing policy recommendations and actions by Secretary of Housing and Urban Development James T. Lynn.

265 White House Statement on House Action Sustaining the Minimum Wage Bill Veto. *September 19, 1973*

THE PRESIDENT is gratified by the action of the House of Representatives in sustaining his veto of the bill to raise the minimum wage. As he stated in his veto message, this bill would have been inflationary and would have penalized the workers who can least afford it by jeopardizing employment opportunities for low wage earners and the unemployed, especially nonstudent teenagers.

The President wishes to commend the House for this responsible action, which was made possible by the courageous votes

of many Members to sustain the veto in spite of intense pressure exerted upon them in the opposite direction.

It is now up to the Congress to replace the vetoed bill this year with a new bill which will bring the minimum wage in line with the increased cost of living while doing so in a way that helps to check inflation and that protects jobs for low-income workers. President Nixon reaffirms his pledge to cooperate fully with the House and Senate to achieve speedy passage of this urgently needed legislation.

266 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Prime Minister Bhutto of Pakistan. *September 20, 1973*

PRESIDENT Nixon and Prime Minister Bhutto of Pakistan have held two cordial and wide-ranging working discussions during the Prime Minister's visit to Washington September 18-20. The meetings gave the President and the Prime Minister an opportunity to renew their personal friendship and to discuss matters of common interest to Pakistan and the United States. Both President Nixon and Prime Minister Bhutto reviewed and welcomed the progress made in the past eighteen months in enhancing peaceful relations throughout the world and in reducing tension between the major powers. The leaders pledged their continuing efforts to build a just and lasting peace, based on principles of national sovereignty and equality, respect for territorial integrity, and non-interference in the internal affairs of any state. They also reaffirmed the close ties of friendship that have long characterized relations between the United States and Pakistan. President Nixon assured Prime Minister Bhutto of strong U.S. support for Pakistan's independence and territorial integrity, which he considered a guiding principle of American foreign policy.

President Nixon took the opportunity to congratulate Prime Minister Bhutto on the progress Pakistan has made over the past twenty months. He noted the successes of the Prime Minister of Pakistan in establishing representative government under a democratic constitution recently adopted by the National Assembly, and in restoring the war-shattered economy of Pakistan, which has unfortunately re-

ceived a serious set-back in the recent unprecedented floods.

Prime Minister Bhutto voiced his warm appreciation for the generous American response to Pakistan's severe flood losses. The two leaders discussed additional needs and ways in which the United States and the international community might be responsive. President Nixon pledged additional assistance and vigorous support for international relief efforts.

The two leaders also discussed Pakistan's long-term assistance needs. They reviewed the substantial assistance which the United States has extended to Pakistan. President Nixon noted the importance which the United States attaches to Pakistan's stable development and reviewed for the Prime Minister plans for future assistance.

Prime Minister Bhutto reviewed for the President the Simla Agreement of July 1972, and the New Delhi Agreement of August 28, 1973, calling for repatriation of prisoners of war and other stranded persons from the 1971 war between India and Pakistan. The President congratulated Prime Minister Bhutto on his statesmanship in reaching the agreements. President Nixon reiterated the United States' warm support for the process of reconciliation underway in South Asia, and expressed the United States' interest in expeditious implementation of the agreements and in the resolution of other outstanding issues in South Asia through peaceful means in accordance with internationally recognized principles.

There was also a discussion of inter-

national narcotics problems. President Nixon welcomed Prime Minister Bhutto's recent statement pledging efforts to control narcotics traffic and progressively to

eliminate poppy cultivation. The President assured the Prime Minister of strong U.S. support for Pakistan's efforts.

NOTE: See also Items 261 and 262.

267 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report on the Administration of the National Sickle Cell Anemia Control Act. *September 21, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to send to the Congress the First Annual Report on the Administration of the National Sickle Cell Anemia Control Act in accordance with the requirements of Section 1106 of the Public Health Service Act, as amended. The Annual Report describes the ongoing research and service activities established to carry out the provisions of the act.

Research efforts to investigate the mechanism and subsequent complications of the abnormal sickling process in sickle cell anemia have been significantly increased over the past year under the National Institutes of Health. Clinical trials utilizing antisickling agents are underway to alter the sickling process and thus aid individuals who suffer from sickle cell anemia. Demonstration service activities designed to improve public awareness,

education, detection and counseling concerning sickle cell disease have been initiated by the Health Services Administration.

These efforts are directed towards one genetic blood disorder—sickle cell disease, but the research and service results will also be relevant to a broader spectrum of genetic blood disorders. The fight against sickle cell anemia continues to be a high priority for our Government and I am pleased to commend this report to the attention of the Congress.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

September 21, 1973.

NOTE: The report is entitled "Annual Report on the Administration of the National Sickle Cell Anemia Control Act (P.L. 92-294)" (6 pp. plus appendix).

268 Remarks at the Swearing In of Henry A. Kissinger as Secretary of State. *September 22, 1973*

Ladies and gentlemen:

We welcome you today to this ceremony in which Dr. Henry A. Kissinger will be sworn in as Secretary of State.

The Chief Justice of the United States will now administer the oath of office.

[At this point, Warren E. Burger, Chief Justice

of the United States, administered the oath of office. The President then resumed speaking.]

Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Secretary of State, Members of the Cabinet, Members of the House and the Senate, and all of our other distinguished guests:

I know all of you will want to hear

from the new Secretary of State, speaking for the first time in that capacity, and my remarks, therefore, will be brief before presenting him to you.

First, I am aware of the fact that during the process of his hearings that you have learned much about him that perhaps you had not known before, but certainly during the process of his hearings you learned that here is a man who has the poise, the strength, the character to serve in this great position, and that he can handle himself under considerable fire. As a matter of fact, Dr. Kissinger used to come in my office during the days of the hearings. He had not been through such an experience before, and I said, "You are going to go through it for a long time; do you still want the job?" But I kept reassuring him, and I told him the vote would be very, very good, and it was.

And I am sure he must have felt like Winston Churchill, who once wrote that the most exhilarating thing in life is to be shot at without result.

Now, much has been written about Dr. Kissinger's background and the significance of his appointment. All of you know and members of the press are aware of the fact that I like to refer to things which happen to be first in this Administration. I suppose that is the right of every President.

But in Dr. Kissinger's case, we are very proud and it is very significant in these days when we must think of America as part of a whole world community, it is very significant that for the first time in our long history, a naturalized citizen is the Secretary of State of the United States.

It is also significant to note that this is the first Secretary of State, who, before assuming that office, had traveled on offi-

cial business both to Peking and to Moscow. I was trying to think of something else that had not been written, and nothing occurred to me until yesterday, when very late in the day, I thought I had better get a haircut before appearing on television again. And so my barber, who is also Dr. Kissinger's barber, said he had been looking at some pictures of Secretaries of State, and he said, "I bet I know something about this man that you don't know."

I said, "I am sure you do. What is it?"

He said, "He is the first Secretary of State since World War II who doesn't part his hair."

So, I began to think back and I said, "Secretary Acheson, yes, that is right, he parted his hair; Secretary Dulles parted his hair; Secretary Rogers parted his hair."

But then my barber, who is a very wise man and seldom wrong—I said, "But what about Secretary Rusk?" And he said, "Well, Mr. President, he didn't have much hair, but what he had, he parted."

That little story about the parting of hair has no relevance to the functions of Secretary of State. I would say on a serious vein simply that Dr. Kissinger assumes this office at a watershed time in American foreign policy, at a time when America is at peace for the first time in 12 years, at a time when we recognize that the only thing more difficult than getting peace is keeping it, at a time, therefore, when building the structure of peace is so important.

And he also recognizes another fundamental fact. There is a tendency these days to personalize every activity in, particularly, foreign policy: the exciting secret trips of Dr. Kissinger to Peking,

to Moscow, to Paris; what a President does, what a Secretary of State does, what his advisers do.

But Dr. Kissinger knows, as I know, and as everybody in this audience knows, that successes in any area, and particularly in foreign policy, do not come simply from the activities of one person. It requires a dedicated team of people, men and women working together. And in now having achieved peace, in keeping the peace and building the structure of peace, he has the function and, I am sure, will meet that responsibility of getting the cooperation of the people in the State Department and the other agencies of Government so that, working together and working with the Congress of the United States, we will not miss this historic opportunity to build a lasting peace for America and the world. This is certainly his charge. It is one that he welcomes, and it is one for which he is superbly qualified.

Ladies and gentlemen, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:05 a.m. in the East Room at the White House.

On the same day, the White House released biographical data on Secretary of State Kissinger.

Secretary Kissinger responded as follows:

Mr. President, the Chief Justice, distinguished guests:

Nearly 5 years ago, shortly after the President had been elected, he invited me to call on him at the Hotel Pierre in New York. I had never met the President at the time, and he described to me, in a conversation which eventually led to my appointment as his assistant for national security, what he hoped to achieve in his Presidency.

He told me that no goal could be more noble than to bring mankind closer to its eternal hope for a lasting peace. He said that we should not be hampered by any preconceptions, that

we should not avoid any new departures, and that we should enlist the ablest people in the departments and in the country to help in this enterprise.

In the 5 years that have passed since then, we have gone through many turbulent times, but the objective has never wavered, and the major progress has been made in easing many of the tensions that existed in the world when the President assumed office.

A few weeks ago in San Clemente, the President spoke to me again about his hopes for his second term and asked me to assume this position, and he again stressed to me that the only objectives that are worth achieving in foreign policy are those that transcend administrations and go beyond parties, and he spoke to me then about the structure of peace.

When we speak of a structure of peace, we mean a world which has not just eased tensions, but overcome them; a world not based on strength, but on justice; a relationship among nations based on cooperation and not an equilibrium of forces alone. That kind of a world is the task, as the President has pointed out, of all Americans, and it is the reason why the President has charged me here with achieving it in the closest cooperation with the Congress and with the great departments of the Government.

Mr. President, you referred to my background, and it is true, there is no country in the world where it is conceivable that a man of my origin could be standing here next to the President of the United States. And if my origin can contribute anything to the formulation of our policy, it is that at an early age I have seen what can happen to a society that is based on hatred and strength and distrust, and that I experienced then what America means to other people, its hope and its idealism. And therefore, in achieving a structure of peace under your leadership, Mr. President, we will strive not just for a pragmatic solution to this or that difficulty, but to recognize that America has never been true to itself unless it meant something beyond itself.

And as we work for a world at peace with justice, compassion, and humanity, we know that America, in fulfilling man's deepest aspirations, fulfills what is best within it.

Thank you very much.

269 Veto of the Small Business Administration Loan Ceiling and Disaster Loan Amendments.

*September 22, 1973**To the Senate of the United States:*

I am returning today without my approval S. 1672, a bill to amend the Small Business Act.

The stated purpose of this measure is to improve the legislative authority of the Small Business Administration, and I am in complete accord with that objective. Unfortunately, this legislation is also burdened with several extremely undesirable features—provisions which would represent a backward march for the Federal Government's disaster relief programs—and for that reason, I am compelled to veto it.

Last year our Nation experienced the worst series of natural disasters in recent memory. I visited several of the affected areas and talked with the victims. Many of them pointed out problems they were having with Federal aid.

As a result of those discussions, I ordered a thorough review of all Federal disaster assistance programs, and earlier this year I proposed legislation that would fundamentally restructure them. The purpose of those proposals was simple: to help disaster victims in the fastest, most efficient and most humane way possible—and in a way that would target our assistance on those genuinely in need. The Federal Government has a clear responsibility to help disaster victims who cannot help themselves, especially low-income families, but those who have their own resources should not use the general taxpayer as a crutch.

If I were to sign this bill, we would

turn our back on these objectives and reinstate practices that have proven unworthy in the past. In fact, this bill would reopen a leaky financial tap in the Federal Treasury which the Congress itself closed last April.

The provisions of S. 1672 which I find unacceptable are these:

—At a large and unnecessary expense to the taxpayer, this bill would provide Federally subsidized loans and grants to all disaster victims regardless of economic need. A wealthy landowner, who could provide for himself through insurance or could easily obtain a private loan, would be entitled to a \$2500 free grant from the Government and an additional loan at only three percent interest. Alternatively, he could forego the grant and obtain a loan for the full amount at only one percent interest. A poor family could qualify for the same aid under this bill, but it is unlikely they would require as large a loan as richer families. The net result would be greater Federal assistance for the well-to-do than the needy, and an even larger bill for the general taxpayer. That is not my idea of good government.

—The cost for the taxpayer of S. 1672 would be approximately \$400 million in Federal spending for each \$1 billion in loans. While we cannot precisely forecast future costs, we do know that if our disaster experiences in the next 12 months are the same as last year, this bill would add \$800 million to the Federal budget.

—In addition, this bill would slow the Federal Government's ability to respond

to disasters by creating an administrative nightmare for those agencies charged with providing assistance.

My continuing hope is that we can act this year to accomplish the much-needed reforms in our disaster assistance programs. The proposals I sent to the Congress earlier this year are designed to insure that the sincere compassion felt by all Americans for disaster victims can be translated into the most rapid, effective and equitable form of disaster assistance possible. To this end the Administration will continue to work with the Congress to enact these comprehensive reforms and,

if need be, to enact a constructive, fiscally responsible and effective interim measure which would serve until more permanent reforms can be made. In the meantime, ongoing programs will continue to be of assistance to disaster victims and will not be affected by my disapproval of S. 1672.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

September 22, 1973.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the President's veto.

The Senate sustained the veto on September 25, 1974.

270 Letter to Senate Leaders About Proposed Reductions in the Defense Budget. *September 22, 1973*

Dear Senator Scott:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I have sent to Chairman Stennis indicating my specific concerns about the Defense Procurement Bill now on the Senate floor. I thought it might be useful to explain to you the reasons for those concerns.

Current efforts in the Congress to reduce the FY 74 Defense budget are deeply disturbing to me. Prior to submission in January, that budget was carefully reviewed, both within the Department of Defense and within the National Security Council system. During this review, the strategic and diplomatic implications of lower budgets were thoroughly assessed. Difficult choices had to be made because we were mindful of the need to hold down spending in order to combat inflation. Marginal defense programs were eliminated and other programs trimmed. I was convinced then, and I am convinced now, that the request I finally sent the Congress was the minimum level consistent with

the Nation's security interests and our foreign policy objectives.

There is no doubt in my mind that a strong defense posture is closely linked to the past success and future development of our foreign policies. A strong military posture was a key factor in our opening of contacts with the Chinese and efforts to improve our relations with the Soviets—steps which were in the interest of the entire nation. A strong defense posture will continue to be a crucial ingredient as we try to maintain close relations with our traditional allies and to prevent conflicts and crises that could undermine efforts to continue to strengthen relations with the potential adversaries.

It is ironic that in this critical period in which the United States has so much at stake in the international arena, arguments to erode our military posture have gained such currency. We are now engaged in crucial efforts to improve our trade relationships, to reform the inter-

national monetary system, and to obtain oil supplies from parts of the world fraught with tension. Strong American military forces, by making a vital contribution to international stability, provide us with the influence and leverage we need in negotiating with both our allies and our potential enemies. All of our efforts to secure a more peaceful and prosperous world will be endangered if we unilaterally erode our defense posture.

Unilateral reductions would be particularly destructive for two sets of negotiations that will begin soon and will have a profound effect upon the future. Within a matter of about a month, we will be embarking on a new and extremely important phase of the strategic arms limitation talks. The SALT talks will focus on ways of controlling the qualitative aspects of the arms race. This would be a most inopportune time to weaken our position unilaterally by cutting back on new U.S. weapons systems that demonstrate to the Soviets we will not stand aside while they continue to make qualitative improvements to their forces.

The second set of negotiations—discussions with the Warsaw Pact regarding mutual troop reductions in Europe—should also begin shortly. A strong defense capability and a visible posture of unity on the part of the American public, its Congress and Executive are an essential ingredient in the MBFR [mutual and balanced force reductions] negotiations. We cannot expect the Soviet Union to negotiate seriously if they believe that by slowing negotiations they can get troop reductions at no cost to themselves.

But the issue of national defense goes beyond issues of foreign policy. It goes to the heart of the question of our priori-

ties as a Nation. My judgment is that in today's world this nation cannot afford less defense. We have in the past tried to shrug off the burden of defense only to find that conflict reached us nonetheless. We paid a tragic price for that unpreparedness.

Secretary Schlesinger, Admiral Moorer and many other military advisers can provide you with all the necessary details on the specifics of the programs I have recommended and the particular reasons why the cuts the Congress is considering will be a serious blow to the national interest. While I will leave to them the discussion of the details, I would like to mention several areas of particular concern:

—A unilateral cut in our NATO troops would begin a serious unraveling of the fabric of NATO. It would completely disrupt our MBFR and burden-sharing negotiations.

—A reduction in military assistance for South Vietnam and Laos would be unwise during this delicate period of transition to peace. Our request was the minimum funding necessary and I ask your support in restoring the cuts.

—Failure to develop and produce new weapons would cripple our efforts to provide the forces and equipment we will need for our security five to ten and even fifteen years into the future. Our potential adversaries continue to press ahead with their weapons development programs. If we fail to do likewise, our national security could be threatened at some point in the future.

—Severe reductions in authorized manpower, as proposed in the Senate bill, would gravely jeopardize our efforts to maintain adequate force levels for both present and future needs. Adequate man-

power is the most critical input to our Defense posture and should not be reduced below current levels, which are already the lowest in 23 years.

An adequate defense must not become a partisan issue. A strong and ready military force is an asset to all Americans and supports all of their interests. Therefore, the Congress and the Executive Branch must work together to provide the funds, the manpower and the leadership needed

to assure this capability. I ask for your support in this most critical effort.

I am sending similar letters to Mike Mansfield and John Stennis.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[The Honorable Hugh Scott, Minority Leader, United States Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510]

NOTE: The text of the letter, dated September 20, 1973, was released September 22.

271 Statement About the Report of the Advisory Panel on Timber and the Environment. *September 24, 1973*

I HAVE received today the findings and recommendations of my Advisory Panel on Timber and the Environment. This group of qualified, prominent citizens has studied the entire range of timber management problems in our country and has provided valuable advice on increasing the Nation's supply of timber to meet our growing housing needs while protecting and enhancing the quality of our environment. Its report, which at my direction has also been delivered to the Secretary of Agriculture and the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, is now available.

The members of this Panel are to be highly commended for their thorough and wide-ranging analysis of forestry and environmental problems and opportunities. This report is the result of 2 years of study and investigation under the capable leadership of Chairman Fred A. Seaton.

The Panel estimates that our national forests contain 52 percent of the Nation's softwood sawtimber inventory. Much of this land is overstocked with mature and overmature timber. As a result, the annual growth per acre in our national forests is

less than half of that found on other commercial forest lands. According to the Panel, the main forestry issue facing us in the next several decades is the rate at which this old-growth timber in the national forests is converted to new, well-managed stands of trees.

To meet our current and future needs for lumber, the Panel recommends that timber sales from national forests be raised to and maintained at allowable harvest levels wherever market demand is sufficient and so long as adequate funding is made available. This is an objective with which the Forest Service concurs, and I endorse it. The Panel further recommends that allowable cut determination policies be reviewed and revised to allow timber output from the national forests more adequately to serve our national timber supply needs.

After a careful review of scientific findings, the Panel has determined that most of the damage caused by logging operations can be avoided or minimized. Based on the findings of this report, fears of permanent or widespread environmental damage due to timber harvesting would

appear to be unfounded, misleading, or exaggerated.

The Panel recognizes, however, that basic environmental protection is key to the national forests' long-term value for timber production and other use, and thus concludes that protection of environmental quality must be a major goal of national forest management.

Many other findings and recommendations which deserve careful evaluation and consideration are contained in this document. I have asked the Timber Task Force, under the leadership of the Office of Management and Budget, to assess this report carefully and to put into effect as many of its major recommendations as they consider practical.

Our country has been greatly blessed in natural resources, through a combination of temperate weather and fertile land.

But no resources, however rich, are either inexhaustible or indestructible. Therefore, we must strike a careful balance between protection and use. The price of economic growth need not be the deterioration of our lives and our surroundings. All Americans should recognize the value inherent in the unique renewability of our forest resources; they must be cherished, nurtured, and intelligently utilized. This report is a valuable contribution toward helping us meet these goals.

NOTE: The report is entitled "Report of the President's Advisory Panel on Timber and the Environment" (Government Printing Office, 541 pp.).

The President received the report during a meeting with members of the Panel in the Oval Office at the White House.

On the same day, the White House released a summary of the report.

272 Statement About the Investigation of Charges Against Vice President Agnew. *September 25, 1973*

I HELD a discussion with the Vice President this morning about the charges that have been made against him in the course of an investigation being conducted in Baltimore under the direction of the United States Attorney for Maryland.

This discussion followed an assessment of the situation which was presented to me by Attorney General Richardson and Assistant Attorney General Petersen.

During our discussion, the Vice President again—as he had done in our previous meetings—denied the charges that have been made against him. He also informed me that he intended to request that the House of Representatives undertake an inquiry into the matter.

I wish to emphasize my strong belief that during these proceedings the Vice President is entitled to the same presumption of innocence which is the right of any citizen and which lies at the heart of our system of justice. During these past 4½ years, the Vice President has served his country with dedication and distinction. He has won the respect of millions of Americans for the candor and courage with which he has addressed the controversial issues of our time. As he moves through this difficult period, I urge all Americans to accord the Vice President the basic, decent consideration and presumption of innocence that are both his right and his due.

273 Message to the Skylab 2 Crew Following Splashdown.
September 25, 1973

AT THE completion of mankind's longest journey beyond the boundaries of human knowledge, I congratulate you on behalf of all the American people.

The record of your Skylab mission combines the traditions of those great explorers of history who have faced the uncharted reaches of the physical unknown, with the traditions of those men of science who have unlocked the secrets of the universe and have thus opened the doors to man's future progress.

By your scientific endeavor and your physical endurance, you have converted a space vehicle into a repository of more scientific knowledge than mankind can immediately consume. In doing so, you have provided the basis for a quantum jump in human knowledge.

As we salute you in your moment of personal triumph and of our national

pride, we are mindful of the men and women whose contributions made your own accomplishments possible—your colleagues in the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, in the armed services and the civilian scientific community, and the men and women of America's vast technological and industrial establishment. Your accomplishments reflect the power and potential of the American democracy at its best: out of the efforts of many, individual accomplishment is made possible, and from the deeds of the individual, all benefit.

We welcome you back to Earth and back home to the United States of America.

NOTE: The message was relayed to astronauts Capt. Alan L. Bean, USN, Dr. Owen K. Garriott, and Maj. Jack R. Lousma, USMC, on board the recovery ship U.S.S. *New Orleans*.

274 Statement on Signing the Rehabilitation Act of 1973.
September 26, 1973

IT IS doubly gratifying for me to be able to sign into law today the Rehabilitation Act of 1973—first, because of the good the act will do in helping hundreds of thousands of our disabled citizens attain self-sufficiency, and secondly, because of the encouraging example which our agreement on legislation sets for future executive-legislative cooperation.

My decisions last October and again this past March to veto earlier vocational rehabilitation bills sent me by the Congress were painful ones, for I knew that in each case the intentions were generous even though imperfectly realized and that the

beneficiaries involved were deserving. For precisely those reasons, however, I felt it would be worth the extra time and effort to obtain legislation that could truly live up to its promises.

The process of hammering out a compromise on this matter was long and difficult. It is heartening, however, that neither the Congress nor the Administration allowed the smoke of legislative skirmishes to obscure the goal we have shared from the first—that of continuing and improving a program which has long been one of the most humanitarian and effective of all Federal grant activities. The com-

promise which has now emerged augurs well for progress on many other fronts where the American people are anxious for legislative action.

The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 provides a strong charter for continued improvement in the quality and quantity of federally financed vocational rehabilitation services to physically and mentally handicapped Americans. Under the basic authority extended in this bill, some \$700 million is being sought for this purpose in fiscal year 1974, almost double the amount that was being spent under the program when this Administration took office. This sum would ensure that the 1.2 million men and women currently being helped by the rehabilitation program—a 50 percent increase over the 1969 level—will enjoy the benefits of expanded job opportunities and further steps toward independence.

At the same time, the new law wisely avoids certain pitfalls which led me to reject earlier versions. Its funding levels, while adequate, do not abrogate the fiscal disciplines essential for a noninflationary, balanced budget. This bill keeps the Federal vocational rehabilitation program focused on its original and proper purpose, that of preparing people for meaningful jobs, rather than burdening that program with broad new medical or welfare functions better performed elsewhere. The legislation also preserves the administrative flexibility necessary for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and State rehabilitation agencies to manage the program effectively. It provides a

strong impetus for serving those who are most in need and most likely to benefit from vocational rehabilitation services.

In sum, the executive-legislative partnership which has placed this legislation on the statute books makes this a good day for those of our fellow citizens whose courage and spirit in the face of physical adversity provide inspiration for all of us. It is a good day too for all Americans who have wanted the Congress and the Administration to stop butting heads and start pulling together for the public good.

Last spring, shortly after completing my series of State of the Union reports to the Congress, I was forced to exercise my first veto of 1973 on a vocational rehabilitation bill which was fiscally and programmatically unsound. It is perhaps symbolic that a *good* bill drawn to serve the same ends is the first major piece of social legislation which I have had the opportunity to *sign* after this September's State of the Union appeal for a fresh start on our long legislative agenda.

More than 50 bills still remain on that agenda. I look forward to working in close cooperation with the Congress in the weeks ahead in the hope that many more of these bills can be enacted into law.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 8070) is Public Law 93-112 (87 Stat. 355).

The President signed the bill in a ceremony in the Oval Office at the White House.

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the act and its provisions by Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Caspar W. Weinberger.

275 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Patent Modernization and Reform Legislation.

September 27, 1973

To the Congress of the United States:

America's dramatic progress from a small agrarian nation to a great technological and industrial leader has been due, in no small degree, to the inventive genius of its people. Names such as Benjamin Franklin, Eli Whitney, Cyrus McCormick, Thomas Edison, Alexander Graham Bell, Samuel Morse, the Wright Brothers and Henry Ford speak volumes about the character of our Nation.

Our creative history, however, has not been a matter of individual inspiration alone. Our Founding Fathers understood the need for innovative thinking and wrote into the Constitution a means of encouraging invention—the patent system—which has enormously stimulated our progress and prosperity.

The national patent system authorized by the Constitution took on form and substance with enactment of special patent acts in 1790, 1793 and 1836. The act of 1836 provided statutory criteria for the issuance of patents and required the Federal Patent Office to examine applications to determine whether they conformed to those criteria. Although this 1836 law has since been amended, no basic change has been made in its general character and it now forms the basis for our present patent system.

While the patent system has changed only slightly since the nineteenth century, the social and economic structure of our Nation has, of course, undergone profound change. The individual inventor, often working alone and unaided, still

makes an important contribution, but the lead role in exploring new frontiers of technology is now played by organized research—sophisticated and highly capable teams funded by our Government, industry and universities.

The changing nature of applied research has understandably raised questions about the adequacy of our patent system. Over the past seven years a number of searching studies have been made of that system, including a report by a special Presidential Commission in 1966. Those studies have shown that a successful patent system should meet at least four basic standards. It should:

- provide an incentive for new inventions by offering a meaningful reward to the inventor and to his supporters;

- promote early public disclosures of new discoveries, so that others may also benefit;

- encourage other researchers to explore alternative solutions to crucial technological problems; and

- through the process of discovery and disclosure, widen the opportunity for consumers to choose products of higher quality and lower price.

In recent years, it has become increasingly clear that our current patent system does not measure up to these standards. The United States Patent Office now examines patent applications in an *ex parte* fashion—a series of hearings involving only Patent Office personnel and the party applying for a new patent. The very nature of the examination process denies

the Patent Office much information relevant to its decision about issuance of a new patent because that information is frequently held by those who may be in commercial competition with the patent applicant. Thus the Patent Office may grant a patent to one inventor without knowing that similar information already exists. As a consequence, legal disputes between a new patentee and his competitors have often arisen after the patent has been issued, and, because the courts can develop a more complete factual record, a large number of patents have been declared invalid. This litigation is often protracted and needlessly expensive, both for the patentees and their competitors. In addition, there have been increasing allegations of fraud and inequitable conduct in the procurement of patents. The net result is that public confidence in the reliability of our patent system has been eroded, and we have reached the point where reform is clearly desirable.

Accordingly, I am today proposing that the Congress enact the Patent Modernization and Reform Act of 1973. This legislation, which will today be transmitted to the Congress by the Commerce and Justice Departments, is designed to rid the patent system of many of its existing problems without sacrificing the indispensable stimulus to invention now afforded by that system. Specifically, this bill has four major objectives:

1. Strengthening public confidence in the validity of issued patents;
2. Accelerating and improving the disclosure of new technology revealed by the patents;
3. Simplifying the procedures for obtaining patents; and
4. Enhancing the value of the patent grant.

STRENGTHENING PUBLIC CONFIDENCE

The single most important objective of reform must be the establishment of examination procedures which ensure that new patents are both sound and reliable. The best way to achieve this objective is to obtain as much information from all sources as is practicable.

To remedy the defects of the present system, I am recommending that we broaden public participation in the review of patent applications, that we strengthen the hand of the patent examiner, and that we require applicants to give greater assistance to the examiner in bringing information to light. If we take these steps, I believe we would not only ensure a more orderly and complete patent examination but also greatly strengthen public confidence in the validity of our patents.

Under the proposed bill, the Patent Office would publish all patent applications that seem worthwhile and would then give the public six months to bring to its attention information relevant to the application. Members of the public would be permitted to present their views to the Patent Office in an adversary proceeding, and new procedures for discovery of information and opportunities for the opposing parties to appeal the decisions of the Patent Office through the courts would be established. The bill also provides for additional manpower for the Patent Office so that opposition proceedings can be conducted effectively.

The patent examiner, a critical figure in the application process, would also be given additional tools to perform his job. These would include, in appropriate cases, authorization to require an adversary examination proceeding and to obtain the assistance from a special patent officer in

such a proceeding, as well as access to adequate discovery techniques under the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

To further assist the examiner, patent applicants would be required to disclose all pertinent information at the outset of the examination proceeding along with a written memorandum describing why their inventions are patentable. In addition, this legislation spells out in considerable detail the duties of inventors, patent applicants and their attorneys to bring to the attention of the Patent Office all relevant information which comes to their attention during the examination process.

ACCELERATING AND IMPROVING DISCLOSURE

A basic premise of the patent system is that in exchange for commercial protection of his discovery, an applicant will disclose the techniques of his invention so that others may build upon this knowledge. Some critics, however, have suggested that the current patent system is not bringing forth the full and rapid disclosure of technology that it should.

The legislation proposed by the Administration would encourage applicants to expedite the processing of their applications by granting a period of protection 20 years from the date the application is filed rather than the present 17-year period from the day a patent is granted. In addition, this legislation would require that patent claims be drafted with greater precision so that others would have a better understanding of how to use the invention.

SIMPLIFYING PROCEDURES

The Administration bill also sets forth several important steps to simplify the procedures for filing and obtaining patents. One reform would permit the owners of an invention, not just the inventor, to file the papers for, and directly obtain, a patent. This step should remove the present procedural hurdles to filing of applications by corporations, universities or other research organizations.

The bill would also simplify troublesome problems of amending applications and would give the Patent Office greater flexibility in examining applications containing more than one invention.

ENHANCING THE VALUE OF PATENTS

The legislation I am recommending would also enhance the value of the patent grant. The procedural reforms described above, which are designed to strengthen confidence in the examination process, would do much to achieve this goal. But other, more specific changes are also needed.

Current law leaves the owners of United States process patents unprotected against importers who sell foreign products that have been manufactured by utilizing processes developed in the United States. This law should be changed so that exclusive sales agents or affiliates of foreign competitors who handle such products will be considered patent infringers.

The proposed legislation would also permit the patent owner to settle disputes over the infringement and validity of his patent without resorting to expensive and

time-consuming court litigation. Patent owners and those accused of infringing patents may instead, if mutually agreeable, turn to arbitration for resolution once a dispute arises between them. Where arbitration is not possible, improved disclosure and discovery techniques during the patent application process should reduce the expense and uncertainty of subsequent litigation.

In the event of a dispute over the validity of a patent, the legislation I am recommending would clarify the rights of the patentee or a person who might hold his patent, such as an assignee or licensee. Another provision would ensure that the patent laws not be construed to replace or preempt state laws concerning trade secrets so long as those state laws do not interfere with the free flow of ideas in the public domain. Decisions of the Supreme Court in both of these areas would also be left undisturbed.

PRESERVING THE BEST OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM

The Patent Modernization and Reform Act of 1973 is more than a reform bill. It would preserve and extend some of the best and most important aspects of our current patent system. In preparing this legislation, the Administration considered and analyzed a great many proposals for changing the present law—but our decision was to adopt only those proposals for change that would significantly improve the system.

We were particularly anxious to maintain present standards for the awarding of patents, including the requirement that inventions serve a useful purpose. One of

the virtues of the American patent system is its emphasis upon practicality—its demands that ideas be reduced to a tangible form having a known usefulness before the public should grant a monopoly on the concept to the applicant.

My proposal would also preserve the American concept of giving the patent to the person who is first to invent, because he is the individual most deserving of recognition and encouragement. In doing so, we would reject the approach of certain other countries that award the patent to the first applicant to file for a patent.

In addition, the existing state of case law on antitrust standards for patent licensing that have been determined by the courts would not be changed. Some have argued that this case-by-case approach to patent licensing has increasingly eroded the value and reliability of the patent grant. Earlier this year, I requested that various proposals addressed to this issue be carefully studied and reviewed by the Secretary of Commerce, the Attorney General, and my chief advisers on economic policy. After much study, they concluded that there is no clearly demonstrated need or justification for introduction of any patent licensing proposals at this time. They also concluded that the legislation I recommend today will help counter the loss of public confidence by improving the reliability of patents that are issued.

CONCLUSION

Benjamin Franklin, a famous inventor as well as a statesman, reflected once that he wished it his destiny “to be born two or three centuries hence” so that he could

not only enjoy the conveniences of modern life but also satisfy his curiosity. So long as the spirit of Franklin remains alive in America, we can be confident that our civilization will flourish.

Our patent system should always work to foster that spirit. Unfortunately, our current system does not always serve that end. With the changes I am recommending today, however, we can combine the best parts of our existing system with the most promising proposals for improving it. In that belief, I ask the Congress to give the proposals contained in the Pat-

ent Modernization and Reform Act of 1973 prompt and careful consideration.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

September 27, 1973.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the proposed legislation. Participants in the news briefing were John K. Tabor, Under Secretary, Karl E. Bakke, General Counsel, and Rene D. Tegtmeier, Acting Commissioner of Patents for Trademarks, Department of Commerce; and Thomas E. Kauper, Assistant Attorney General, Antitrust Division, Department of Justice.

276 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister

Norman E. Kirk of New Zealand.

September 27, 1973

Mr. Prime Minister and our distinguished guests:

Mr. Prime Minister, you are no stranger to our country; this is your fifth visit, but we are very honored and very proud that this is the first time we have had the opportunity to welcome you as the head of government of your country.

We say that, because New Zealand and the United States have been allies in war, as we are now allies in peace. And I say it, too, from a personal sense, because as I have often pointed out to many visitors from New Zealand and to you this morning, I have very pleasant memories of serving with New Zealand forces in the Solomons, your Third New Zealand Division. And then also, Mrs. Nixon and I have the most pleasant memories of the year 1953—it was 20 years ago, when on a trip around the world, the first country we visited, as Vice President of the United States, was New Zealand.

We shall never forget the warmth of the welcome we received, not only in Auckland but in the South Island as well. And we brought back from that trip an affection for not only your country but your people, which has never left us.

To our distinguished guests tonight, I have had an opportunity that most of you have not had, and that is to talk to the Prime Minister at some length this morning about some of our mutual problems and our concerns in the world.

Most of you probably read of his speech in the U.N. yesterday when he said that he spoke for the little countries of the world. When he rises to respond to my remarks, you will see that the man who represents the little countries of the world is a big man.

Prime Minister Kirk, however, is not only a big man physically, as he is, but I can tell you from our rather brief acquaintance that he is also a big man in

terms of his love of his country, his pride in his background in that country and also in the idealism with which he approaches the problems of building a structure of peace in the Pacific, in Asia, and in the world. And the world is fortunate that a man with his background, with his idealism, with his strength, with his concern for little countries as well as little people, is leading this nation, which is in a way, we think, so far away from us.

And I would simply say, Mr. Prime Minister, that perhaps it would be hard to find any two countries in the world that are further apart geographically than New Zealand and the United States. But it would be hard to find, also, any two countries in the world that in terms of what we seek in the world, in terms of our common ideals, in terms of what we believe, are closer together, because we both seek a world of peace, we both seek a world in which not only great powers but small powers and small nations are safe, independent, and respected.

And we both seek a world in which all people in the world—all people in the world—wherever they may be, not only in our countries, which are fortunate to be far above the average in terms of our income, shall have the opportunity to move forward toward a better life.

In this room in which, for over 150 years, leaders from other governments have spoken, these words I know may sound now almost trite, but I would say that we are entering an era when the opportunity not only to build a structure of peace which will last for perhaps the balance of the century and beyond, but also to build a new world in which all nations and all people go forward together to a better life, where that opportunity is better than it has ever been. And we are very

proud that we have the opportunity, Mr. Prime Minister, to work with you, your people, your government toward that great end.

Ladies and gentlemen, I know you will want to rise and drink to the health of the Prime Minister.

To the Prime Minister.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:57 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Earlier in the day, Prime Minister Kirk met with the President at the White House.

Prime Minister Kirk responded to the President's toast as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, Mr. Vice President, Mrs. Agnew, ladies and gentlemen:

I feel a little out of place. Though I come from a small country, I have to confess that we produce the most excellent food anywhere in the world, and that is what I am advertising by my presence. If you want to live in a small country but be big, there is a very simple trade solution to it.

But, Mr. President, I want first to thank you for the consideration and for the kindness and cordiality that you have shown to me during this visit to Washington, and I want to assure you that that is greatly appreciated.

And I want to say that it has been a very fine tribute and one that I appreciate very much, that among those who were invited here tonight are special personal friends in the United States of America, and I want to thank you very much for that consideration.

And I want to say how moved I was, knowing how difficult it is for a European to speak good Maori, to hear someone singing flawless Maori and without an accent of any sort. That really was a very nice touch.¹

Our country, of course, is called New Zealand—it is also called "Aotearoa," the Maori name for the country, "The Land of the Long White Cloud," and it conjures up a vision of peace, blue skies, pleasant living, and indeed that is true of the country.

¹ The U.S. Army Chorus performed at the dinner, including in its program one song, as was customary, native to the guest of honor's country.

We are a long way away from any other part of the world, and even our nearest neighbors are quite some distance from New Zealand shores. We would be, I think, the most remote country in the world. We are also on the bottom of the world.

And, Mr. President, if I talk about what small countries can do and should do in the world, you should remember that we help hold it up.

But for me it is a great privilege to be here, and it is a considerable honor to our country to be received in the way that I have been received here today. And I am mindful that it is now 20 years since you visited New Zealand and longer since you helped defend it. And the relationship between our country and the United States of America is based on some very important considerations.

And we remember, all of us, the part, the work, the sacrifices made by United States servicemen that enabled us to have the future we have. And in those days and in those years, a special partnership was forged out of a common concern and a common danger, and we have great pleasure each year in welcoming back to New Zealand people who were stationed there during that time, who come with their New Zealand wives, their children, and now their grandchildren. But it reminds us that the relationships between countries are not just matters of treaty or of political relationship; the relationship between the peoples of the countries helps build a bond that enables us to work on the things we see differently and to develop those that we see the same.

And our objectives are precisely those that have been pursued in this country. We believe in freedom; we believe in democracy; we believe that each person should have an equal opportunity to develop themselves, to participate in society, to take their place, and to take it on their own initiative and on their own contribution. And so, we both work for the common goal of extending the quality of life and the quality of the societies in which we live.

And we see, perhaps, a little more clearly, because in a small country there is no question of imposing your will or dominating or of seeking anything other than a political solution. More and more we see that while there are many nations, there is in fact just one human

family, and more and more we are compelled to consider the fact that though we are one human family, we work as though we are several.

And now the opportunities are extended in the new atmosphere that is being created for all countries to pursue those avenues and opportunities with the objective of uniting the human family in common concern for peace, for prosperity, and for the development of their peoples.

So, since we share these objectives, it is not surprising that we have welcomed the new opportunities that a more relaxed, international atmosphere has brought. And, Mr. President, the opportunities that your work has helped to create in Asia and in Southeast Asia is at once a challenge and a chance, a real chance, to improve relationships to the point where we can look forward to a long period of stability and peace in that region.

And for our part, we want to play an effective role, and we want to develop as an independent country the initiatives that we believe are right and proper.

So, sir, to come today and to have the opportunity to talk with you about these objectives, about the changing scene in Asia, and about those things which we can do which help pull us together in a spirit of cooperation and mutual respect, has been, indeed, a very important opportunity so far as I am concerned. And I am pleased that one result of the discussions today was that we were able to meet a very large measure of agreement about cooperation in science and technology.

Our problem has been that we have produced a number of people who have been talented, but when they reached their maturity, they go off to work for others. When we see Americans on the Moon, we know that in New Zealand they helped put them there—Dr. William Pickering²—and what we are talking about is a basis of cooperation that allows scientists and technologists to stimulate each other with their ideas, to develop new fields, to bring new benefits that can be employed usefully for

² Dr. William H. Pickering, who was born in Wellington, New Zealand, was director of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory at the California Institute of Technology.

the benefit of our countries and for the benefit of other peoples. And, sir, we welcome very much this opportunity to share, to cooperate, and indeed, in the case of our skilled people, retain their skills in our service as well as in the service of the people.

I don't want to say any more except what a great honor it has been to be received here, the opportunity to talk with you, to discuss the matters that are so important to the South Pacific and to Southeast Asia at the present time. And I want to remark that 20 years is a long time. We have changed a lot in 20 years. The fish are bigger and the horses a little faster, and the country has changed and developed.

And I want to take this opportunity of saying that the President of the United States will always be a welcome visitor to New Zealand. And if the President of the United States

brings the graceful First Lady with him, then, sir, you will be doubly welcome.

And I know that there are some things you must attend to that do not permit endless travels, but I hope you will consider an invitation to the President of the United States that remains open for exercise at his convenience.

Sir, thank you very much for the reception, thank you very much for the cordiality with which I and my party have been received. We do hope as a continuant to this brief visit, with the understanding we have achieved, that it will be possible to go on and develop the pursuit of peace and prosperity for all people.

Ladies and gentlemen, can I ask you to join me in a toast to the President of the United States of America.

To the President.

277 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the Federal Ocean Program. *September 28, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

The past decade has been a productive period in our Nation's effort to better understand and utilize our marine resources. The early 1960's saw the establishment of a firm foundation for our Nation's oceanographic research programs. Building on this research base in the late 1960's and early 1970's, we began formulating policies and carrying out plans to derive practical benefits from our ocean activities. New marine-related institutions were developed, the importance of marine sciences to the activities of existing institutions was recognized, and their efforts were expanded. While recognizing the ongoing importance of basic research, I believe that this emphasis on practical benefits must also be carried forward in the years ahead.

OCEAN INDUSTRIES

We have been particularly concerned of late with the challenge of relieving our dependence on marine imports and at the same time, providing new products and services for export. Our fishing industry has been a special focus of concern. At present, we import approximately 70 percent of our fish products, in spite of the fact that some of the world's most fertile fisheries lie directly off our coasts. These imports contribute a billion dollars to our foreign trade deficit. To help protect our domestic fishing industry, I have recommended legislation which would permit U.S. regulation of foreign fishing off our coasts to the fullest extent authorized by international agreements and would permit Federal regulation of domestic fisher-

ies in the U.S. fisheries zone and in the high seas beyond that zone.

Of the non-living or mineral resources of the seabed, petroleum from our continental shelves will be the most important to the Nation for some years to come. I have directed the Secretary of the Interior to continue to accelerate the leasing of Outer Continental Shelf lands for oil and gas production to a level triple the present annual acreage rate by 1979, as long as such development can proceed with adequate protection of the environment and under conditions consistent with my Oceans Policy statement of May 1970.

We are also seeking agreement with other nations on a suitable means for developing mineral resources beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.

MANAGING OUR MARINE RESOURCES

Our efforts to improve the means by which we extract resources from the sea must be accompanied by efforts to ensure that those resources are managed properly to protect their continued abundance. In America, as in other nations, there is a deepening concern for the marine environment and the welfare of its associated plant and animal life. There is also a growing worldwide recognition that the welfare of the ocean resources is of international concern. This concern has been manifested in the establishment of the United Nations Environment Program and Fund following the Conference on the Human Environment at Stockholm and in the recent Convention on International Trade and Endangered Wild Species of Fauna and Flora. The Marine Mammals Act of 1972, which will help in the preservation of porpoises, seals, whales

and other mammals which inhabit the seas and shores, is another significant step in this effort. So is my proposed Endangered Species Conservation Act, which would permit protective measures to be undertaken before a species is so depleted that its recovery is difficult or impossible.

The need for proper management of our coastal areas is inextricably linked with the need for proper management of our marine resources. Much of our population is concentrated on the relatively narrow band of our national coastal zone. The problems of urban development and land transportation within this zone, as well as the impact of ocean vessels of mammoth tonnage, demand serious consideration of our entire coastal transportation complex—including deepwater ports and off-shore terminals. Recently proposed legislation for the licensing of deepwater ports is another key element in our effort to anticipate and resolve this problem.

I believe that coastal zone management must be part of a program for the proper management of all our national lands. For this reason, my legislative program for this year includes again my recommendation for a major National Land Use Policy Act, a bill which would place special emphasis on the problems of our coastal zone.

I have further requested that the Senate give its consent to the Convention on the Prevention of Marine Pollution by Dumping of Wastes and Other Matter, adopted in November 1972 by the United States and 91 other nations. I have proposed amendments to our ocean dumping legislation fully to implement the Convention and I am proposing legislation to carry out other international agreements

related to pollution control under the auspices of the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization.

MARINE ADVISORY SERVICES

To support Federal marine programs and to assist in their application for the benefit of the American public, a marine advisory service has been established to serve as a two-way communications link with the public. Field agents of this advisory service—"county agents in hip boots"—will help bring to the Nation an awareness of our ocean heritage and its potential for satisfying many of our economic and social needs.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Problems of the marine environment have a unique global dimension. As we continue our efforts in the marine areas that I have highlighted, we shall also work to improve the performance of these functions within the international community. We are already making headway, for example, in advancing the International Decade of Ocean Exploration, the International Field Year of the Great Lakes, and the Integrated Global Ocean Station System of the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission and the World Meteorological Organization.

We have also established special agreements for cooperative marine activities with a number of nations, including Canada, France, Japan, and the USSR. In addition, we shall take whatever efforts

are required to fulfill those commitments made at the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment, the meetings of the International Whaling Commission, and the significant deliberations of numerous other organizations dedicated to fisheries and the marine environment. We shall also continue to work with developing nations, helping them to realize more fully the benefits available to them from the oceans and generating the climate necessary to assure freedom of research at sea for all nations.

Finally, we must seek ways to insure that the oceans remain an avenue of peaceful cooperation rather than an arena of tension-filled confrontation. Our efforts in the Law of the Sea deliberations, now beginning, will be devoted to this goal.

CONCLUSION

America is a seagoing nation with great dependence on the oceans that surround it. We can take pride in our past leadership and our accomplishments in marine science and engineering. I am determined that our future Federal marine effort will continue that leadership to the benefit of our Nation and all mankind.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
September 28, 1973.

NOTE: The message is printed in the report entitled "The Federal Ocean Program: The annual report of the President to the Congress on the Nation's efforts to comprehend, conserve, and use the sea—April 1973" (Government Printing Office, 133 pp.).

278 Statement About Pay Increases for Federal Employees. *September 28, 1973*

THE Senate's action today in overturning my plan to defer Federal pay raises for a 2-month period comes as a distinct disappointment.

It occurs at a time when we are attempting to hold down Federal spending in order to reduce inflationary pressures in the economy. This Senate action will add \$340 million to Federal outlays and place additional strains not only on the taxpayers but also on other Government activities already hard-pressed for adequate funding.

My proposal called for a deferral of Federal pay increases from October until December of this year as an essential part of our fight against rising prices. Inflation is a serious national concern, and most Americans are undergoing sacrifices as their National Government strives to bring it under control.

As one of the largest groups of workers in the country, Federal employees recognize that they have a special obligation to

join in this fight, and they have consistently met that obligation. They had a pay increase of more than 5 percent some 9 months ago, and I am confident that many of them would have been prepared to delay another increase until late this year.

The Senate's action makes it necessary for pay adjustments to become effective this October. Having considered the recommendations of my Federal pay "agent" (Director of the Office of Management and Budget and the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission), the Federal Employees Pay Council, and my advisory committee on Federal pay, I have decided to issue Executive orders early next week that will place into effect a 4.77 percent pay increase for civil service employees and comparable increases for the military services and other pay systems. The pay increases will be effective on the first pay period beginning on or after October 1, 1973.

279 Statement on Signing the Domestic Volunteer Service Act of 1973. *October 1, 1973*

IT IS with great pleasure today that I am signing into law the Domestic Volunteer Service Act of 1973, extending and strengthening the mandate of ACTION to serve as a spearhead of our voluntary service programs.

In creating ACTION 2 years ago with the consent of the Congress, I hoped that the new Agency would help us restructure our thinking about volunteer services in America. We needed to build upon what we had learned in our volunteer poverty

programs and then to expand our efforts to other community and national problems. Volunteer programs had to become relevant to the needs and demands of the 1970's.

The bill I am signing today translates those hopes into concrete reality. By broadening State and local participation in ACTION programs, it gives every community a much better chance to solve its own problems. Local initiative and local responsibility should now become the driv-

ing force behind ACTION's efforts across the Nation.

Several other notable improvements are also contained in this bill:

- It permits ACTION to launch special volunteer programs aimed at a wider range of human, social, and environmental problems such as those experienced by veterans, drug abusers, and youthful offenders.
- It doubles the length of service of VISTA volunteers to 2 years, and encourages them to deal with a wider range of problems.
- It authorizes a continuation of the new and innovative University Year for ACTION program in which students earn academic credit while working full time in poverty-related projects.
- And it enables the Federal Government to design programs to meet the needs of older Americans and those who can use economic and financial counseling.

Many of the best features of this bill have resulted from compromise efforts between the Congress and the Administration. The harmonious, bipartisan spirit which brought this bill to passage augurs

well for an organization that now seeks to enlist all Americans in a constructive, voluntary effort to help others who cannot help themselves.

In signing this bill, I want to take special note of a branch of the ACTION program that is authorized by separate legislation but certainly has been central to the success of this new agency: the Peace Corps. Five years ago, the Peace Corps operated in a cold war environment and the first flush of public enthusiasm for the Corps had faded. Today, as we seek to build a new era of peace, the Peace Corps' role has also changed so that it now tries to give more practical, hardheaded assistance to our neighbors abroad. I am gratified that with these changes has come a revived interest in Peace Corps service and a growing opportunity for its volunteers of all ages to play a vital role in people-to-people diplomacy.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 1148) is Public Law 93-113 (87 Stat. 394).

The President signed the bill in a ceremony in the Oval Office at the White House.

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the bill by Michael P. Balzano, Jr., Director of ACTION, and Melvin R. Laird, Counsellor to the President for Domestic Affairs.

280 Informal Remarks to a Group of Senior Citizens From Whittier, California. *October 2, 1973*

I JUST wanted to say to all of you from my hometown and my home community that as members of the press here will know, there are literally hundreds of groups like this in Washington today. As a matter of fact, thousands, who come—not just senior citizens but visitors—on bus trips and train trips and plane trips and so forth, and of course, want to tour

the White House. Most of them get to tour the White House if they stay long enough. The lines are pretty long now. And most of them, of course, would like to come in and see the President.

Well, naturally, if I saw all the groups that came into town, I wouldn't get any work done. You see how clean my desk is. But I can assure you that when I

learned that the group was from Whittier, you came in.

I think of my days there in high school and college, as a young lawyer, and then running for the Congress, living there. Tricia was born in Whittier, you know, Murphy Memorial Hospital. As I think back on those years—you know, I have now traveled all of the 50 States and more than 50 countries, in fact, more countries than anybody who has ever been in this office—but there is really nothing that means so much as seeing people from home.

Jim Farley, you know, the great chairman of the Democratic National Committee, once told me, he said, “You know, the most important thing in politics is to be able to win your own precinct,” and we have always done rather well in Whittier.

But apart from winning it or losing it, I know that the letters we receive here, so many are from Whittier and our friends there, Yorba Linda and Fullerton, La Habra, all the places that I remember so well.

Let me say, too, that when I noted senior citizens on a bus trip of this length, I just think, who thought up the idea? Well, it is just a wonderful idea. I can remember when I was in Whittier—and to go to Washington, of course, to even think of the possibility, but here you are traveling the whole country and seeing the great parks, and you are going south next, I understand. It will be beautiful. Have you seen the fall leaves?

I remember my mother—of course, my mother, as you know, was born in Indiana. Most Californians are from some other State, but the thing that she and

my father, who was also born in the Midwest, in Ohio—and they were both from farms—they always missed was the fall colors.

I took a little ride yesterday with General Haig down through Virginia. We didn’t have much time for this, because we just go in the car and work a bit, and already while going south, the colors aren’t as brilliant as they will be a month from now. If you go further north, they are pretty good right now, but you will find the colors very beautiful and something we don’t have in California. We have almost everything else, though.

Let me say finally that Mrs. Nixon, as you know, Pat—as a matter of fact, this is one of the few crowds that comes in here and you call me Dick; my mother used to call me Richard, and I appreciate that, too—but Pat will be over in the White House, and she is going to have you for coffee in a very famous room. It is called the Yellow Oval Room. In fact, the mark of the White House is oval rooms. This is an oval office, and the Yellow Oval Room is a room that the visitors do not get to see, that is, the regular tourists, because it is on the second floor of the family rooms, and it is one of the most beautiful rooms in the whole White House. It is where the state visitors come and are received by the President before going down to the big state dinners. So when you are up there, just remember that coming as you do from Whittier, you are all going to be either a king or a queen.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:15 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House, where he received a group of more than 40 senior citizens, who were on a 35-day tour of the United States.

281 The President's News Conference of *October 3, 1973*

SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER'S TRIP TO THE FAR EAST

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] Won't you be seated, ladies and gentlemen. I guess I should say, all of those who can find seats.

Dr. Kissinger, as you know from an announcement that I understand got out about 30 minutes ago from Peking, will visit Peking on October 26 to 29. This is part of the continuing dialog between the People's Republic of China and the United States which began with my visit to China last year.

The subjects that will be discussed include those that have been discussed on previous occasions—trade, for example, where it is interesting to note that the amount of bilateral trade between the two countries, which was approximately \$6 million in 1971, will be an estimated \$800 million in 1973. Scientific and cultural exchanges will be a major subject for discussions—and, of course, other matters of mutual concern to the two nations.

In addition, Dr. Kissinger has been invited by the Foreign Minister of Japan, Mr. Ohira, to stop in Japan on his visit to the Far East. He will do so. The timing of that visit, however, has not yet been agreed upon and will be announced as soon as we hear from the Japanese.

Incidentally, I learned that 12 to 15 members of the press will be invited, if they desire to go, to go on the trip with the Secretary of State, and if you would put in your applications at the State Department, in this instance, I think that

they will be honored in the order in which they are received.

Now, I will be glad to take questions on other subjects, since I understand Mr. Warren has been rather busy with his briefings lately.

QUESTIONS

COUNSELLOR HARLOW

[2.] Mr. President, would you tell us why you sent Bryce Harlow out to Arizona last month just after the Vice President and Mr. Goldwater conferred?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I didn't send him to Arizona, as far as I know. I think he went to Oklahoma.

Q. He was reported to have gone to Phoenix.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, he might have. He might have. I think that what had happened was that Senator Goldwater had indicated an interest in the status of the situation with regard to the Vice President's case, and Mr. Harlow, being somewhat familiar with that matter, was the best man to provide that information for him.

VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW

[3.] Q. Mr. President, do you think that the Vice President should resign if he is indicted?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the Vice President has addressed that question, and his answer is an altogether proper one. The Vice President is in a different position, for example, than a member of the Presi-

dent's Cabinet or a member of his staff. I have indicated that if a member of the President's Cabinet or his staff is indicted, he would have to resign pending the outcome of the trial.

However, the Vice President, like the President, is elected by all the people. He holds that office in his own right, and the decision as to whether he should resign is for him to make. He has indicated that he will not resign if indicted, and therefore, that decision on his part should be respected.

Q. Mr. President, have you ever asked for him to consider resigning?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I have not. I have noted the lively discussion about resignation here in the press room, and I understand that. But let me say that in all the conversations I have had with the Vice President, I have never asked him to resign. I have always told him—and he understands this position—that this matter is one for him to decide.

I would say further that as far as our discussions are concerned, they are privileged, and I will not go further than that, other than to say that we both agreed that we could make public the fact that the charges that have been made against him, and which he has denied publicly, he has denied to me privately on three occasions.

THE PRESIDENT'S RESIDENCE AT SAN
CLEMENTE

[4.] Q. Mr. President, at your last press conference you said that some of the Government work done at San Clemente had diminished the value of the property for use as a home. I would like to ask about two items that are in the GSA

[General Services Administration] reports on it.

First, do you think that the \$13,500 electrical heating system that was installed diminished its value? And, second, do you think that when the GSA hired a local landscape architect to redesign the flower beds on the west side of the residence four times a year, that they were spending the taxpayers' money wisely?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I can plow that ground again, I guess. If any of you have lived in California, you will know that gas heat costs less than electric heat. I preferred the first, gas heat. For security reasons, apparently, they decided that it presented a fire hazard which could not be tolerated. And so that decision was made.

With regard to the other matters that have been brought up, I think full statements have been made over and over again on this, and I really think anything I would say in answer to your question, in view of the way you have already presented it as a statement, would not convince you or anybody else.

UNFILLED POSITIONS IN THE
ADMINISTRATION

[5.] Q. Mr. President, may I ask you two questions in one, because both relate to——

THE PRESIDENT. You are like Mr. Mollenhoff [Clark R. Mollenhoff, Des Moines Register and Tribune]. You can ask three if you like.

Q. I will just ask a doubleheader, all right? Both are related to unfilled jobs. That is why I am putting them together.

We have not had an Ambassador in the Soviet Union now for going on to 9 months, and the Chairman of your Com-

mission on Civil Rights, that job has been unfilled about 8 or 9 months, also. What are your plans on that?

THE PRESIDENT. The Ambassador to the Soviet Union is a very important post, and as a matter of fact, I discussed that with Dr. Kissinger just yesterday. I think we will have an announcement on it within the next 2 or 3 weeks.

With regard to the other position, that is one also that we consider to be very important, and it is at present being considered within the Domestic Council. I am sure a recommendation will be made to me soon, and we will try to fill it.

The main thing about these appointments, as I am sure you all know, is to get the right person, man or woman, for the job rather than to do it in too much of a hurry.

SENATOR PERCY AND THE 1976 PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION

[6.] Mr. Beckman [Aldo B. Beckman, Chicago Tribune Press Service].

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us if you will actively oppose Senator Percy's efforts to win the 1976 Republican nomination, and if you will not, can you tell us what has changed since February when you suggested that you might?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have noted that particularly in the Chicago papers, not only the Tribune but the Sun-Times and the News—and is there another one there, too?—

Q. Today.

THE PRESIDENT. And Today.

—that there has been much speculation about my meeting with Senator Percy. It was a very candid discussion. I did say at one point, due to a misunderstanding, that I thought that Senator

Percy should not be a candidate in '76, and as I told him when we met, that statement was made because I had understood that he had opposed Elliot Richardson for Attorney General right after I had announced that I was sending his name to the Senate, which I thought was a highly irresponsible thing to do in view of the fact that both Elliot Richardson and Senator Percy are in what we call the more liberal wing of the Republican Party.

Senator Percy, however, later explained that his resolution in that respect, that would have affected Elliot Richardson, had been misinterpreted, that he had actually introduced it prior to the time that I had made my announcement. Now, so much for the statement that was made in February.

Second, to put it all in perspective, whether it is Senator Percy on the one side, or one of several Governors or former Governors who might be a candidate, or mayor of Indianapolis, or a number of Senators and one or two House Members—all of them have a right to seek the Presidency if they so desire.

As far as I am concerned, I will make no decision with regard to supporting or opposing any one of these candidates until they have been tried in the field of battle. I think that we learned in the year 1972 that when an individual moves from the Senate—and I am referring now to the primaries—to the big leagues, or when he moves from the governorship to the big leagues—and we learned this in other years—that sometimes he can't hit the big league pitching. And I would like to see how these various potential candidates handle themselves in the primaries before making any decision with regard to who should be the candidate.

I am not saying now, incidentally, categorically that I will endorse a candidate before the convention. I reserve the right to make that decision at a later time. But certainly, I would say finally that Senator Percy has been a vigorous campaigner for the Senate, an articulate spokesman—not always on the side of the Administration, but I respect differences of opinion—and he has every right to seek the Presidency. He will not be opposed at this time, and should he prove to be the strongest candidate, he will not be opposed, certainly, if he receives the nomination. I will support whoever receives that nomination.

FURTHER QUESTIONS ABOUT THE
VICE PRESIDENT

[7.] Mr. Jarriel [Tom Jarriel, ABC News]. No. Go ahead, I am sorry.

Q. Mr. Risher [Eugene V. Risher, United Press International].

THE PRESIDENT. Gene Risher. You look like Jarriel though.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. You are not paid as much as he is though.

Q. I know.

THE PRESIDENT. UPI please note—a raise in salary.

Q. Could you tell us, Mr. President, if you have done any contingency planning about a possible Vice President in the event that Vice President Agnew leaves office for any reason?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Risher, certainly not. It would be highly inappropriate to have any contingency planning with regard to what should happen if the Vice President leaves office.

As far as the Vice President is concerned, I have said in my statement of the 25th of September that he has denied

the charges that have been made against him, that he is entitled to the presumption of innocence, which is the right of every American citizen, and I urge all of my fellow Americans to give him that presumption of innocence, as I certainly do. And particularly that presumption of innocence, I think, should be underlined in view of his years of distinguished service as Vice President, having in mind, too, the fact that the charges that have been made against him do not relate in any way to his activities as Vice President of the United States.

I would say further in that respect that I would hope that in this rather white-hot atmosphere, which I understand has developed since the Vice President's case came to public attention, that he will not be tried and convicted in the press and on television by leaks and innuendo and the rest. There is nothing really that is more harmful to the rights of an individual than to be tried and convicted in the press before he has an opportunity to present his case, and I would urge all of you ladies and gentlemen, because I know you want to be responsible in this respect, to make your judgments on the basis of all the evidence, not on the basis——

Q. Mr. President——

THE PRESIDENT. Let me finish.

——make your judgment on the basis of all the evidence and not simply on the basis of a unilateral charge that is made, not under oath.

Q. Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Mollenhoff, yes, you.

Q. On that particular point, you have been briefed in some detail on the evidence in the Agnew problem. You are also a lawyer with some expertise. You could tell us——

THE PRESIDENT. Some would question that.

Q. —whether there is any substance to Mr. Agnew's charges that this is a frivolous investigation, that it is a frameup, and that it is in fact a smear.

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Mollenhoff, when you say that I have been briefed on the charges, I should respond to that by saying that I have not heard the witnesses. I have only been briefed on what it is believed the witnesses might testify to.

As far as the charges are concerned, they are serious and not frivolous. The Vice President's complaint, as you know, is that the leaks that have come out on this particular matter have convicted him in advance, and it is that particular point that concerns him, and it concerns me as well.

As a matter of fact, in the strongest terms I have spoken to the Attorney General about this matter. He shares my view. He has taken personal charge of the investigation with regard to leaks, and incidentally, he has assured me, Mr. Mollenhoff, that the Assistant Attorney General, Mr. Petersen, whom, as you recall, I praised rather highly in my 22d of August press conference in San Clemente, was in no way—neither he nor members of his office in the Justice Department—involved in the leaks involving the Vice President.

Q. Mr. President, if I may follow up, please.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, you may follow up.

Q. Thank you.

In view of that remark, do you then still support Mr. Petersen's handling of the investigation?

THE PRESIDENT. If I did not support

Mr. Petersen's handling of the investigation, he would have been removed at this time. But it would be a disservice to an individual who has served both Administrations with distinction for many, many years, to remove him from handling the investigation unless there was clear evidence that he had been guilty of an indiscretion, and I have taken this matter up quite directly with the Attorney General.

The Attorney General assures me that his investigation—his, the Attorney General's investigation—indicates that Mr. Petersen has handled this investigation without prejudice in advance and without, of course, engaging in what, in my view, is the totally inexcusable and inappropriate conduct of leaking information on a grand jury investigation.

PLANS FOR EUROPEAN TRIP

[8.] Mr. Theis [J. William Theis, Hearst Newspapers and Hearst Headline Service].

Q. In view of your sidewalk remark the other night¹ about travel plans, can you pinpoint for us any better your timing of your trip to Europe?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Theis, it is difficult to pinpoint the timing of a trip to Europe, but in order that all of you can make your plans a little better, the trip to Europe will be made within the next few months, and the timing will be based on these factors: first, the progress which is made on the discussions now going on with regard to a declaration of principles

¹On Monday, October 1, following dinner at a Washington restaurant, the President stopped to talk with an Italian family outside the restaurant and mentioned that he hoped to visit Europe in a few months.

with regard to the alliance and with regard to economic matters as well.

The latter, as you know, I discussed with Mr. Ortoli when he was here.² That progress is going on, incidentally, well ahead of schedule according to Dr. Kissinger. As soon as those preliminary negotiations are completed and as soon as it is clear on both sides of the Atlantic that this will be a trip not for protocol purposes, but one that will have real substance in it, then we will work out a date.

Now, the second factor, however, which enters into this is the Congressional schedule. I cannot take a trip to Europe or anyplace else at a time when there are matters before the Congress of very great significance. That is why I cannot pinpoint this in terms of saying that just as soon as the Europeans are ready, we will go.

If the Europeans are ready at a time that we have a heavy calendar in Congress, I shall have to postpone the trip until that.

But I would say I am thinking in terms of the next 3 or 4 months, but it might be sooner than that; probably not much later.

Now, with regard to Japan, I agreed with Mr. Tanaka, when he was here, that I would visit Japan before the end of 1974. We will, of course, make those plans again consistent with our developments on the bilateral side and at a time when we think that there is a matter of substance to be discussed or matters of substance to be discussed and at a time which is consistent with my responsibilities on the domestic front.

² The President met with François-Xavier Ortoli, President of the Commission of the European Communities, at the White House on October 1, 1973.

AUSTRIAN DECISION ON JEWISH EMIGREES
FROM THE SOVIET UNION

[9.] Q. Could I ask, Mr. President—

THE PRESIDENT. This lady is—

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. You don't mind a lady going ahead of you, do you?

Q. No, sir.

Q. Thank you, sir.

Do you have any comment to make on the Austrian decision to close the Russian emigrant facilities?

THE PRESIDENT. Excuse me.

Q. The Austrian decision to close the Russian emigrant facilities.

THE PRESIDENT. I heard your question, but I wanted the radio to hear it, too.

Q. Oh, thank you.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I have. The Austrians are in a very difficult position here. As you know, I stopped in Austria on my way to Moscow and for the first time—no, the second time, met the Prime Minister, Mr. Kreisky, and anybody who knows his background knows that he is certainly not anti-Semitic. But Austria is in the eye of a hurricane, and Austria, therefore, being a relatively small country and relatively weak militarily, et cetera, is making a very, what I am sure for Mr. Kreisky, painful decision in this respect.

I recall, for example, that at the time of the Hungarian revolution, Austria opened its arms very generously to thousands of refugees, and I know that is the Austrian tradition and custom. I would hope—and I would express this—I would hope that the Prime Minister would reconsider his decision, even though I know he has even lately reiterated it, reconsider it for this fundamental reason that goes far beyond his country and even ours, and

that is that we simply cannot have governments, small or large, give in to international blackmail by terrorist groups. That is what is involved.

Not to mention, of course, the fact that we all have a concern for the emigres. They must have a place to come. So, on humanitarian grounds and on geopolitical grounds of the highest order, I believe that that decision should be reconsidered, but naturally, I am not going to put my friend, Mr. Kreisky, in the position of trying to dictate to him what it should be.

Now, you go ahead with your question.

PRESIDENTIAL TAPE RECORDINGS

[10.] Q. Sir, there is at least the possibility that if you don't give up the Watergate tapes, some of the cases or potential cases against your former aides might be aborted. I wonder if you are concerned about this and, further, whether you might see some room for compromise in the appellate court suggestion?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, since the appellate court is still considering the matter, it would be inappropriate for me to talk about what should be done with regard to compromise. As you know, discussions, extended discussions, took place between Mr. Buzhardt and the Special Prosecutor in this respect, and they agreed to disagree.³

³ On September 20, 1973, the White House issued a letter from Charles Alan Wright, consultant to the Counsel to the President, to Hugh E. Kline, United States Court of Appeals Clerk, which reported the failure to reach a compromise on examination of the subpoenaed Presidential tape recordings. The text of the letter is printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 9, p. 1166).

As far as the tapes are concerned, I have stated my position, and I restate it again today. The position is that the confidentiality of Presidential discussions must be maintained. And whether it is a Presidential paper, a memorandum of conversation prepared by a member of his staff after meeting with the President, or whether it is a tape of a conversation, it is the responsibility of the President, with regard to the separation-of-powers principle, to defend the integrity of those conversations so that Presidents in the future will be able to conduct freewheeling, extended conversations with no holds barred with foreign visitors and, of course, with those who come to see him from the United States.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND INFLATION

[11.] Q. Mr. President, do you agree with the proposition put forth by your CEA nominee, Mr. Fellner,⁴ that the country will have to abandon its goal of 4 percent unemployment and move to 5 percent, or perhaps higher, to fight inflation?

THE PRESIDENT. I noticed Mr. Fellner's rather, shall we say, outspoken comments and also his comments with regard to Phase IV, where he said he thought that we should apparently—at least the press indicated that he thought that we should junk Phase IV pretty soon, or sooner than we certainly intend to do so.

Before answering that question, let me say that I have found that economists are the most independent breed of the human species, except for members of the press. And the reason for that is that the Ameri-

⁴ William J. Fellner was nominated to be a member of the Council of Economic Advisers on September 25, 1973.

can economy is highly unpredictable. It is a free economy.

I have found that my economic advisers are not always right, but they are always sure in everything that they recommend.

Now, as far as Mr. Fellner is concerned, whether the goal should be 4 percent or 5 percent is not really the point. The main thing is to get unemployment down as low as we can.

At the present time, this economy is going at full bore ahead—that is on the plus side—despite the unacceptable rate of inflation, and unemployment is, we trust, going to either stay where it is or come down.

But I am not going to say that we are going to abandon IV or go to V or go to VI. Our goal is to see that every American who wants to work, and who is qualified to work, can get a job. That is one that we must never give up on, and the percentages are not the main factor.

JAPAN AND EUROPE

[12.] Q. Mr. President, just a point of clarification.

THE PRESIDENT. Sure.

Q. In your discussion of the declaration of principles, there was an intention to include Japan as well as the European Communities. Is that still the case or has that been changed?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me explain what we feel now with regard to including Japan.

I have told all of our foreign visitors, Chancellor Brandt, and of course, Prime Minister Heath, President Pompidou, that it is vitally important that Japan—which is now the second major economic

power in the world and, of course, in the Pacific, a potential, very great force for peace and stability—that Japan not be out of the club.

Now, they all agree. The difficulty is in writing a declaration with regard to the Atlantic Alliance which fits Japan; the difficulty is writing one with regard to the European Economic Community which fits Japan.

So, what we are presently thinking of is three declarations, one for the Atlantic Alliance, one for the Economic Community, and then a more general declaration to which the Japanese might be willing to adhere.

Now, I have gone beyond what we have worked out, but that is what we can expect.

Let me say finally that in that respect, I know that these declarations may not seem too important when we consider the domestic problems that presently obsess us. But it is essential at a time that we are having negotiations with the Soviets and with the People's Republic of China—it is essential that we breathe new life and new purpose and new spirit into the American-Atlantic Alliance and into the free world community, which includes Japan, and unless we do so, unless, for example, the Atlantic Alliance speaks to our times rather than to the times 25 years ago, it is going to fragment. Our European friends realize this, and I am glad to note that even the economic experts like Ortoli recognize it, too.

FRANK CORMIER [Associated Press].
Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Nixon's thirty-fourth news conference was held at 11:34 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House on Wednesday, October 3, 1973.

282 Message to the Congress on Federal Civilian and Military Pay Increases. *October 3, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the provisions of section 5305 of title 5, United States Code, I hereby report on the comparability adjustment I am ordering for the Federal statutory pay systems in October 1973.

The Director of the Office of Management and Budget and the Chairman of the United States Civil Service Commission, who serve jointly as my agent for Federal pay, have recommended a 4.77 percent average increase in Federal statutory pay rates—a figure arrived at by computing comparability using a new computation method which will be phased in over the next three years. The new method compares actual average salaries in the private and Federal sectors instead of assuming, as the former system did, that the 4th rate of each grade represented the Federal average. This change follows recommendations made last year by the Advisory Committee on Federal Pay.

Since the effect of the new method is to reduce somewhat the size of the pay adjustment from the 5.47 percent that would have taken effect under the old computation method, the Federal Employee Pay Council and other Federal employee organizations are understandably opposed to its introduction at this time. The Advisory Committee on Federal Pay, however, agrees with my agent that a change is necessary and has endorsed the new method, although the committee did recommend that it be introduced next year.

In reaching a final decision on the appropriate comparability adjustment, I

have given careful consideration to all of these views. My agent and the Advisory Committee are not in disagreement on *whether* to adopt the more precise way of determining comparability, only on *when*. The Advisory Committee's recommendation to begin the change in 1974 was based on the assumption that the current increase would not occur until the final month of 1973. This assumption no longer holds, and I have decided that we should move now in the direction of the more accurate method, making the transition gradually over a three-year period to avoid undue hardship to employees by an abrupt change in the system. Based on that decision, I have concluded that an average increase of 4.77 percent in the pay rates of the statutory pay systems is the appropriate comparability adjustment.

I am transmitting herewith the reports of my agent and the Advisory Committee, as well as a copy of the Executive Order I have promulgated to put this pay increase into effect. Also enclosed is an Executive order adjusting basic pay for members of the uniformed services, as required by section 8 of Public Law 90-207 (81 Stat. 654).

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

October 3, 1973.

NOTE: On the same day, the President signed Executive Order 11739, adjusting the rates of pay for certain statutory pay systems, and Executive Order 11740, adjusting the rates of monthly basic pay for members of the uniformed services.

283 Statement About Trade Reform Legislation Pending Before the Congress. *October 4, 1973*

OVER the past several months, the House Ways and Means Committee has held exhaustive hearings and made a number of changes in the trade reform act which I proposed last April. Its work was completed yesterday, and the trade bill will soon be considered by the House of Representatives.

Many of the committee's changes were made over the strong objections of the Administration. Many others were accepted as significant improvements. In assessing the impact of the committee's changes, I have tried to determine how they would affect the purposes for which this legislation was originally designed.

In most respects, the bill submitted to the House by the Ways and Means Committee is a highly responsible piece of legislation.

—It would permit the United States to enter major trade negotiations with the authorities needed to achieve broad gains in trade liberalization with a strong and proper emphasis both on equity and reciprocity.

—It would significantly ease access to escape clause relief and adjustment assistance for American workers and firms suffering injury or threat of injury from growing import competition.

—It would broaden the range of actions the United States can take in responding to unfair international trade practices.

—It would introduce several new au-

thorities which can be used to manage domestic and international economic policies more effectively.

—It would allow the United States to fulfill its international pledge to establish a plan of generalized tariff preferences for the less developed countries of the world.

In short, the trade reform act as reported to the House holds out the promise of more and better jobs for American workers, of more products at lower prices for the American consumer, of expanding exports for the United States and other nations, and most importantly, of reduced international tensions and a strengthened structure of peace.

In one important area, however, the committee bill is clearly inadequate. I am deeply concerned about the bill's failure to provide the tools we need to expand healthy commercial relationships with the Soviet Union and other Communist countries. This Administration is committed to seeking most-favored-nation treatment for the Soviet Union. Indeed, the United States has made a formal commitment to the Soviet Union to seek the necessary legislative approval for such treatment in the firm belief that this is in the best interests of both our countries. Therefore, once again, I strongly urge the Congress to restore the authority to grant nondiscriminatory tariff treatment to all countries.

284 Statement on the Death of James S. Copley. *October 6, 1973*

THE untimely death of James S. Copley takes from us a noble American whose distinguished career in journalism and public affairs placed him in the direct line of descent from this country's great printer-patriots of the past—from Zenger to Pulitzer. His contribution to international peace and understanding was felt far beyond our Nation's borders through his selfless work with newspapers of other countries.

The same courage and heart which characterize Jim Copley's family of newspapers, serving communities from the Illinois prairie to the California coast, shone through in his long, brave fight against illness over the final years of his life. And it is a measure of the man's quiet humanitarianism that the room where he finally

lost that fight was part of a hospital and clinic that his generosity had built.

Jim Copley has been a close friend and adviser to me for more than a quarter century. Thus it is with a special sadness that Mrs. Nixon and I join his family, friends, and countless admirers in mourning his death. But we are also grateful today that the message of liberty he most wanted to spread in this country and throughout the Americas will continue to be heard through his newspapers' "ring of truth."

NOTE: Mr. Copley, 57, died in San Diego, Calif. He was publisher of the San Diego Union and Evening Tribune and was chairman of the board of Copley Press Inc, a newspaper chain comprising 15 daily and 32 weekly publications.

The statement was issued at Key Biscayne, Fla.

285 Remarks About United States Diplomatic Actions Following the Outbreak of Fighting in the Middle East. *October 8, 1973*

WE HAVE nothing to add to the official pronouncements that have been made—or announcements, I should say—with regard to the Mideast situation.

Last night, I had a rather long talk with Dr. Kissinger, shortly before midnight, getting the late reports. This morning, I was here around 7:30 or so and studied all of the reports, both with regard to the military situation and the reaction to our diplomatic initiative.

Dr. Kissinger and I have been meeting for a good part of the morning here on particularly that diplomatic initiative, and having in mind the importance of getting

strong support for the position that the United States will take.

It is very easy to think of this particular kind of a crisis simply in terms of a grandstand play, where the United States will go in and unilaterally make a move which then fails. I can assure you that Dr. Kissinger and his colleagues have been very busy and that we are developing support for a position which we hope and believe will be effective in stopping the fighting.

Doctor, would you like to add a word to that?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. No, I think you have summed up the situation, Mr. Presi-

dent. We have been in close contact, at the President's instruction, with all the permanent members of the Security Council, with the parties to the conflict. And we have been doing this since Saturday afternoon in order to bring an end to the fighting, and we will now see what develops at the Security Council session this afternoon. Our intention is to move forward with the broadest possible support that can be effected.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:15 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House before a group of White House reporters and photographers.

Later in the morning, Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler announced that the President had, on October 7, 1973, exchanged personal messages with General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev of the Soviet Union on the situation in the Middle East, where fighting had broken out between Israel and Egypt and Syria on October 6.

286 Remarks of Welcome to President Félix Houphouët-Boigny of the Republic of Ivory Coast. *October 9, 1973*

Mr. President, and all of our friends from the Ivory Coast, and all of our friends here in Washington, D.C., from the United States:

Mr. President, I am honored to be the fourth American President to welcome you to Washington, D.C., and as you come on this occasion, I am also proud of the fact that both Mrs. Nixon and I have had the opportunity to visit and to know your country, and to know what an exciting country it is from the standpoint of its prospects for the future.

For those in America who do not know Ivory Coast, we can report that you have the highest per capita income in black Africa, you have the highest rate of sustainable growth in that part of the world, and you have established a record for leadership that is known throughout the world. We know that this could not have happened without that leadership, because as we look to the secret of progress for Ivory Coast, we find it, first, in its

wealth, the wealth in its resources. We find it, second, in its wealth in its people, a hard-working, devoted people who are determined to move forward in the areas of progress. And we find it, third, in leadership, leadership which you have provided since Ivory Coast became a nation, and leadership which has meant stability, which has meant private and free enterprise coming into your country, not to exploit, but to develop for the good of all of the people, and leadership which, above all, has meant peace.

And, Mr. President, on this occasion when we meet, the last point is most important. We realize that fighting has again broken out in the northern part of your continent and in the Mideast, and I think all of our fellow Americans will be interested to note that our distinguished and honored guest today, just this year, received the peace award, the first peace award ever given by the organization which was set up for world peace through

law.¹ And that is why, Mr. President, in addition to talking to our bilateral problems, which incidentally are not very controversial because our relations are excellent and have been for many years, we will today be talking about the problems of how we can create that same period of peace and stability for all of Africa that you have in your country and how, also, working together with other nations who want peace for the whole world, we can contribute to an end to the fighting which is now going on at such terrible cost to both sides in the Mideast.

We look forward to our talks, to get your judgment as to how all nations can contribute to the goal of not simply an end to the fighting which is going on now but to building a new structure of peace in the Mideast, which will give a better hope for avoiding war breaking out as it has over and over again for the past 25 years.

I do not mean that today we will find the answer to that problem that has plagued many administrations here and abroad for a quarter of a century, but I do know that uppermost in our agenda today will be a discussion of those problems with the hope that we can find those common principles which will move toward not only an end to the fighting but building a permanent structure of peace in the Mideast and eventually, of course, throughout the world.

So, Mr. President, I say that we give you a very special welcome today to our

country because of your official position, and also because both Mrs. Nixon and I have had the privilege of being welcomed so warmly in your country. And we hope that you will enjoy your stay here, your visit to the West Coast, and will go back with as pleasant memories of the United States as Mrs. Nixon and I have very pleasant and warm memories of Ivory Coast.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:46 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where President Houphouet-Boigny was given a formal welcome with full military honors.

See also Item 288.

President Houphouet-Boigny spoke in French. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:

Allow me first of all to express to you in my own name, in the name of my wife, and of my delegation, my deep appreciation for your kind invitation and for the words full of praise you have just had for myself and my delegation. At this privileged moment, I feel deep pride and joy, first of all, because my new visit in your great and beautiful country will permit me to acquaint myself more deeply with one of the more astonishing adventures of modern times, an adventure without which our world of today would be deeply different from what it is with its fascinating diversity and its bounties.

In the second place, it is because I am about to meet with you for the very first time about problems which matter to both of us, and such exchanges with the prestigious President of the most powerful of all nations cannot fail to show and illustrate our common will, as you have yourself just stressed a moment ago, to foster dialog in peace. And finally, I am deeply convinced that my visit will very happily contribute to a cause dear to us, that of cooperation and friendship between the United States and the Ivory Coast. This cooperation and friendship, which in their traditional cordiality and very large permanence are to us essential features in our foreign relations, can only benefit from the conversations and the

¹ President Houphouet-Boigny was presented a special "Man of Peace" award at the Sixth World Conference on World Peace Through Law held August 26-31, 1973, in Abidjan, Republic of Ivory Coast. The conference was held by the World Peace Through Law Center, an organization of jurists, lawyers, legal scholars, and law students from 135 nations.

meetings—loyal, candid, and frank—that we shall have with you and with the figures that we shall meet here.

I come to you, Mr. President, simply and as a friend to thank you with all my heart in my own name and in that of my wife and express

to you the feelings of admiration and confidence placed in you by the people of the Ivory Coast and which through you are addressed to the entire American nation. Long live the United States of America; long live the friendship between our two peoples.

287 Statement Following a Meeting With Energy and Environmental Advisers on Energy Conservation.

October 9, 1973

A MEETING I held this afternoon with many of my top energy and environmental advisers has underscored once again the need for a full-scale effort to conserve energy.

It is now widely recognized that we may face fuel shortages for the next few years. The shortage of heating oil this winter could be as high as 400,000 barrels per day. If every household will lower its thermostat by just 4 degrees this winter, the total savings in heating oil alone will exceed that 400,000 barrel-per-day figure. This is what conservation by all our citizens can accomplish.

A more prudent use of energy must be made at all levels—by government, by industry, and by private citizens. This June, I directed that action be taken throughout the Federal Government to reduce anticipated energy consumption by a total of 7 percent, and I urged industry, State and local government, and the general public to participate in efforts to reduce expected energy demands across the Nation by 5 percent over a 12-month period.

Our meeting today was to assess the progress made so far and to discuss plans for the winter phase of our national energy conservation campaign. The most encouraging report came from Secretary Morton, who said that the Federal agen-

cies have made an excellent start toward achieving their goal of a 7 percent reduction in energy consumption. Just as a single example, the General Services Administration in the District of Columbia has taken steps which should result in a savings of 164 million kilowatt hours of electricity annually, reportedly enough electricity to supply the entire city of Washington for several days. Among the actions being taken by the Federal agencies are:

- a lowering of winter temperature settings to 70–72 degrees, compared to last year's level of 74–76 degrees;
- elimination of unnecessary lighting; and,
- purchase and rental of vehicles which use gasoline more efficiently.

Also in today's meeting, Secretary Dent outlined to me his proposed program to encourage business and industry to save energy. As industrial use accounts for 40 percent of all energy consumption in the United States, our business leaders have a vital role to play in this effort.

Mrs. Knauer reported this morning on her efforts to provide consumers with the information they will need to use energy wisely.

Finally, I received a report on energy conservation from my Citizens' Advisory

Committee on Environmental Quality. This Committee is chaired by Mr. Henry Diamond of New York and includes 15 of the Nation's leading citizens. Its report, which will receive wide distribution, makes extensive recommendations for citizen actions to cut back their energy demands.

Our campaign to meet America's energy needs is not confined, of course, to conservation. We are also pushing to increase supplies through both executive and legislative means. We have already taken a number of executive actions, such as accelerating the leasing of offshore oil rights, and if other steps should become appropriate, I will not hesitate to take them. On the legislative front, there are still seven major proposals awaiting passage on Capitol Hill, and I am anxious that at least four of these bills be enacted before the end of the year.

In addition, we are asking that all citizens be prepared to bear their share of possible shortages. To that end, the Administration has just announced its decision to establish a program of mandatory allocation for home heating oil and propane. It should be understood that this action will not increase available supplies, but will merely distribute supplies so that, insofar as possible, no areas will face

critical shortages and any possible inconveniences will be shared equally by all Americans.

Our energy program is thus all-embracing. We must act to increase supplies, and we must insure a fair distribution of those supplies. But equally important, we must not consume more than we need. We must not waste energy.

Whenever Americans have been called upon to join together and work together in the national interest, they have responded. We need the united action of all Americans now to conserve the fuel we must have to meet our vital energy needs.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing following the meeting with the President to discuss energy conservation. Participants in the news briefing were Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary of the Interior; Frederick B. Dent, Secretary of Commerce; John A. Love, Director of the Energy Policy Office; John R. Quarles, Jr., Deputy Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency; Virginia H. Knauer, Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs; and Henry L. Diamond, Chairman of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality.

An announcement of the appointment of six members of the Citizens' Advisory Council on Environmental Quality was also released by the White House and is printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 9, p. 1232).

288 Toasts of the President and President Houphouët-Boigny of the Republic of Ivory Coast.

October 9, 1973

Mr. President:

It is a very great pleasure to welcome you and your very lovely First Lady at the White House on this occasion, and because I know that this company and all of those who will be listening in the press room

below are more interested in what you will be saying than what I will be saying, my remarks will be brief.

But first let me say that perhaps my greatest expert on foreign affairs is not really Dr. Kissinger, but my wife. And

after she was able to take a trip to Africa, which I have been wanting to take and I, incidentally, Dr. Kissinger, intend to take before my term of office is finished—the first American President ever to visit Africa—Mrs. Nixon came back with very warm feelings for all the countries she had visited, but she had a very special feeling about Ivory Coast, and its President and its First Lady.

She said that the President was a man who not only was handling the affairs of his country well but who had a great grasp of the problems of the world. And she said that his First Lady was, among all the first ladies she had met in the world, one of the most gracious, the most beautiful and—to a woman this is important, and to a man also—the best dressed.

Now, to be very serious for a moment, before introducing the President to this assemblage, people wonder what happens when the President of Ivory Coast and the President of the United States sit down for an hour and a half and talk. Now, we both agree that we talked about cocoa and coffee and reverse preferences and international trade problems, and other bilateral matters, like whether Kaiser should or should not invest in Ivory Coast—and they should—but what, it seems to me, is particularly important about this visit is that while we covered all the bilateral problems very thoroughly and found that we had very little to disagree about, that the President was able to convey to me an understanding of not only the problems of his own country and the problems of the new African states but an understanding of his view of the world.

In other words, we have in our company tonight—and I wish all of you could

know him as I have known him, as my wife has known him—a world statesman of the first rank, a man who has demonstrated by his leadership capabilities that he knows what it takes to take a new country and to give it the stability, the drive, and the spirit that will make it a major force in that area of the world, but also a man who does not think of his own country as just an island, who is not parochial, as are too many of the leaders in the world today, but one who sees the whole world, as one who realizes that what happens 5,000 miles away in India and Pakistan affects him, as one who sees that what happens in the Mideast affects him and his people, as one who sees that what happens in any part of the world affects his country, although it is very easy to become obsessed with your own problems.

And for that reason, tonight I know that all of you—not only because we admire our distinguished guest for his leadership of his own country, with the best record of national growth and per capita income of any of the nations of black Africa, but also because he has demonstrated that he has that rare ability to see beyond the problems of the moment and look to the problems of the future, to see beyond the geographical problems that involve only his own island as it exists in the West Coast of Africa, and see beyond and see the whole world, because he is, truly, one whose views on the world scene can affect the world—it is for this reason that this house is honored for the third time to have him as our guest.

And so in presenting him to you, I present a man who represents his own country with great distinction, a man who is also one who understands and is a great

advocate of the problems of the new Africa and where it must go, but also one who, when he comes to America, is able to speak with great understanding and great wisdom about those problems that, wherever they exist in this world, will affect the future of his country and the future of ours. To a world statesman of the first rank, the President of the Ivory Coast, President Houphouet-Boigny.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:45 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

See also Item 286.

President Houphouet-Boigny spoke in French. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

In few words, Mr. President, but in particularly sensitive and well-chosen words, you have said much about my country and my people, about our achievements and our expectations, which is both friendly and profound. I am deeply touched, and I do thank you in my own name, on behalf of my wife, and on behalf of the delegation with me here today. We all share in my very sincere joy and feelings.

It will soon be 2 years that we had the honor and the great pride to welcome Mrs. Richard Nixon to our capital city. This dazzling visit, which we shall always remember, attested, if need be, of the quality of the relations between our two countries and of the concern which you feel, Mr. President, to show your interest and your friendship to us.

Today, in spite of your heavy responsibilities, you have received us here, and you are sharing with your representatives of the government and the people of the Ivory Coast some of your very valuable time, and this indeed is again a very rare treat for all of us.

I shall deliberately not mention here the international problems and the African problems which with you we have surveyed in such a rewarding manner earlier today. I should like to dwell specifically upon the relations between the United States and the Ivory Coast, because I am indeed convinced that my third visit in the United States will, as much as my preceding

and memorable visits, be a milestone along the comforting path of the relations between our two countries.

These relations to which the establishment of diplomatic links came very early and very spontaneously to give formal, official nature are, I am happy to stress, without any clouds. The cordiality, the diverseness, and the frankness of our relations are the dominant themes, and the reasons that we have to eternalize the excellence of these relations and enhance their effects are tied directly to the convergence of our interests as well as to the commonality of our feelings.

It is, Mr. President, in the first place in the area of business that we see the thrust of this convergence. Recipient of 14 percent of our exports, mainly coffee and cocoa, the United States has become the second customer of the Ivory Coast. It is also one of our privileged suppliers. This is all the more significant that the natural and traditional framework of our trade relations with Europe was not a natural incentive to a development of your exports towards our part of the world.

As to industrial investments which now remain very scant in our country, they should become in the very near future, with a textile plant near Abidjan, and as the more remote future for the two projects of rubber tires and the operation of iron ore—they should really take off in a much more significant manner.

In very general terms we note with deep satisfaction the new interest that your businessmen are taking in our country. At the same time, we appreciate the action and the diverse forms of the technological and financial aid of the United States in the Ivory Coast over the last several years. The Eximbank [Export-Import Bank of the United States] has particularly been active to support two of our regional development programs, two of the most essential ones, one in the central with the Kossou Dam and the other in the north for a huge sugar industry complex.

As to the valuable assistance of your Peace Corps volunteers, it is the extension of the AID program, and it illustrates our common preoccupation to give our cooperation the irreplaceable human dimension it needs to bring people together and to bring for better understanding nations and races, and this is a very

happy plea and testimonial for this community of feelings between us that I referred to a minute ago.

To come to meet you, Mr. President, is not simply for the people of the Ivory Coast the opportunity to dwell upon the favorable course of our relations, to set forth its spirit and stress its thrust, it is also a way for us to satisfy a portion of the curiosity and admiration which has always led us to take an interest in your amazing nation.

I do not know which of your history, the virtue of your people or your phenomenal development in the scientific and economic area, is the most noteworthy. I am convinced that the lessons and the examples upon which we can ponder here are particularly rewarding and numerous.

What is first of all remarkable, I believe, is the aptitude of American society to merge into a single unit the most diverse contributions come from afar and particularly from the banks of the old Europe. Your history is like no other in that respect, to have transplanted so many human contributions—linguistic and religious contributions—so dissimilar—into a community which is so extraordinarily original, without precedent, without equivalent in any other part of the world.

The American adventure is also a way to define new relationships between man and nature. From the scouts and the pioneers who went West to the conquerors of the Moon, it is always the same challenge cast by every succeeding generation. It is also the birth of a new system of relationships between man and the coming into being of a genuine democracy which, regardless of the scope of its contradictions and its problems, has always preserved its main balance and has always offered to the world as a mirror, sometimes casting a deformed picture, but always an enlightening one of trans-intentions which come to be such a course of upheaval as we near the end of the century throughout all our societies.

The history of the United States is universal in scope, Mr. President, and it has been very aptly said that it is the common property of any man who wishes to be contemporaneous with his own time and who questions himself about the future of mankind. The United States has also shown man in a most fruitful way, the

entire scope of his creative genius and his faculty to transform and enrich the natural bounties of the soil and the subsoil. Few countries, without any doubt, have as much and as many different resources as your country, Mr. President, but it still needs to develop these phenomenal resources in the most rational way possible, to put them at the service of the community. The fact that today the United States is the first industrial power in the world, at the same time from the standard of value and quantity as technological perfection, individual productivity, and invested capital—this fact is not due to chance.

Nowhere has the faculty to develop, produce, invent, and multiply been so effective, so rapid, and this variety is present nowhere else in the world. No other country has produced more business leaders; no country has obtained such a standard of living.

To have been the first to conquer the atom and then space, shows very eloquently the high degree and the capacity for renewal of American science, technology, and economy. This phenomenal progression does not go without its equilibriums and constraints. And this is not specifically part of your history alone; you are not the only ones today to attempt to resolve the delicate problem of equilibrium within growth, but perhaps, and this is also one of your main strengths, you are the first to have confronted with so much rigor and lucidity problems as essential and timely as those of pollution, the quality of life, urbanization, and the preparation of your own future.

It would be a simplistic and an unfair view to limit your innovative capability, your capacity to go beyond your own efforts, and to stimulate creative competitiveness to reduce it only to material dimensions. One tends to forget too often that your thinkers, your writers, your film makers, your architects, have brought much to the world. New forms of expression in thought and sensitiveness, a nation which gave to our movements of contemporaneous expression such key and diverse men as Mark Twain, Ernest Hemingway, John Ford, and Frank Lloyd Wright—that displays an intellectual vitality and a creative maturity which stand as an example.

As an example, indeed, is your entire history which has also avoided the traps of solitude to

seek an opening towards the world. Its main thrust is generous passions and deep love of freedom.

Your country, Mr. President, remains in this connection, for all men who love justice, the country which, during a darker period of mankind's history, did not hesitate to throw its phenomenal resources into a battle which, on other continents, sought to reestablish a more effective order of dignity for man's Earth and to establish civilization, relationships no longer seeking as a justification racism and brute force.

And so you will understand why we feel so proud, Mr. President, to be again in your country today and to pursue our quest, our fascinating quest after your realities and your people.

There is a last reason which alone would be sufficient to give our meeting a great deal of significance, and I will say this very simply: It is the assurance that I feel as I come to meet you that I discover one of the most significant figures of our time. Few statesmen have exerted such a deep and remarkable influence as you have, Mr. President, at this latter part of our century on the disconcerting and tumultuous course of our history.

Having inherited a situation which the aftermath of the last war or ideological opposition had frozen in a balance of terror or an implacable conflict, you have in a few short years contributed in a decisive manner to rearrange the framework of international relations which have become accustomed to following exclusively a relationship based upon force and intolerances. Through specific measures consistent and concrete which display your courage, your realism, and your clear vision, you have enabled our world to regain part of the serenity it had lost, and you have enhanced the policy of comprehension, dialog, and peace to which, as you know, we are so passionately attached.

Even more than the respected President of the most powerful nation, you are, in the eyes of the people of the Ivory Coast, the shaper of a more harmonious world, the indefatigable

apostle of the genuine consultations, and the generous initiator of peaceful confrontation.

To know this and to be aware of it matters to us, but to be able to say so in your own capital is a great and new comfort to us, Mr. President. If the Ivory Coast rejoices today so sincerely over our meeting, it is because it is aware that as a response to your friendly invitation it gives a very privileged character to moments that we should like to stretch in time. The already beautiful and long history of our very cordial relations receives a contribution, and also we bring a modest contribution to strengthening a climate of international concord, without which no undertaking of progress and justice appears possible.

As we begin a visit which will be important and fruitful for our common future, I should like to recreate our faithful friendship and our very deep esteem. But it would be a betrayal of this friendship, esteem, and confidence, Mr. President, if before I conclude I did not share with you the very deep preoccupation I feel, as a man, as a leader, as an African, in one word about the very serious problem in the Mideast.

Your action on behalf of peace, which is already so remarkable—and history will note your capital role—would remain incomplete if you did not succeed—acting with the leaders of the Soviet Union—not to impose, but to create and foster conditions for a just and durable peace in that part of the world where one should speak only of peace, love, and brotherhood.

I raise my glass to you, Mr. President, to you, Mrs. Nixon, and to the greatness and the prosperity of the American nation, strengthening of the friendship between the United States and the Ivory Coast, international cooperation and brotherhood among man.

On October 11, 1973, the President met briefly with President Houphouët-Boigny in the Diplomatic Reception Room at the White House prior to the departure of the Ivory Coast President from the South Lawn.

289 Remarks on Presenting the National Medal of Science Awards for 1973. *October 10, 1973*

Dr. Stever, Members of the Cabinet, Members of the Congress, and particularly all of our distinguished guests and your friends:

On this occasion, we make the science awards, and it gives the President, who has the honor of making these awards on behalf of all the American people, an opportunity to say a word about a subject that he claims no particular expertise in and, for that reason, has great admiration for those who are truly expert, as these various citations will indicate.

As I looked over the list of the award winners, I realized some things about science and scientists that sometimes we forget. First, the award winners cover this country geographically; that means that all of the brains don't happen to be in New England or, for that matter, in California. Because, as you will find out, there are award winners from California, from Texas, from Florida, from Illinois, and of course, from MIT in New England.

Also, it will be noted that, when we read the biographies of the various award winners that we realize another truth about science and about all greatness, and that is its universality. The tendency sometime for us to be jingoistic in this country is quickly washed away, as it was recently when we swore in, in this room, the new Secretary of State—the first time in the history of America that an individual who was not born in America was Secretary of State. And four of our award winners today of the 11 are naturalized Americans, which shows how fortunate we are in this Nation to draw from all of

the brains of the world in creating our scientific leadership.

Another point that made a very great impression upon me as I read about the award winners and their citations was the singular fact that for the first time in which these awards are being made, all of them are in the field of what I would call peaceful activities.

We meet at a time when a very dangerous situation exists in the Mideast, when a war rages there, that the United States is trying its best to play a mediating role and bring the fighting to an end and then, beyond that, to help to build not just a temporary but a lasting peace for the people in that very troubled section of the world.

When we look back to the year 1959 when these awards were first established and the years since then, we find that over 50 percent of the budget of the Federal Government for science comes from the Department of Defense. We also must recognize that through the years it has been necessary for the scientific community to make a contribution in the area of defense, and I could only remind this audience that unless the United States were strong and its strength were credible at the present time, we would not be able to play the role that we believe is a peace-making role in the Middle East or in any other part of the world.

And so the scientific community need not be in any way ashamed of the role it has played in helping to develop the defense capabilities—and I use the word “defense” rather than “offensive”—the

defense capabilities of the United States in that area.

But putting aside for the moment the problem in the Middle East and looking at the United States itself, let us recognize something we can be very grateful for today. For the first time in 12 years the United States, at the time these awards are being made, is at peace with every nation in the world, and that is symbolized, it seems to me, and brought home by the fact that the 11 award winners are concentrated in the area of peaceful enterprise.

That is what you want, that is what young Americans want. We are a peaceful people, and we would like to concentrate our pursuits in the areas of peace, rather than in those areas that happen to deal with war.

In that connection, if I could again relate the problems that we presently have and face in the Mideast to the future insofar as government support of research is concerned: The flare-up in the Middle East reminds us again of how dependent the United States and, even more so, of course, much more so, Western Europe and Japan are on the oil supplies of the Mideast.

And what is happening in the Mideast today reminds us again of a fundamental fact that we must face up to in the years ahead. The United States, as a great industrial power, cannot continue to be dependent upon an uncertain source for energy which could be cut off at any time. That is why one of the major goals of this Nation must be to become self-sufficient in energy.

Now, to say that is easy; to accomplish it is difficult. But this opens, of course, a great new peaceful challenge to the men and women of science. While we are short

on oil reserves, as you know, the United States has almost half the known coal reserves in the world. But developing coal in a way that it can be a clean fuel, developing it in a way that excavating it will not despoil the geography or the environment too much—this is a great task for science and requires a much greater contribution in the field of research than we presently have been making, than we have made in the past, or are presently making.

A second area so well known to the scientific community is in the area of nuclear power. And here the peaceful use of nuclear power, the fast breeder reactor, the possibility of even leapfrogging that and going to fusion for purposes of creation of peaceful power at a cost that will be competitive—this is another area which could help us toward becoming self-sufficient in energy, which, as a nation, we must adopt as a goal.

I turn then to a subject of concern to all of us, particularly to young Americans, the subject of the ecology, the environment. And we often hear that energy and all that is required to produce it is directly contradictory toward our goal of a clean environment. And the answer is that must not be so, and anyone in the scientific community would agree, it is not necessarily so.

We face, for example, it is said, the possibility of a fuel shortage, particularly in the northeastern part of the United States this winter. We believe that we can find a way to meet that problem. But those who particularly and exclusively, should I say, concentrate on the need for clean air, a better environment, would recognize the truth that if one freezes to death, it doesn't make any difference whether the air is clean or dirty.

And so, which comes first? The energy

in that case, but—and here is the problem for science—we can and must develop the energy that America needs for its jobs, for its progress, for its transportation, but at the same time, develop that energy in a way that will not despoil the environment of our country and, in fact, will clean it, as one of the award winners from Southern California, his citation, will indicate today.

Finally, ladies and gentlemen, let me simply conclude by pointing up something that I know concerns many in the scientific community, and that is, why is it that the budget for science is not moving up at the levels that many of you think is essential if the United States is to maintain a position of leadership in this area?

Well, the budget is a problem in many areas. I can only say, however, that in the field of basic research, when it comes to problems of energy, when it comes to problems of the environment, the other areas that I have mentioned, we must allocate a larger proportion of our national income to these areas, and by doing so, we not only will make a contribution toward the scientific community and developing the scientific capabilities of our people but we also will make a very great contribution to a better nation here at home.

What I am saying very simply is this: We all know that because the United States needed a concentration on defense at a critical time, and then later a concentration on space, that this opened broad, new vistas in the area of science, and this also resulted in a much greater Federal contribution and the justification for it from a budgetary standpoint. But now, as we turn from war to the works of peace, we must not cut back on that research.

What we must do is to channel the efforts in the field of research to peaceful uses, the field of energy, ecology, and not to mention—and not, of course, by mentioning these two to in any way downgrade the efforts we should make in the field of health, in education, and the others, which these citations will cover.

So, on this occasion, for these and many other reasons that I have generally touched upon, I congratulate all of the award winners today, each of you individually when you come up to receive the award. And I will simply close on a very simple quotation from Winston Churchill. Speaking in that rather eloquent and sometimes overstated but beautiful English prose of his, he once said, once the secret of the atom was discovered, that “The destruction of mankind might come on the gleaming wings of science.” Let this not be so.

What we can determine—we who are not the scientists, because there is no political science, I can assure you—what we must do is to be sure that science, rather than leading to the destruction of mankind, will lead to a better world, a better nation for our children, for generations to come.

Thank you.

Now, Dr. Stever will read the citations, and please translate them into English, if you will. [*Laughter*]

[At this point, H. Guyford Stever, Director of the National Science Foundation and Science Adviser to the President, read the citations, the texts of which follow.]

EARL W. SUTHERLAND, JR.—For the discovery that epinephrine and the hormones of the pituitary gland occasion their diverse regulatory effects by initiating cellular synthesis of cyclic adenylic acid, now recognized as a universal biological “second messenger,”

which opened a new level of understanding of the subtle mechanisms that integrate the chemical life of the cell while offering hope of entirely new approaches to chemotherapy.

DANIEL I. ARNON—For fundamental research into the mechanism of green plant utilization of light to produce chemical energy and oxygen and for contributions to our understanding of plant nutrition.

HAROLD E. EDGERTON—For his vision and creativity in pioneering the field of stroboscopic photography and for his many inventions of instruments for exploring the great depths of the oceans.

RICHARD T. WHITCOMB—For his discoveries and inventions in aerodynamics which have provided and will continue to provide substantial improvements in the speed, range and payload of a major portion of the high-performance aircraft produced throughout the country.

JOHN WILDER TUKEY—For his studies in mathematical and theoretical statistics, particularly his pioneering work on broad analysis and synthesis problems of complex systems, and for his outstanding contributions to the applications of statistics to the physical, social, and engineering sciences.

CARL DJERASSI—In recognition of his major contributions to the elucidation of the complex chemistry of the steroid hormones and to the application of these compounds to medicinal chemistry and population control by means of oral contraceptives.

WILLIAM MAURICE EWING—For extending and improving the methods of geology and geophysics to study the ocean floor and to understand the last remaining unexplored province of the solid earth—that which lies under the sea.

VLADIMIR HAENSEL—For his outstanding research in the catalytic reforming of hydrocarbons which has greatly enhanced the economic value of our petroleum natural resources.

FREDERICK SEITZ—For his pioneering contributions to the foundations of the modern quantum theory of the solid state of matter,

and to the understanding of many phenomena and processes that occur in solids.

ARIE JAN HAAGEN-SMIT—For his unique contributions to the discovery of the chemical nature and source of smog, and for the successful efforts which he has carried through for smog abatement.

ROBERT RATHBUN WILSON—For unusual ingenuity in designing experiments to explore the fundamental particles of matter and in designing and constructing the machines to produce the particles, culminating in the world's most powerful particle accelerator.

After the presentation of the medals by the President, he resumed speaking as follows:]

Well, ladies and gentlemen, that completes the ceremony, and we want all of you to enjoy, if you have the time, some coffee and refreshments in the State Dining Room, and we again congratulate the winners and members of their family who are here, some of whom we had a chance to meet earlier.

This is, it seems to me, a very great day in a sense for them in a personal way, but it is also a very splendid day for the United States when we see these men who have contributed so much to a goal that all Americans so deeply feel, of using the great talents that we can develop in the field of science for peace rather than war.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:55 a.m. in the East Room at the White House.

The National Medal of Science was established in 1959 by act of Congress (73 Stat. 431) "to provide recognition for individuals who make outstanding contributions in the physical, biological, mathematical, and engineering sciences." Awards are based on recommendations of the President's Committee on the National Medal of Science.

290 Letter to Spiro T. Agnew About His Decision
To Resign as Vice President. *October 10, 1973*

Dear Ted:

The most difficult decisions are often those that are the most personal, and I know your decision to resign as Vice President has been as difficult as any facing a man in public life could be. Your departure from the Administration leaves me with a great sense of personal loss. You have been a valued associate throughout these nearly five years that we have served together. However, I respect your decision, and I also respect the concern for the national interest that led you to conclude that a resolution of the matter in this way, rather than through an extended battle in the Courts and the Congress, was advisable in order to prevent a protracted period of national division and uncertainty.

As Vice President, you have addressed the great issues of our times with courage and candor. Your strong patriotism, and your profound dedication to the welfare of the Nation, have been an inspiration to all who have served with you as well as to millions of others throughout the country.

I have been deeply saddened by this whole course of events, and I hope that you and your family will be sustained in the days ahead by a well-justified pride in all that you have contributed to the Nation by your years of service as Vice President.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[The Vice President, Executive Office Building,
Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The texts of Mr. Agnew's letter to the President and his letter of resignation to Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, dated the same day and released with the President's letter, read as follows:

Dear Mr. President:

As you are aware, the accusations against me cannot be resolved without a long, divisive and debilitating struggle in the Congress and in the Courts. I have concluded that, painful as it is to me and to my family, it is in the best interests of the Nation that I relinquish the Vice Presidency.

Accordingly, I have today resigned the Office of Vice President of the United States. A copy of the instrument of resignation is enclosed.

It has been a privilege to serve with you. May I express to the American people, through you, my deep gratitude for their confidence in twice electing me to be Vice President.

Sincerely,

SPIRO T. AGNEW

[The President, The White House, Washington,
D.C.]

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I hereby resign the Office of Vice President of the United States, effective immediately.

Sincerely,

SPIRO T. AGNEW

[The Honorable Henry A. Kissinger, The Secretary of State, Washington, D.C. 20520]

Following the resignation of Vice President Agnew, the President held meetings separately with Senators Hugh Scott and Robert P. Griffin and Representatives Gerald R. Ford and Leslie C. Arends; and Speaker of the House Carl Albert and Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield.

291 Statement About Additional Funding for Energy
Research and Development Programs in Fiscal
Year 1974. *October 11, 1973*

AMERICA'S national energy policy requires the fullest possible utilization of science and technology to insure that all of our energy resources become available rapidly and in a balanced and prudent fashion. As I indicated in my press statement on September 8, our goal must be self-sufficiency—the capacity to meet our energy needs with our own resources. I intend to take every step necessary to achieve that goal. A great nation cannot be dependent upon other nations for resources essential to its own social and economic progress.

Preparatory to the massive 5-year, \$10 billion energy research and development program that I have announced will begin in the next fiscal year and in keeping with my intention to commit additional funds in this fiscal year for high priority energy research programs, I am today announcing the details of an additional \$115 million increment to this fiscal year's budget for energy research and development. This increase will raise the total energy R & D funding level for FY 1974 to about \$1 billion, a 37 percent increase over FY 1973.

Appropriations already approved by the Congress will provide most of the funds for this \$115 million increment. I will soon be forwarding to the Congress a request for supplemental appropriations to cover the remainder.

Our hopes for advancing research and development also rest upon my proposed legislation to create a Department of Energy and Natural Resources and an independent Energy Research and De-

velopment Administration. This legislation, along with six other bills now before the Congress, is essential to meet the full range of our energy needs. The Congress has initiated hearings on my proposal for reorganization, and I again urge that it proceed with dispatch.

On June 29, I directed the establishment of an Energy R & D Advisory Council to assist Governor Love. I am pleased to announce today that 15 of our Nation's most distinguished scientists and engineers, under the leadership of Dr. H. Guyford Stever, who serves as my Science Adviser and as Director of the National Science Foundation, have agreed to serve on this Council. This group is holding its first meeting this morning at the White House. In this meeting and in coming months, this Council will be discussing short- and long-range research and development programs, and acting to enlist the talents of our scientific and technological community—in industry, universities, and Government laboratories—in this effort.

I am confident that with these initiatives, all now in progress, we are well underway in our effort to meet our energy requirements with proper regard for the preservation of our natural environment and for the early achievement of energy self-sufficiency. As additional efforts prove necessary, I shall be prepared to take those steps.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released two fact sheets on energy research and development and the Energy Research and Development Advisory Council. Also released was

the transcript of a news briefing on energy research and development. Participants in the news briefing were John A. Love, Director of the Energy Policy Office; Dixy Lee Ray, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission;

H. Guyford Stever, Director of the National Science Foundation; and William T. McCormick, Jr., Executive Secretary of the Energy Research and Development Advisory Council.

292 Remarks at the Conclusion of a Conference on Export Expansion. *October 11, 1973*

Members of the Cabinet and ladies and gentlemen:

When I saw the guest list for this conference, I realized that probably never before have so many presidents been gathered in the East Room of the White House. And we welcome you all, whatever your position in business or in government, to this conference on export expansion.

I realize that you have been exposed for the past 2 or 3 hours to all the experts, and I will not take more of your time to go into some of the decisions on technical matters that we have made to work with you toward expanding exports.

On the other hand, I thought it might be useful at the conclusion of the conference and before I have the chance to meet each of you personally at its end, for me to put the whole problem of trade, export expansion in the larger context of foreign policy of the United States and the desire that all of us share as Americans to build a more peaceful world.

Now, first, I think it is well for us to understand what the limitations of trade are in building of our peaceful world. I noticed in my talking points it was indicated that if we have trade, that automatically will lead to peace. Of course, that isn't true at all. As a matter of fact, if we look at World War I and World War II, we will find that nations that

traded with each other fought each other. Japan and the United States in World War II are good examples, and of course, Britain and France and Germany in World War I and World War II are examples of that.

So, trade between nations, no matter how great it is, does not necessarily lead to peace.

But having stated the negative proposition, let's also understand some of the positive points that can be made about trade and how it can help in building a structure of peace.

The first is that trade leads to communication between peoples, not just governments but peoples, and communication between peoples, I very sincerely believe—having taken some role in opening communications with other nations in the world over the past 4½ years, opening communications with nations with which we had not had communications before—I believe that as we increase communication between peoples at all levels, the opportunity of discussing differences rather than fighting about differences is greatly increased.

And so, as American businessmen and businesswomen travel throughout the world, as you meet your counterparts in business and, in the totalitarian countries, in government, you will help to create those channels of communication which

are so essential if in times of crisis we are to avoid those explosions that could lead to war.

And then, of course, there is another, broader point that should be made. As the nations of the world have a greater stake in peace, they have a less incentive to wage war. And as we have more expanded world trade, trade with all nations, it means that nations which otherwise might be tempted to wage war because of their concerns about inability to move up their standard of living at home could develop a stake in peace. I firmly believe that.

I know that that is not easy to accomplish, and you know it as well. But I am sure that as we look toward the years ahead, that as the United States, along with other nations, whether they be in the more advanced industrial nations in Europe or in Asia or in the less developed countries, as the United States increases its trade with those nations, it inevitably will mean that their standard of living will rise, as will ours, and as theirs rises, their people and their governments will have a stake in peace. They will have a stake also in good relations with the United States.

So, I have stated both ends of the proposition. On the one hand, that trade by itself does not lead to peace. It does not, and that is a grave illusion ever to think that it would. But the fact that if we have trade combined with an intelligent and pragmatic foreign policy, we can build a structure of peace which it would be much more difficult to build if we did not have the communications which trade brings and also the raising of the standard of living which inevitably will come as we trade with other nations.

So, what I am saying to all of you here today is that this trip to Washington, I

hope, will be useful to you in the years ahead in terms of bringing more business to the concerns that you represent. That is good for your various corporations or companies, as the case may be; it is good for the United States, for labor, for business; and it is good for the nations abroad. But also it serves a much larger purpose.

You are part of, you are playing a very important role in what I consider to be the great adventure of the last third of this century, and that is the adventure of building for the first time in this century a structure of peace for the whole world that will last.

I suppose it is rather ironic for me to speak of a structure of peace at a time when we have a very difficult war going on in the Mideast. I say we, even though the United States is not involved, because when war hits that part of the world, it inevitably leads to repercussions through Europe and Asia and, of course, the Americas as well.

And so, we are concerned about that war. We are trying to play a responsible role in helping to bring the fighting to an end and then beyond that to build a structure of peace that will be permanent and not temporary.

That is all that I can say on that subject at this time, but let me first say, in addition to that, that while we have the truce in the Mideast broken at this time, we find that the United States is at peace with every nation in the world, and this is the first time that a President of the United States could say that for 12 years. And that, of course, is a hopeful development, but that also is not something that we can stand by and simply rest on our laurels, because we have ended wars before, and yet in every generation we follow with another war.

World War I was ended and then came World War II, and after it was ended came Korea, and after it was ended came Vietnam. That is why I have always spoken of the need not just to end the war which we were in, the longest in America's history, but to look far beyond and to build a structure of peace in the world that would last.

That is what the initiatives toward the People's Republic of China and the initiatives toward the Soviet Union and the initiatives toward the other Communist countries in Europe were all about. They had nothing to do with our deciding that our system of government now was closer in philosophy to theirs. We are still as far apart as we ever were.

But what it has to do with is that unless we do develop communications with, including trade, with those people who live in approximately one-half the world—or half the people of the world live in the nations that I have referred to—unless we have those channels of communications open, the inevitability of a confrontation somewhere down the line is almost inescapable.

It is our chance, our opportunity to help avoid that inevitable conflict. And you, each in your way, wherever you move in the world, I think, are contributing to the possibility of building that structure of peace that will last not just for a generation but beyond.

I should also add that I don't need to tell a group of American businessmen that the competitive situation in the world is a lot different from what it was immediately after World War II. It is hard to realize that there are times we talked about the dollar gap. It is hard to realize that there were times when we could talk about reciprocal trade when it was all,

"What is the United States going to do in terms of opening its markets?" It is hard to realize that there was a time—as a matter of fact, not too long ago when I was Vice President of the United States, in 1958, talking to the President of Colombia in South America, when he told me, he said, "The trouble in the world today is that what we have in terms of world trade can be compared with a great poker game. The United States has all the chips and, consequently, nobody else can play. And so what you must do is to pass out some of the chips so the rest of us can play."

Of course, he was speaking of foreign aid, and he was also speaking of trade, but now we realize that not only must the United States play a responsible role in seeing that trade barriers against goods from abroad, which are unfair, are reduced but we must also play, as a government, a very strong role in seeing that American goods get a fair competitive position all over the world.

We can't have the one-way street situation which presently exists in our relations with some countries. They know that, and we, in our Government, understand it very thoroughly.

You know, you sometimes wonder about these Government people, people like Mr. Eberle,¹ and the Secretary of the Treasury and the people in the State Department, and I have often heard businessmen say, "Who do they represent? Do they represent us or do they represent the foreign countries?"

Let me tell you this: These men in this Government represent the United States of America. They are going to speak up

¹ William D. Eberle was Special Representative for Trade Negotiations and Chairman of the Trade Expansion Act Advisory Committee.

for American businessmen. They are going to represent our interests and represent them aggressively, but in representing them aggressively, they also are going to recognize that it can't be a one-way street, either way. We can't sell without buying.

And that is why, when we see some of the shortsighted talk to the effect that we should have legislation which will close American markets or raise barriers to goods abroad in order to save jobs here, that that is terribly shortsighted, because when we see it, we find that if we close our markets in order to save jobs here, we are going to lose jobs for those products that otherwise would be sold abroad.

And so the question is, how can we have a policy in which we buy and sell and have the right kind of a position in which we have more jobs at home, a better standard of living at home, and also a better opportunity for others abroad to participate in that development of prosperity.

So, I would conclude my remarks, ladies and gentlemen, simply with this general proposition. We live in a far more competitive world. We find that the new Europe is going to give us very tough competition. Japan already is giving us very hard competition. Further down the road, even the totalitarian powers, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, not because they are Communist, but because they are Chinese and because they are Russians and have drive—they are going to give us some competition in the world.

So, when we finally come down to the bottom line, it is this: Government has got to see to it that American goods get a fair shake all over the world, and we will meet that responsibility. And we have to do everything that we can to expand

our exports, and that is something that you can do, because we are a free enterprise country. Government cannot do it, and you have to do it.

But we also must recognize that if American goods are to be sold abroad, American business and American labor must be competitive, and the name of that game, as everybody in this room knows, is productivity.

That is why in this period of time, to think in terms simply of building a great wall around this Nation so that noncompetitive industries can survive, that is good short-term politics; it is disastrous long-term statesmanship in terms of business, in terms of jobs, and in terms of the peace of America in the world.

And so, to all of you I say, thank you for coming to this conference. I know that many of you come to Washington many times for conferences and wonder if that trip was worthwhile. I can only say I believe yours is, because as we enter this new era of peace for America with all nations in the world, we must build on it, we must build a new structure. There must be new diplomacy, there must be the necessary military strength so that we can be the peacemakers in the world.

But we also need those communications, channels of communications which the businessmen, the businesswomen of America open through the areas of trade, and we also need that kind of communication between nations in the trading area which will raise the standard of living throughout the world so that all peoples and all nations will have a stake in the peace of the world.

That is a great goal. You are all working for it, and speaking for all of the American people, we thank American business and American labor for the role you have

played and for the greater role I am sure you will play after this conference is concluded.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:24 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

On the same day, the White House released an announcement of the establishment of the

President's Export Council and the President's Interagency Committee on Export Expansion and of the designation of the Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Council and Chairman of the Committee. The announcement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 1243).

293 Newspaper Carrier Day Message.

October 12, 1973

THE newspaper route is one of the best training grounds for millions of young Americans. In communities across the nation countless illustrious and prominent citizens share the common bond of having traveled the newspaper route on the way to their successful careers.

It is most appropriate that we set aside a special day to honor the boys and girls who serve as newspaper carriers across our country, and that we give deserving recognition to a tradition that continue so greatly to enrich our way of life.

RICHARD NIXON

294 Remarks Announcing Intention To Nominate Gerald R. Ford To Be Vice President.

October 12, 1973

Members of the Cabinet, Members of the Congress, members of the diplomatic corps, all of our distinguished guests here in the East Room, and my fellow Americans:

I have invited you here tonight so that I could share with all of you, not only in this room but the millions listening on television and radio, my announcement of the man whose name I shall submit to the Congress tomorrow for confirmation as Vice President of the United States.

I shall ask the Congress tonight, and also when I submit the name tomorrow, to act as expeditiously as possible on this nomination because of the great challenges we face at home and abroad today.

We live at a time in which we face great dangers, but also a time of very

great opportunities. We can be thankful tonight that for the first time in 12 years the United States is at peace with every nation in the world. We can also be thankful that we are in the midst of a rising expansion of our economy in which more Americans have better jobs at higher wages than at any time in the history of our country.

But also on the other side, we have to recognize the fact that the peace that we have worked so hard to build, not only for ourselves but for all the world, is now threatened because of a new outbreak of war in the Mideast.

And also we must recognize the fact that the prosperity that we seek is plagued by an inflation which is a burden on the family budget of millions of Americans.

This is a time, therefore, that we need strong and effective leadership, because the hope of the world for peace lies with the leadership that we have here in the United States of America. And our ability to build a new prosperity in this country, a prosperity without war and without inflation, lies in the need for strong leadership in the United States of America.

Never in our history has the world more needed a strong America, a united America, with both the power and the will to act in the spirit that made this a great country and that has kept it a free country.

That is why at this particular time it is vital that we turn away from the obsessions of the past and turn to the great challenges of the future. This is a time for a new beginning for America, a new beginning in which we all dedicate ourselves to the tasks of meeting the challenges we face, seizing the opportunities for greatness, and meeting the dangers wherever they are, at home or abroad.

I am confident tonight as I stand here before leaders of both parties, I am confident we shall meet those dangers and also seize those opportunities. I am confident that we shall do so, but we can and will do so only if we have the support of millions of our fellow Americans all across this land. We can and will do so only if we have bipartisan support in the Congress of the United States in matters in which no partisanship should ever enter. We can and will do so only if we have strong effective leadership in the executive branch of this Government.

These were the considerations that I had in mind as I considered what man or other individual to select as the nominee for Vice President of the United States.

Let me tell you what the criteria were

that I had in mind. First, and above all, the individual who serves as Vice President must be qualified to be President. Second, the individual who serves as Vice President of the United States must be one who shares the views of the President on the critical issues of foreign policy and national defense, which are so important if we are to play our great role, our destined role to keep peace in the world. Third, at this particular time when we have the Executive in the hands of one party and the Congress controlled by another party, it is vital that the Vice President of the United States be an individual who can work with members of both parties in the Congress in getting approval for those programs of the Administration which we consider are vital for the national interest.

It was these criteria that I had in mind when I pondered this decision last night and early this morning in the quiet beauty of Camp David. And the man I have selected meets those three criteria.

First, he is a man who has served for 25 years in the House of Representatives with great distinction. [*Applause*]

Ladies and gentlemen, please don't be premature. There are several here who have served 25 years in the House of Representatives.

In addition to that service in the House, I should point out that in that period of time he has earned the respect of both Democrats and Republicans. He is a man also who has been unwavering in his support of the policies that brought peace with honor for America in Vietnam and in support of a policy for the strong national defense for this country, which is so essential if we are to have peace in the world. And above all, he is a man who,

if the responsibilities of the great office that I hold should fall upon him, as has been the case with eight Vice Presidents in our history, we could all say, the leadership of America is in good hands.

Our distinguished guests and my fellow Americans, I proudly present to you the man whose name I will submit to the Congress of the United States for confirmation as the Vice President of the United States, Congressman Gerald Ford of Michigan.

Ladies and gentlemen, Congressman Ford knows the rules, that since he now has to be confirmed by both Houses, his remarks will be very brief.

VICE PRESIDENT-DESIGNATE FORD. Mr. President, I am deeply honored, and I am extremely grateful, and I am terribly humble, but I pledge to you, Mr. President, and I pledge to my colleagues in the Congress, and I pledge to the American people, that to the best of my ability, if confirmed by my colleagues in the Congress, that I will do my utmost, to the best of my ability, to serve this country well and to perform those duties that will be my new assignment, as effectively and as efficiently and with as much accomplishment as possible.

Mr. President, with pride I have supported our country's policies, both at home and abroad, aimed at seeking peace

worldwide and a better well-being for all of our citizens throughout our great land, and I will continue to work with you and with the Congress in the further implementation of those policies in the months and years ahead.

It seems to me that we want, in America, a united America. I hope I have some assets that might be helpful in working with the Congress in doing what I can throughout our country to make America a united America. I pledge to you my full efforts, and I pledge the same to my colleagues and to the American people. Thank you very much.

THE PRESIDENT. I know that all of you will want to meet Congressman Ford and Mrs. Ford. We will be in the Blue Room if you would like to come by and say hello and congratulate them. Also there will be refreshments, I understand, in the State Dining Room in case some of you did not have supper.

Thank you and good evening.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:06 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. His remarks were broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

Earlier in the day, the President met separately with Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott and House Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford to receive a report on the procedural situation in the Congress for consideration of a nominee for Vice President.

295 Remarks at a Meeting With the Vice President-Designate. *October 13, 1973*

STARTING immediately, the Congressman will receive the daily intelligence briefings—this is what I have in my hand here—and will participate in meetings of the National Security Council, meetings

of the Cabinet, and other meetings that the Vice President would participate in once he is confirmed.

Also, we are making arrangements for Congressman Ford to have an office in the

EOB so that he can get his work prepared for the day when he moves from the House down here to the White House in terms of his operations here, and of course over in the Senate they give you an office, too.

We have had here—the fact of the matter is, I was talking to Dr. Kissinger at 8 o'clock this morning on the Mideast. We met for a half hour or so, and we have had just another hour now, and the Congressman has been briefed on the Mideast situation because he is going to be leaving the city. He had engagements that he made before he knew he was going to have his new assignment, so he is going to where—Grand Rapids?

VICE PRESIDENT-DESIGNATE FORD. Grand Rapids. I am coming back for church tomorrow, and then going—

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, you are going to make that?

VICE PRESIDENT-DESIGNATE FORD. Yes.

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, good. Well, I told Hudnut he wouldn't have to pray for you

tomorrow, he could just pray for me. So now he will pray for both of us.

Then you are going to see your boy in Denver?

VICE PRESIDENT-DESIGNATE FORD. In Utah.

THE PRESIDENT. Utah.

VICE PRESIDENT-DESIGNATE FORD. And on to Portland for a speech that I have planned for about 6 months, and then coming back Monday.

THE PRESIDENT. Fine. Well, this is our first official meeting since he was nominated, and I thought you would kind of like to cover it.

NOTE: The remarks, which began at 10:50 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House, took place during a portion of the meeting when reporters and photographers were invited to be present.

Also attending the meeting were Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State, and Alexander M. Haig, Jr., Assistant to the President.

On the following day, Sunday, October 14, Representative William H. Hudnut 3d, who was an ordained minister, participated in a White House worship service.

296 Remarks on Presenting the Congressional Medal of Honor to Nine Members of the Armed Forces. *October 15, 1973*

Ladies and gentlemen:

As all of you know, this is a Medal of Honor presentation. As I was looking over the record of the last 4 years, I found that 143 Medals of Honor have been presented during those 4 years. There will be nine presented today, and the difference is that this is the first time that a Medal of Honor presentation will be made in peacetime, when the United States is at peace not only in Vietnam but is at peace

with every nation throughout the world.

Now, when we speak of the Medal of Honor, I would say first that those who receive that medal in this room honor this great house and this historic room. When we speak of the Medal of Honor in relationship to the war, the long and difficult war in which so many Americans participated, we realize that how these men who receive this medal today and their colleagues, how what they did has

made it possible for the United States to end this war and finally to have peace with honor.

As one of our prisoners of war said when he returned from Vietnam, you, you and your colleagues in the Armed Forces of the United States, made it possible for our prisoners of war to return to the United States on their feet rather than on their knees.

And so you receive a Medal of Honor today because what you have done is to help the United States maintain its honor.

Now, I suppose that talking about honor, as far as a great nation is concerned, would sound somewhat jingoistic. But I would remind everybody in this audience, particularly at a time when there is another war in the Mideast, that a strong United States, a United States that is respected, is essential if we are to have a chance to have a lasting peace in the world. Because with all of our strength and with all of the sacrifices that Americans have made in four wars in this century, the United States policy is not one of aggression, it is not one to dominate any other country, it is one that seeks peace for ourselves and for other nations and, of course, seeks, in addition to that, a world in which all nations will have the right to be independent of foreign domination.

One word, finally, with regard to the current war which is going on in the Mideast. If I were to describe our policy, I would say that it is like the policy that we followed in 1958 when Lebanon was involved, it is like the policy we followed in 1970 when Jordan was involved. The policy of the United States in the Mideast, very simply stated, is this: We stand for the right of every nation in the Mideast to maintain its independence and

security. We want this fighting to end. We want the fighting to end on a basis where we can build a lasting peace.

But the policy of the United States is that of peacemaker in the area, and I would conclude by saying that the men honored today and the thousands of other Americans who also should be honored, who served their country in Vietnam, make it possible for the United States to play the honored role of peacemaker in the world.

And now we will go forward with the citations.

[At this point, Secretary of the Army Howard H. Callaway, Secretary of the Navy John W. Warner, and Secretary of the Air Force John L. McLucas introduced the Medal of Honor winners from their respective services. The texts of the citations follow:

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, March 3, 1863, has awarded in the name of The Congress the Medal of Honor to

FIRST LIEUTENANT BRIAN M. THACKER
UNITED STATES ARMY

for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:

First Lieutenant Brian M. Thacker, Field Artillery, Battery A, 1st Battalion, 92d Artillery, distinguished himself on March 31, 1971 while serving as the team leader of an Integrated Observation System collocated with elements of two Army of the Republic of Vietnam units at Fire Base 6 in Kontum Province, Republic of Vietnam. On that date, a numerically superior North Vietnamese Army force launched a well-planned, dawn attack on the small, isolated, hilltop fire base. Employing rockets, grenades, flame throwers, and automatic weapons, the enemy forces penetrated the perimeter defenses and engaged the defenders in hand-to-hand combat. Throughout the morning and early afternoon, Lieutenant Thacker rallied and encouraged the United States and Republic of Vietnam soldiers in heroic efforts to re-

pulse the enemy. He occupied a dangerously exposed observation position for a period of four hours while directing friendly air strikes and artillery fire against the assaulting enemy forces. His personal bravery and inspired leadership enabled the outnumbered friendly forces to inflict a maximum of casualties on the attacking enemy forces and prevented the base from being overrun. By late afternoon, the situation had become untenable. Lieutenant Thacker organized and directed the withdrawal of the remaining friendly forces. With complete disregard for his personal safety, he remained inside the perimeter alone to provide covering fire with his M-16 rifle until all other friendly forces had escaped from the besieged fire base. Then, in an act of supreme courage, he called for friendly artillery fire on his own position to allow his comrades more time to withdraw safely from the area and, at the same time, inflict even greater casualties on the enemy forces. Although wounded and unable to escape from the area himself, he successfully eluded the enemy forces for eight days until friendly forces regained control of the fire base. The extraordinary courage and selflessness displayed by Lieutenant Thacker were an inspiration to his comrades and are in the highest traditions of the military service.

RICHARD NIXON

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, March 3, 1863, has awarded in the name of The Congress the Medal of Honor to

SERGEANT FIRST CLASS GARY L. LITRELL
UNITED STATES ARMY

for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:

Sergeant First Class Gary L. Littrell, United States Military Assistance Command, Vietnam, Advisory Team 21, distinguished himself during the period April 4 to 8, 1970 while serving as a Light Weapons Infantry Advisor with the 23rd Battalion, 2nd Ranger Group, Republic of Vietnam Army, near Dak Seang in Kontum Province, Republic of Vietnam. After establish-

ing a defensive perimeter on a hill on April 4, the battalion was subjected to an intense enemy mortar attack which killed the Vietnamese commander, one advisor, and seriously wounded all the advisors except Sergeant Littrell. During the ensuing four days, Sergeant Littrell exhibited near superhuman endurance and conspicuous gallantry as he single-handedly bolstered the besieged battalion. Repeatedly abandoning positions of relative safety, he directed artillery and air support by day and marked the unit's location by night, despite the heavy, concentrated enemy fire. His dauntless will instilled in the men of the 23rd Battalion a deep desire to resist. Assault after assault was repulsed as the battalion responded to the extraordinary leadership and personal example exhibited by Sergeant Littrell as he continuously moved to those points most seriously threatened by the enemy, redistributed ammunition, strengthened faltering defenses, cared for the wounded and shouted encouragement to the Vietnamese in their own language. When the beleaguered battalion was finally ordered to withdraw, numerous ambushes were encountered. Sergeant Littrell repeatedly prevented widespread disorder by directing air strikes to within 50 meters of their position. Through his indomitable courage and complete disregard for his safety, he averted excessive loss of life and injury to the members of the battalion. The sustained extraordinary courage and selflessness displayed by Sergeant Littrell over an extended period of time were in keeping with the highest traditions of the military service and reflect great credit on him and the United States Army.

RICHARD NIXON

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, March 3, 1863, has awarded in the name of The Congress the Medal of Honor to

STAFF SERGEANT JAMES L. BONDSTEEL
UNITED STATES ARMY

for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:

Staff Sergeant James L. Bondsteel, United

States Army, distinguished himself on 24 May 1969 while serving as a platoon sergeant with Company A, 2d Battalion, 2d Infantry, 1st Infantry Division, near the village of Lang Sau, An Loc Province, Republic of Vietnam. Company A was directed to assist a friendly unit which was endangered by intense fire from a North Vietnamese Battalion located in a heavily fortified base camp. Sergeant Bondsteel quickly organized the men of his platoon into effective combat teams and spearheaded the attack by destroying four enemy occupied bunkers. He then raced some 200 meters under heavy enemy fire to reach an adjoining platoon which had begun to falter. After rallying this unit and assisting their wounded, Sergeant Bondsteel returned to his own sector with critically needed munitions. Without pausing he moved to the forefront and destroyed four enemy occupied bunkers and a machine gun which had threatened his advancing platoon. Although painfully wounded by an enemy grenade, Sergeant Bondsteel refused medical attention and continued his assault by neutralizing two more enemy bunkers nearby. While searching one of these emplacements Sergeant Bondsteel narrowly escaped death when an enemy soldier detonated a grenade at close range. Shortly thereafter, he ran to the aid of a severely wounded officer and struck down an enemy soldier who was threatening the officer's life. Sergeant Bondsteel then continued to rally his men and to lead them through the entrenched enemy until his company was relieved. His exemplary leadership and great personal courage throughout the four-hour battle ensured the success of his own and nearby units, and resulted in the saving of numerous lives of his fellow soldiers. By individual acts of bravery he destroyed ten enemy bunkers and accounted for a large toll of the enemy, including two key enemy commanders. Staff Sergeant Bondsteel's conspicuous gallantry and extraordinary heroism at the risk of his life are in the highest traditions of the military service and reflect great credit on him, his unit and the United States Army.

RICHARD NIXON

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, March 3, 1863, has awarded in the name of The Congress the Medal of Honor to

SERGEANT GARY B. BEIKIRCH
UNITED STATES ARMY

for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:

Sergeant Gary B. Beikirch, Medical Aidman, Detachment B-24, Company B, 5th Special Forces Group, 1st Special Forces, while serving in Kontum Province, Republic of Vietnam, distinguished himself during the defense of Camp Dak Seang on April 1, 1970. On that date, the allied defenders suffered a number of casualties as a result of an intense, devastating attack launched by the enemy from well-concealed positions surrounding the camp. Sergeant Beikirch, with complete disregard for his personal safety, moved unhesitatingly through the withering enemy fire to his fallen comrades, applied first aid to their wounds and assisted them to the medical aid station. When informed that a seriously injured American officer was lying in an exposed position, Sergeant Beikirch ran immediately through the hail of fire. Although he was wounded seriously by fragments from an exploding enemy mortar shell, Sergeant Beikirch carried the officer to a medical aid station. Ignoring his own serious injuries, Sergeant Beikirch left the relative safety of the medical bunker to search for and evacuate other men who had been injured. He was again wounded as he dragged a critically injured Vietnamese soldier to the medical bunker while simultaneously applying mouth-to-mouth resuscitation to sustain his life. Sergeant Beikirch again refused treatment and continued his search for other casualties until he collapsed. Only then did he permit himself to be treated. Sergeant Beikirch's conspicuous gallantry in action, his complete devotion to the welfare of his comrades, and his intrepidity at the risk of his life are in keeping with the highest traditions of the military service and

reflect great credit on him, his unit, and the United States Army.

RICHARD NIXON

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, March 3, 1863, has awarded in the name of The Congress the Medal of Honor to

SPECIALIST FOUR MICHAEL J. FITZMAURICE
UNITED STATES ARMY

for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:

Specialist Four Michael J. Fitzmaurice, 3rd Platoon, Troop D, 2d Squadron, 17th Cavalry, 101st Airborne Division, distinguished himself on 23 March 1971 at Khe Sanh, Republic of Vietnam. Specialist Fitzmaurice and three fellow-soldiers were occupying a bunker when a company of North Vietnamese sappers infiltrated the area. At the onset of the attack Specialist Fitzmaurice observed three explosive charges which had been thrown into the bunker by the enemy. Realizing the imminent danger to his comrades, and with complete disregard for his personal safety, he hurled two of the charges out of the bunker. He then threw his flak vest and himself over the remaining charge. By this courageous act he absorbed the blast and shielded his fellow-soldiers. Although suffering from serious multiple wounds and partial loss of sight, he charged out of the bunker and engaged the enemy until his rifle was damaged by the blast of an enemy hand grenade. While in search of another weapon, Specialist Fitzmaurice encountered and overcame an enemy sapper in hand-to-hand combat. Having obtained another weapon, he returned to his original fighting position and inflicted additional casualties on the attacking enemy. Although seriously wounded, Specialist Fitzmaurice refused to be medically evacuated, preferring to remain at his post. Specialist Fitzmaurice's conspicuous gallantry, extraordinary heroism, and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life contributed significantly to the successful defense of the position and resulted in saving the lives of a number of his fellow-soldiers. These acts of heroism go above

and beyond the call of duty, are in keeping with the highest traditions of the military service, and reflect great credit on Specialist Four Fitzmaurice and the United States Army.

RICHARD NIXON

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, March 3, 1863, has awarded in the name of The Congress the Medal of Honor to

PRIVATE FIRST CLASS KENNETH M. KAYS
UNITED STATES ARMY

for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:

Private First Class (then Private) Kenneth M. Kays, United States Army, distinguished himself on May 7, 1970 while serving as a medical aidman with Company D, 1st Battalion, 506th Infantry, 101st Airborne Division near Fire Support Base Maureen, Thua Thien Province, Republic of Vietnam. On that date a heavily armed force of enemy sappers and infantrymen assaulted Company D's night defensive position, wounding and killing a number of its members. Disregarding the intense enemy fire and ground assault, Private Kays began moving toward the perimeter to assist his fallen comrades. In doing so he became the target of concentrated enemy fire and explosive charges, one of which severed the lower portion of his left leg. After applying a tourniquet to his own leg, Private Kays moved to the fire-swept perimeter, administered medical aid to one of the wounded, and helped him to an area of relative safety. Despite his own severe wound and excruciating pain, Private Kays returned to the perimeter in search of other wounded men. He treated another wounded comrade, and, using his own body as a shield against enemy bullets and fragments, moved him to safety. Although weakened from a great loss of blood, Private Kays resumed his heroic lifesaving efforts by moving beyond the Company's perimeter into enemy held territory to treat a wounded American lying there. Only after his fellow wounded soldiers had been treated and evacuated did Private Kays allow his own wounds to be

treated. These courageous acts by Private Kays resulted in the saving of numerous lives and inspired others in his Company to repel the enemy. Private Kays' conspicuous gallantry and heroism at the risk of his life are in keeping with the highest traditions of the service and reflect great credit on him, his unit, and the United States Army.

RICHARD NIXON

The President of the United States in the name of The Congress takes pleasure in presenting the MEDAL OF HONOR to

MICHAEL E. THORNTON
ENGINEMAN SECOND CLASS
UNITED STATES NAVY

for service as set forth in the following

CITATION:

For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty while participating in a daring operation against enemy forces in the Republic of Vietnam on October 31, 1972. Petty Officer Thornton, as assistant U.S. Navy advisor, along with a U.S. Navy lieutenant serving as senior advisor, accompanied a three-man Vietnamese Navy SEAL patrol on an intelligence gathering and prisoner capture operation against an enemy-occupied naval river base. Launched from a Vietnamese Navy junk in a rubber boat, the patrol reached land and was continuing on foot toward its objective when it suddenly came under heavy fire from a numerically superior force. The patrol called in naval gunfire support and then engaged the enemy in a fierce firefight, accounting for many enemy casualties before moving back to the waterline to prevent encirclement. Upon learning that the senior advisor had been hit by enemy fire and was believed to be dead, Petty Officer Thornton returned through a hail of fire to the lieutenant's last position, quickly disposed of two enemy soldiers about to overrun the position, and succeeded in removing the seriously wounded and unconscious senior naval advisor to the water's edge. He then inflated the lieutenant's lifejacket and towed him seaward for approximately two hours until picked up

by support craft. By his extraordinary courage and perseverance, Petty Officer Thornton was directly responsible for saving the life of his superior officer and enabling the safe extraction of all patrol members, thereby upholding the highest traditions of the United States Naval Service.

RICHARD NIXON

The President of the United States in the name of The Congress takes pleasure in presenting the MEDAL OF HONOR to

GUNNERY SERGEANT ALLAN J. KELLOGG, JR.
UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS

for service as set forth in the following

CITATION:

For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty while serving as a Platoon Sergeant with Company G, Second Battalion, Fifth Marines, First Marine Division, in connection with combat operations against the enemy in the Republic of Vietnam on the night of March 11, 1970. Under the leadership of Gunnery Sergeant (then Staff Sergeant) Kellogg, a small unit from Company G was evacuating a fallen comrade when the unit came under a heavy volume of small arms and automatic weapons fire from a numerically superior enemy force occupying well-concealed emplacements in the surrounding jungle. During the ensuing fierce engagement, an enemy soldier managed to maneuver through the dense foliage to a position near the Marines, and hurled a hand grenade into their midst which glanced off the chest of Gunnery Sergeant Kellogg. Quick to act, he forced the grenade into the mud in which he was standing, threw himself over the lethal weapon, and absorbed the full effects of its detonation with his body, thereby preventing serious injury or possible death to several of his fellow Marines. Although suffering multiple injuries to his chest and his right shoulder and arm, Gunnery Sergeant Kellogg resolutely continued to direct the efforts of his men until all were able to maneuver to the relative safety of the company perimeter. By his heroic and decisive action in risking his own life to save

the lives of his comrades, Gunnery Sergeant Kellogg reflected the highest credit upon himself and upheld the finest traditions of the Marine Corps and the United States Naval Service.

RICHARD NIXON

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, March 3, 1863, has awarded in the name of The Congress, the Medal of Honor, to

LIEUTENANT COLONEL LEO K. THORSNESS
UNITED STATES AIR FORCE

for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:

On 19 April 1967, as pilot of an F-105 aircraft, Lieutenant Colonel (then Major) Thorsness was on a surface-to-air missile suppression mission over North Vietnam. On that date, Lieutenant Colonel Thorsness and his wingman attacked and silenced a surface-to-air missile site with air-to-ground missiles, and then destroyed a second surface-to-air missile site with bombs. In the attack on the second missile site, Lieutenant Colonel Thorsness' wingman was shot down by intense antiaircraft fire, and the two crew members abandoned their aircraft. Lieutenant Colonel Thorsness circled the descending parachutes to keep the crew members in sight and relay their position to the Search and Rescue Center. During this maneuver, a MIG-17 was sighted in the area. Lieutenant Colonel Thorsness immediately initiated an attack and destroyed the MIG. Because his aircraft was low on fuel, he was forced to depart the area in search of a tanker. Upon being advised that two helicopters were orbiting over the downed crew's position and that there were hostile MIGs in the area posing a serious threat to the heli-

copters, Lieutenant Colonel Thorsness, despite his low fuel condition, decided to return alone through a hostile environment of surface-to-air missile and antiaircraft defenses to the downed crew's position. As he approached the area, he spotted four MIG-17 aircraft and immediately initiated an attack on the MIGs, damaging one and driving the others away from the rescue scene. When it became apparent that an aircraft in the area was critically low on fuel and the crew would have to abandon the aircraft unless they could reach a tanker, Lieutenant Colonel Thorsness, although critically short on fuel himself, helped to avert further possible loss of life and a friendly aircraft by recovering at a forward operating base, thus allowing the aircraft in emergency fuel condition to refuel safely. Lieutenant Colonel Thorsness' extraordinary heroism, self-sacrifice, and personal bravery involving conspicuous risk of life were in the highest traditions of the military service, and have reflected great credit upon himself and the United States Air Force.

RICHARD NIXON

The President then resumed speaking.]

Ladies and gentlemen, that completes the ceremony, and we want all of you to enjoy this White House. It belongs to you, and today it is your home. You can spend your time on this first floor in the historic Red Room, in the Green Room, in the Blue Room, and in the dining room there are refreshments which will be there for you and your friends to enjoy.

We congratulate you all again, and we thank you from our hearts for your service to the Nation.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:07 a.m. in the East Room at the White House.

297 **Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal
of Freedom to William P. Rogers and the
Presidential Citizens Medal to Adele Rogers.**
October 15, 1973

IT IS very hard to keep secrets in government, and I must say that the other day here in this room when we announced the nomination of Gerald Ford as Vice President, that was a pretty well-kept secret.

I think, tonight, this is certainly something that Bill Rogers does not expect, and consequently, I think all of us will enjoy the presentation I am now about to make.

The Medal of Freedom, as you know, is the highest civilian honor that can be given to an American citizen. Bill Rogers has served for almost 20 years in government, and in those 20 years he has served for 4 years as Attorney General of the United States and 4½ years as Secretary of State.

In that period as Secretary of State, he has traveled to 72 countries, has probably made over 150 speeches, formal and many more informal, has had to sit through at least 500 tedious dinners and perhaps 1,000 or even more tedious cocktail parties, but in that period of time, he has represented this Nation, as we all know, with very great dignity. He has made us all very proud of our country and of his representation of that country as Secretary of State.

I think that a French Foreign Minister put it pretty well when he summed up Secretary Rogers' qualities. I think it was something like this. He said that Secretary Rogers always says the words that he means, always means the words that he says, but doesn't always say the words that he means, and he said, "I"—he went

further to say, he said—"I am always happy when he agrees with me, but I am never unhappy when he disagrees with me. That is the mark of a very successful Secretary of State."

As you know, of course, we have enjoyed the friendship of the Rogerses for over 30 years. We met 32 years ago at Quonset Point when we were both one of the lowest forms of life, I mean lieutenants, junior grade, in the United States Navy Reserve, and we have been close friends since that time.

But tonight, both as a personal friend and recognizing his services during the period I was Vice President and now in the period as President, and representing all of the American people, I have the honor to present to William P. Rogers the Medal of Freedom. I shall read the citation:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
AWARDS THIS
PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM
TO
WILLIAM P. ROGERS

Prosecutor, Congressional investigator, and Cabinet leader under two Presidents, his brilliant career of public service has spanned more than a third of a century and touched all three branches of Government. As the 63rd Attorney General of the United States, he pioneered in the battle for equal rights. As the Nation's 55th Secretary of State, he played an indispensable role in ending our longest war and in starting to build a new structure of peace. Through these efforts, the decency and integrity that are William Rogers' personal stamp are now felt more strongly among all

people and nations. No man could seek a greater monument.

Now, the Secretary, of course, is desperately—will you please be seated—is desperately trying to get up here to respond, but I have another award to make tonight, one that I know that even he did not anticipate.

I think that we sometimes underestimate the great role that is played by those who stand by our side, and when we think of Mrs. William Rogers—Adele Rogers, as we know her—when we think of her graciousness through the years, of her superb poise, I think that we all would say that she truly deserved the title of being the First Lady of the Cabinet.

And consequently, tonight, an award is appropriate for her as well. The President's Citizens Medal has only been awarded once before, to Roberto Clemente posthumously, and so the second President's Citizens Medal will be awarded tonight and awarded to one who does not hold a government position, because the Citizens Medal does not go to people who held government positions, but to one who, standing with her husband, has represented this country at home and abroad with such magnificent dignity and poise and grace. I read now the citation:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
AWARDS THIS
PRESIDENTIAL CITIZENS MEDAL
TO
ADELE ROGERS

As the Nation's premiere hostess in foreign affairs, Adele Rogers provided a warmth and charm that helped to humanize the climate of diplomacy in a time of vital American initiatives for peace. Her work as a leader in voluntary action and community affairs among her fellow Cabinet and Foreign Service wives set

an example for millions in a time of widening horizons for American women. The first woman ever honored with this award, her achievements eloquently prove its credo—that a citizen need not hold public office to render far-reaching public service.

That is the first secret the State Department ever kept. [*Laughter*]

Now, we will, however, having awarded the Citizens Medal to Adele Rogers, we will give to Bill Rogers, Secretary Bill Rogers, the opportunity to respond.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:15 p.m. in the East Room at the White House following a dinner honoring the former Secretary of State and his wife.

On the same day, the White House released fact sheets on the two awards.

Mr. Rogers responded as follows:

Mr. President, Pat, distinguished ladies and gentlemen:

I am at a loss for words because I had no inkling this would happen. I don't blame the President for not telling me, but I think my wife must have known, and I resent it.

I listened to what the President had to say about how many speeches I had made, how many conferences I had gone to, and recalling the 25 years we—well, 30 years we have known each other and the many speeches that he has made and many speeches that I have made and the many speeches that Pat has had to listen to and Adele has had to listen to, I think it is a miracle that Pat and Adele still look so young.

I am particularly pleased to be here tonight for obvious reasons and to receive this award, which I will cherish, but particularly because there are so many people here that have meant so much to us over the years. It is a little bit as if it were "This is Your Life," in the grand manner. Mamie Eisenhower meant so much to the President, Pat, and Adele and me, and is certainly one of the most loved women in the world. We are very happy, Mamie, that you are here tonight.

And the Nixon family, and the new Vice President-designate that has been so well received, and we are all so proud of, members of the Cabinet, Chief Justice of the United

States, the many friends, and my own family, many friends I have known for so many years.

So, it has really been, Mr. President, a wonderful evening for us, and I want to thank you and Pat very much for making it what it is. It is an evening we will never forget. I am particularly happy though, to speak more frankly, because you gave that as one of my qualities, that the Chief Justice called me a good man, because I have been concerned recently by reading in the paper that I was an elder statesman.

Now, I am only 60 years old. In fact, I called Nelson Rockefeller and asked him if he thought it was fair that I was designated as an elder statesman, and he said no. As a matter of fact, I am planning to call Ronald Reagan as soon as I have a chance.

And I want to say that going into public life is, of course, different, 4½ years as Secretary of State, going back to private life is different. And one of the things that is somewhat maddening about it is that people come over to you, I think, with the same morbid curiosity they have when they stop at automobile accidents, and say to you, "What are you doing now?"

Well, I will tell you what I am doing now. I am picking a little cotton. And George, I really think that you got a little uptight on that. If you have been in Washington as long as the President and I have been in Washington, you come to realize this. There is not much cotton growing in Washington, but there are an awful lot of cottonpickers.¹

¹ Mr. Rogers was referring to a remark made by Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz on September 14, 1973, at a news briefing held during his trip to Tokyo, Japan, to attend the multilateral trade negotiations. When asked by a reporter for his reaction to statements made by Melvin R. Laird at a White House news briefing on economic policy the day before, Secretary Shultz responded in part: "... I think the President's Adviser on Domestic Affairs should keep his cotton-picking hands off the economic policy for a change."

And I don't really think Mel Laird meant anything by it, he just couldn't stand private life. When he got outside, he couldn't take it. He is a recidivist, really, a political recidivist, and I think that is just part of it.

Well, Mr. President, I again want to thank you very much. Probably the last 4½ years have been the most successful years in foreign affairs that this country has ever experienced, and under your leadership, I think all Americans know that we have had extraordinary progress in the field of foreign affairs. And I think if there is one lasting impression that I gained, particularly from travels abroad, it was that the United States and the American people are respected and admired by almost everyone.

We are criticized, and people find fault with us, and obviously, we have our weaknesses. But basically, I believe that most of the people in the world have a deep respect for the American people, and I think all of us can be proud of the country that we live in.

Mr. President, I have been touched by some of the letters I have received, not the ones you might expect, but so many letters written in longhand by just ordinary people, two or three paragraphs just saying thank you, and I think that is a tribute to the American people that they would take that much trouble to express thanks for people in public life.

And in that spirit, Mr. President, I want to say that it is a great opportunity that you have given to Adele and me, and to all the others who have served with you, great opportunity. Representing the United States is a great honor, representing the people of the United States is a privilege, a great privilege, a privilege that comes to very few people. And with those thoughts in mind, in the spirit of the people, ordinary people who have written letters—and I am sure all of you who serve in the Administration have gotten them—I want to say, for giving Adele and me the opportunity we have had, the honor we have had to represent the United States, and for the privilege we have had of representing the American people, thank you.

298 Statement About the Selection of Henry A. Kissinger
as Corecipient of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1973.
October 16, 1973

I AM sure that all Americans will join me in extending congratulations to Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger upon his richly deserved selection as corecipient of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1973.

By jointly citing Dr. Kissinger and Le Duc Tho, the Nobel committee has also given deserved recognition to the art of negotiation itself in the process of ending a war and laying the groundwork for peace—an art that will be more essential than ever as we seek to build and main-

tain a structure of peace in the world.

It is my most fervent hope that the era of negotiation of the 1970's and the negotiation this award recognizes will be capped by a just and lasting peace in Southeast Asia, in the Mideast, and throughout the world.

NOTE: The President telephoned Secretary Kissinger at the Department of State to express his congratulations and later met with him at the White House.

299 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report
on the International Educational and Cultural
Exchange Program. *October 16, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith the Annual Report on the International Educational and Cultural Exchange Program conducted during fiscal year 1972 by the Department of State under the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961 (Public Law 87-256).

During the past quarter century, the increase in economic and scientific interdependence among nations, the growth of new transnational communities based on common interests and concerns, the global reach of communications and the upsurge in travel have all radically altered the international environment. All these developments make it particularly important that the quality of the participants selected for exchange programs and the nature of their exchange experiences be truly outstanding. Added attention should

also be given to relatively low-cost ways of enhancing the professional and cultural experiences of foreign students and others who come to live and to work in our country.

During this past year, a special effort has been made to foster group exchanges concerning problems we have in common with other countries. At the same time, we are striving to concentrate on the exceptional individual, on the promising young leader or the influential communicator, for example, as well as to develop exchanges that introduce our visitors to America's exceptionally rich ethnic and cultural diversity.

Our exchange programs have proved especially valuable in recent months in our developing relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The American and Soviet peoples

are now working more closely in a wide range of areas—exchanging reactor scientists, sharing research findings in heart disease, cancer, and environmental health, cooperating in nearly 30 environmental projects, collaborating in the use of computers in management and planning joint probes into space. Cultural groups and performing artists are moving between the two countries in increasing numbers. Similar exchanges are occurring with the People's Republic of China. In the past year, Chinese table tennis players, physicians, scientists and acrobats have visited the United States, and businessmen, doctors, journalists, educators, scientists and scholars from this country have gone to China.

Scientific, educational and cultural exchanges between the United States and scores of other countries are also steadily increasing, under both official and unofficial auspices. These exchanges have helped to open new levels of dialogue with present and prospective leaders in much of the world.

A unique feature of the exchange program and a major source of its vitality through the years has been the enthusiastic involvement of thousands of private individuals, associations and businesses in its activities. They have voluntarily given a great deal of their own resources and time and effort to these programs and have thus made the exchange program truly representative of the people of the United States. I gratefully salute those who have taken part in this highly effective form of people-to-people diplomacy.

All of these elements are discussed in greater detail in this Annual Report and I am pleased to commend this document to the thoughtful attention of the Congress.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

October 16, 1973.

NOTE: The report, entitled "International Educational and Cultural Exchange, 1972: A Human Contribution to the Structure of Peace" (25 pp. plus addenda), was published by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State.

300 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Report of the Advisory Council on Intergovernmental Personnel Policy. *October 16, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the Intergovernmental Personnel Act of 1970, I hereby transmit the first report of the Advisory Council on Intergovernmental Personnel Policy.

The members of the Advisory Council include elected public officials, career administrators, labor union leaders, and public administration scholars—people from local, State and Federal governments and from private life. I am sure you will share my pride in the Council and my appreci-

ation for their dedicated effort toward improving the ability of government at all levels to respond to the people's needs.

It is noteworthy that this first report of the Council is submitted in the 90th anniversary year of both the Federal and the New York State merit systems, for in many ways the Intergovernmental Personnel Act of 1970 reaffirms as public policy those merit concepts framed in the Civil Service Act of 1883.

In this report, the Advisory Council has

recommended new ways to simplify the grant-in-aid process and other aspects of intergovernmental relations. It has also suggested means for strengthening the Federal system through improved personnel management at the State and local level. The Council's recommendations, which would place new emphasis on the rights, powers, and responsibilities of State and local governments for the management of their own affairs, are receiving careful consideration. Since the Council's

recommendations could be carried out by the executive branch under its current authority, no draft legislation accompanies the report.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
October 16, 1973.

NOTE: The 89-page report is entitled "More Effective Public Service: The First Report to the President and the Congress by the Advisory Council on Intergovernmental Personnel Policy—January 1973."

301 Remarks Following a Meeting With Arab Foreign Ministers. *October 17, 1973*

Ladies and gentlemen:

The Foreign Ministers and I have had a very good talk discussing all of the aspects of the current situation in the Mideast. I will not go further than that except to say the conversations will continue over at the State Department with Dr. Kissinger, and any statement with regard to the nature of the conversation will be made from Dr. Kissinger.

REPORTER. Will he tell us what was discussed?

THE PRESIDENT. I doubt if there will be a statement, but what I mean is if you have any further questions, you should address them to him.

Q. Will you tell us what general areas were covered?

FOREIGN MINISTER AL-SAQQAF. If I have to say something, we four Foreign Ministers from the Arab world, representing 18 Arab countries, have been received well, and we had a very good exchange of views and discussions with His Excellency, Mr. President Nixon. The meeting and discussions were fruitful, and we think the man who could solve the Vietnam war,

the man who could have settled the peace all over the world, can easily play a good role in settling and having peace in our area of the Middle East.

Q. Did you discuss oil, Mr. Minister?

THE PRESIDENT. It wouldn't be fair to ask him questions because he speaks for 18, and I will simply say this in conclusion: that His Excellency, the Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia, has been very generous in his comments with regard to our peace mission. I explained to the Foreign Ministers that in our first 4 years we had the opening to China, we had a new relationship with the Soviet Union, and of course, we brought an end to the war in Vietnam.

I told them that a major goal and an urgent goal at this time which we believe can, will, and must be achieved is a fair and just and peaceful settlement in the Mideast, and we all are dedicated to that goal. Whatever differences we have are with regard to the means, with regard to, of course, certain ends as well, but the goal of a fair and just and equitable peace we all are dedicated to.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

The remarks followed his meeting with 'Umar al-Saqqaf, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia; Sabah al-Ahmad

al-Jabir al-Sabah, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kuwait; Ahmed Taibi Benhima, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Morocco; and Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Algeria.

302 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the Trade Agreements Program for 1972.

October 17, 1973

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with section 402(a) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (TEA), I transmit herewith the Seventeenth Annual Report of the President on the Trade Agreements Program. This report covers developments in the year ending December 31, 1972.

In the period since I last reported to the Congress on our trade agreements program, we have taken major new initiatives to give strong momentum to closer multilateral cooperation and to develop a fairer and more efficient framework for the conduct of international economic relations. As a result of intense preparatory work throughout 1972, nations accounting for the bulk of world trade, meeting in Tokyo last month, opened a major round of new negotiations to reduce tariff and nontariff barriers to trade and to reform the rules by which all can gain from expanded trade. In the related field of monetary affairs, encouraging progress has been achieved on reform of the international monetary system to provide sound underpinnings for a fairer, more open trading system.

Concurrently with work on these basic longer term objectives, U.S. negotiators also pressed actively in bilateral consultations for the early removal of foreign nontariff barriers which have distorted

normal trade patterns and restricted U.S. exports. The success of these efforts has, in some cases, opened markets where U.S. exporters have competed at a disadvantage for over two decades. In other instances, prompt U.S. assertion of our rights under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade has either deterred the institution of proposed restrictions or resulted in their early termination.

As a result of U.S. representations, our traders are already realizing tangible benefits from the major liberalization of quotas and licensing by Japan and the virtual elimination of Japanese export incentives. Compensatory taxes affecting some \$40 million of U.S. agricultural exports were terminated on 98 percent of the products involved. The reduction or removal of these and other trade distortions demonstrates that sound trade policy and vigorous negotiation can create new and better opportunities for American businesses, farms, and workers.

Consistent with our efforts to strengthen the fabric of common interests between this country and the Soviet Union, we concluded a major agreement last year which lays the basis for the normalization of relations in the trade field. Important initial steps also have been taken to reduce barriers to commercial relations with the People's Republic of China. These devel-

opments open vast opportunities for long-term mutual economic benefit and for the advancement of world peace through the reduction of political tensions. I again urge the Congress, in considering my request for authority to grant normal tariff treatment to these countries, to work with me in framing an authority which preserves these gains.

While we may justifiably be encouraged by our achievements in trade and monetary negotiations since 1971 and by the reversal of the downward trend in our merchandise trade balance, we must not underestimate the magnitude and complexity of the tasks ahead. The multilateral trade negotiations which have just been opened are a fundamental building block in the foundation of a new world politico-economic structure. The stakes are thus high and the bargaining will be intense.

To realize our objectives in the trade field, I sent to the Congress last April proposals for new legislation entitled the Trade Reform Act of 1973. In my statement of October 4, I expressed my views on the bill which was approved by the House Ways and Means Committee. As

legislative deliberation continues, I look forward to working with the Congress on this bill in a spirit of constructive partnership.

The profound changes which have taken place in the world economy and the impact of growing economic interdependence on political relations among nations is now clearly recognized. While formidable problems exist in the trade area and while countries still differ widely on some of the important issues, the will now exists to negotiate the necessary far-reaching changes instead of resorting to confrontation or retaliatory measures which generate political frictions. We, like other nations, will be hard bargainers, but with a shared spirit of mutual commitment to a more open and equitable trading system, the entire world can progress toward a new era of economic well-being and peaceful international relations.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

October 17, 1973.

NOTE: The 53-page report is entitled "Seventeenth Annual Report of the President of the United States on the Trade Agreements Program—1972."

303 Special Message to the Congress Requesting Emergency Security Assistance Funding for Israel and Cambodia. *October 19, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am today requesting that the Congress authorize emergency security assistance of \$2.2 billion for Israel and \$200 million for Cambodia. This request is necessary to permit the United States to follow a responsible course of action in two areas where stability is vital if we are to build a global structure of peace.

For more than a quarter of a century, as strategic interests of the major powers have converged there, the Middle East has been a flashpoint for potential world conflict. Since war broke out again on October 6, bringing tragedy to the people of Israel and the Arab nations alike, the United States has been actively engaged in efforts to contribute to a settlement.

Our actions there have reflected my belief that we must take those steps which are necessary for maintaining a balance of military capabilities and achieving stability in the area. The request I am submitting today would give us the essential flexibility to continue meeting those responsibilities.

To maintain a balance of forces and thus achieve stability, the United States Government is currently providing military material to Israel to replace combat losses. This is necessary to prevent the emergence of a substantial imbalance resulting from a large-scale resupply of Syria and Egypt by the Soviet Union.

The costs of replacing consumables and lost equipment for the Israeli Armed Forces have been extremely high. Combat activity has been intense, and losses on both sides have been large. During the first 12 days of the conflict, the United States has authorized shipments to Israel of material costing \$825 million, including transportation.

Major items now being furnished by the United States to the Israeli forces include conventional munitions of many types, air-to-air and air-to-ground missiles, artillery, crew-served and individual weapons, and a standard range of fighter aircraft ordnance. Additionally, the United States is providing replacements for tanks, aircraft, radios, and other military equipment which have been lost in action.

Thus far, Israel has attempted to obtain the necessary equipment through the use of cash and credit purchases. However, the magnitude of the current conflict coupled with the scale of Soviet supply activities has created needs which exceed Israel's capacity to continue with cash and credit purchases. The alternative to

cash and credit sales of United States military materials is for us to provide Israel with grant military assistance as well.

The United States is making every effort to bring this conflict to a very swift and honorable conclusion, measured in days not weeks. But prudent planning also requires us to prepare for a longer struggle. I am therefore requesting that the Congress approve emergency assistance to Israel in the amount of \$2.2 billion. If the conflict moderates, or as we fervently hope, is brought to an end very quickly, funds not absolutely required would of course not be expended.

I am also requesting \$200 million emergency assistance for Cambodia. As in the case of Israel, additional funds are urgently needed for ammunition and consumable military supplies. The increased requirement results from the larger scale of hostilities and the higher levels of ordnance required by the Cambodian Army and Air Force to defend themselves without American air support.

The end of United States bombing on August 15 was followed by increased communist activity in Cambodia. In the ensuing fight, the Cambodian forces acquitted themselves well. They successfully defended the capital of Phnom Penh and the provincial center of Kampong Cham, as well as the principal supply routes. Although this more intense level of fighting has tapered off somewhat during the current rainy season, it is virtually certain to resume when the dry season begins about the end of the year.

During the period of heaviest fighting in August and September, ammunition costs for the Cambodian forces were running almost \$1 million per day. We anticipate similar average costs for the re-

mainder of this fiscal year. These ammunition requirements, plus minimum equipment replacement, will result in a total funding requirement of \$380 million for the current fiscal year, rather than the \$180 million previously requested. To fail to provide the \$200 million for additional ammunition would deny the Cambodian Armed Forces the ability to defend themselves and their country.

We remain hopeful that the conflict in Cambodia be resolved by a negotiated settlement. A communist military victory and the installation of a government in Phnom Penh which is controlled by Hanoi

would gravely threaten the fragile structure of peace established in the Paris agreements.

I am confident that the Congress and the American people will support this request for emergency assistance for these two beleaguered friends. To do less would not only create a dangerous imbalance in these particular arenas but would also endanger the entire structure of peace in the world.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
October 19, 1973.

304 Statement on Signing the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Amendments of 1973. *October 19, 1973*

I AM pleased to sign today S. 795, a measure extending for 3 years the authorization for the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities.

Government has a vital role to play in encouraging the arts and humanities in our national life, and this Administration has continually reaffirmed its commitment to the fulfillment of that role through the National Foundation.

The purpose of the Foundation is not to alter the role of private patronage in the arts and humanities, but rather to supplement, stimulate, and extend that role. The Federal Government should do its part in supporting cultural activities—and appropriations for the Foundation have increased almost sixfold since I took office—but this increased emphasis on Federal assistance should be joined by private as well as State and local efforts.

The highest expression of the quality of

a nation is found in the development of its arts and refinement of its humanistic concerns. For this development to reach its full potential, it must be the expression of a whole people, and it must be available for the enjoyment of the whole people. That was the lesson of Athens. That was the rationale for the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities.

As a result of the increased breadth of artistic and humanistic endeavors made possible through Federal assistance, the benefit of these endeavors has been made available to larger and larger numbers of people throughout the country.

As we approach the Bicentennial anniversary, the National Foundation will have an increasingly important role to play in helping to represent to the Nation and the world the richness and diversity of our artistic and cultural heritage. The passage of this bill, with the bipartisan

cooperation of the Congress and the executive branch, reemphasizes the faith of our Nation's leadership in the ability of the National Foundation on the Arts and the

Humanities to inspire and enhance the fullest expression of that heritage.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 795 is Public Law 93-133 (87 Stat. 461).

305 Statement Announcing Procedures for Providing Information From Presidential Tape Recordings. *October 19, 1973*

FOR a number of months, there has been a strain imposed on the American people by the aftermath of Watergate, and the inquiries into and court suits arising out of that incident. Increasing apprehension over the possibility of a constitutional confrontation in the tapes cases has become especially damaging.

Our Government, like our Nation, must remain strong and effective. What matters most, in this critical hour, is our ability to act—and to act in a way that enables us to control events, not to be paralyzed and overwhelmed by them. At home, the Watergate issue has taken on overtones of a partisan political contest. Concurrently, there are those in the international community who may be tempted by our Watergate-related difficulties at home to misread America's unity and resolve in meeting the challenges we confront abroad.

I have concluded that it is necessary to take decisive actions that will avoid any possibility of a constitutional crisis and that will lay the groundwork upon which we can assure unity of purpose at home and end the temptation abroad to test our resolve.

It is with this awareness that I have considered the decision of the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. I am confident that the dissenting opinions, which are in accord with what until now

has always been regarded as the law, would be sustained upon review by the Supreme Court. I have concluded, however, that it is not in the national interest to leave this matter unresolved for the period that might be required for a review by the highest court.

Throughout this week, the Attorney General, Elliot Richardson, at my instance, has been holding discussions with Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox, looking to the possibility of a compromise that would avoid the necessity of Supreme Court review. With the greatest reluctance, I have concluded that in this one instance, I must permit a breach in the confidentiality that is so necessary to the conduct of the Presidency. Accordingly, the Attorney General made what he regarded as a reasonable proposal for compromise and one that goes beyond what any President in history has offered. It was a proposal that would comply with the spirit of the decision of the court of appeals. It would have allowed justice to proceed undiverted, while maintaining the principle of an independent executive branch. It would have given the Special Prosecutor the information he claims he needs for use in the grand jury. It would also have resolved any lingering thought that the President himself might have been involved in a Watergate coverup.

The proposal was that, as quickly as

the materials could be prepared, there would be submitted to Judge Sirica, through a statement prepared by me personally from the subpoenaed tapes, a full disclosure of everything contained in those tapes that has any bearing on Watergate. The authenticity of this summary would be assured by giving unlimited access to the tapes to a very distinguished man, highly respected by all elements in American life for his integrity, his fairness, and his patriotism, so that that man could satisfy himself that the statement prepared by me did indeed include fairly and accurately anything on the tapes that might be regarded as related to Watergate. In return, so that the constitutional tensions of Watergate would not be continued, it would be understood that there would be no further attempt by the Special Prosecutor to subpoena still more tapes or other Presidential papers of a similar nature.

I am pleased to be able to say that Chairman Sam Ervin and Vice Chairman Howard Baker of the Senate Select Committee have agreed to this procedure and that at their request, and mine, Senator John Stennis has consented to listen to every requested tape and verify that the statement I am preparing is full and accurate. Some may ask why, if I am willing to let Senator Stennis hear the tapes for this purpose, I am not willing merely to submit them to the court for inspection in private. I do so out of no lack of respect for Judge Sirica, in whose discretion and integrity I have the utmost confidence, but because to allow the tapes to be heard by one judge would create a precedent that would be available to 400 district judges. Further, it would create a precedent that Presidents are required to

submit to judicial demands that purport to override Presidential determinations on requirements for confidentiality.

To my regret, the Special Prosecutor rejected this proposal. Nevertheless, it is my judgment that in the present circumstances and existing international environment, it is in the overriding national interest that a constitutional confrontation on this issue be avoided. I have, therefore, instructed White House Counsel not to seek Supreme Court review from the decision of the court of appeals. At the same time, I will voluntarily make available to Judge Sirica—and also to the Senate Select Committee—a statement of the Watergate-related portions of the tapes, prepared and authenticated in the fashion I have described.

I want to repeat that I have taken this step with the greatest reluctance, only to bring the issue of Watergate tapes to an end and to assure our full attention to more pressing business affecting the very security of the Nation. Accordingly, though I have not wished to intrude upon the independence of the Special Prosecutor, I have felt it necessary to direct him, as an employee of the executive branch, to make no further attempts by judicial process to obtain tapes, notes, or memoranda of Presidential conversations. I believe that with the statement that will be provided to the court, any legitimate need of the Special Prosecutor is fully satisfied and that he can proceed to obtain indictments against those who may have committed any crimes. And I believe that by these actions I have taken today, America will be spared the anguish of further indecision and litigation about tapes.

Our constitutional history reflects not

only the language and inferences of that great document, but also the choices of clash and accommodation made by responsible leaders at critical moments. Under the Constitution, it is the duty of the President to see that the laws of the Nation are faithfully executed. My actions today are in accordance with that duty,

and in that spirit of accommodation.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a statement by Deputy Press Secretary Gerald L. Warren, providing additional information about the release of the President's statement. The statement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 1265).

306 National Film Day Message.

October 20, 1973

ON TUESDAY, October 23, the Nation will observe the first annual National Film Day. No art form is more deeply rooted in America than the film; none has been more greatly enriched by the work of American artists.

Motion picture companies, theater owners and film makers across the country are holding this event to serve a two-fold purpose—to call attention to the contribution the motion picture has made to America's cultural history and to provide support for the American Film Institute, the national organization that serves as

custodian of our film heritage by preserving the Nation's film classics at the Library of Congress and by training the promising young film makers of tomorrow.

Over the years we have all shared in the beauty, the joy and the inspiration that have characterized American motion pictures at their best. I am sure that I speak for millions of Americans in paying tribute to this outstanding profession of the arts on the occasion of National Film Day.

RICHARD NIXON

307 Statement on the Death of Norman Chandler.

October 20, 1973

A CLOSE FRIEND, a worthy citizen, and an honest, forthright leader in the communications field, Norman Chandler will be missed by all Americans.

His good works and his newspaper will serve as monuments to his life, but his personal qualities—his warmth, dignity, and devotion to others—will not be easily replaced. I will always remember him as one of the finest gentlemen I have ever known.

Mrs. Nixon joins me today in grieving the death of Norman Chandler. To his wife, Dorothy, and to his two children, we extend our deep condolences. They will take great pride in the life he lived, because he served so many others before himself.

NOTE: Mr. Chandler, 74, died in Los Angeles, Calif. He was a former publisher of the Los Angeles Times and chairman of the executive committee, Times Mirror Co.

308 Letter Accepting the Resignation of Elliot L. Richardson as Attorney General. *October 20, 1973*

Dear Elliot:

It is with the deepest regret and with an understanding of the circumstances which brought you to your decision that I accept your resignation.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Elliot L. Richardson, The Attorney General, Justice Department, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The text of Attorney General Richardson's letter of resignation, dated October 20, 1973, and released with the President's letter, read as follows:

Dear Mr. President:

It is with deep regret that I have been obliged to conclude that circumstances leave me no alternative to the submission of my resignation as Attorney General of the United States.

At the time you appointed me, you gave me the authority to name a special prosecutor if I should consider it appropriate. A few days before my confirmation hearing began, I announced that I would, if confirmed, "appoint a special prosecutor and give him all the independence, authority, and staff support needed to carry out the tasks entrusted to him." I added, "Although he will be in the Department of Justice and report to me—and only to me—he will be aware that his ultimate accountability is to the American people."

At many points throughout the nomination hearings, I reaffirmed my intention to assure the independence of the special prosecutor, and in my statement of his duties and responsibilities, I specified that he would have "full authority" for "determining whether or not to contest the assertion of 'Executive Privilege' or any other testimonial privilege." And while the special prosecutor can be removed from office for "extraordinary improprieties," I also

pledged that "The Attorney General will not countermand or interfere with the Special Prosecutor's decisions or actions."

While I fully respect the reasons that have led you to conclude that the Special Prosecutor must be discharged, I trust that you understand that I could not in the light of these firm and repeated commitments carry out your direction that this be done. In the circumstances, therefore, I feel that I have no choice but to resign.

In leaving your Administration, I take with me lasting gratitude for the opportunities you have given me to serve under your leadership in a number of important posts. It has been a privilege to share in your efforts to make the structure of world peace more stable and the structure of our own government more responsive. I believe profoundly in the rightness and importance of those efforts, and I trust that they will meet with increasing success in the remaining years of your Presidency.

Respectfully,

ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON

[The President, The White House]

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of remarks by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler announcing the discharge of the Special Prosecutor, abolition of the Office of Watergate Special Prosecution Force, and the resignations of Mr. Richardson and Deputy Attorney General William D. Ruckelshaus. The remarks are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 1271).

On October 23, 1973, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing containing information on the events of October 20 by Charles Alan Wright, consultant to the Counsel to the President, and Alexander M. Haig, Jr., Assistant to the President. The news briefing is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 1275).

309 Letter Directing the Acting Attorney General To
Discharge the Director of the Office of Watergate
Special Prosecution Force. *October 20, 1973*

Dear Mr. Bork:

I have today accepted the resignations of Attorney General Richardson and Deputy Attorney General Ruckelshaus. In accordance with Title 28, Section 508(b) of the United States Code and of Title 28, Section 0.132(a) of the Code of Federal Regulations, it is now incumbent upon you to perform both the duties as Solicitor General, and duties of and act as Attorney General.

In his press conference today Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox made it apparent that he will not comply with the instruction I issued to him, through Attorney General Richardson, yesterday. Clearly the Government of the United States cannot function if employees of the Executive Branch are free to ignore in this fashion the instructions of the President. Accordingly, in your capacity of Acting

Attorney General, I direct you to discharge Mr. Cox immediately and to take all steps necessary to return to the Department of Justice the functions now being performed by the Watergate Special Prosecution Force.

It is my expectation that the Department of Justice will continue with full vigor the investigations and prosecutions that had been entrusted to the Watergate Special Prosecution Force.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Robert H. Bork, The Acting Attorney General, Justice Department, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The text of Acting Attorney General Bork's letter discharging Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox, dated August 20, 1973, and released with the President's letter, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 1272).

310 Veto of the United States Information Agency
Appropriations Authorization Bill. *October 23, 1973*

To the Senate of the United States:

I am returning today without my approval S. 1317, the United States Information Agency Appropriations Authorization Act of 1973.

The major purpose of this bill is to authorize appropriations for operation of the USIA during fiscal year 1974. Unfortunately, however, the Congress has injected a separate issue which, in good conscience, I must oppose.

Traditionally, when it is deemed neces-

sary for a Department or Agency to withhold certain confidential information that has been requested by the Congress, the President issues a directive or statement prohibiting the disclosure of such information and explaining the reasons for his action. The two branches then explore means of compromise by which data can be supplied in a way that is consistent with the constitutional obligations of each branch.

Section 4 of S. 1317 ignores this prece-

dent. Instead, it would penalize the USIA with a possible cut-off of funds if it failed to meet a demand for confidential internal information made by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations or the House Committee on Foreign Affairs—however unreasonable that demand might be.

The Justice Department has advised me that section 4 is an unconstitutional attempt on the part of the Congress to undermine the President's constitutional responsibility to withhold the disclosure of information when, in his judgment, such disclosure would be contrary to the public interest. From George Washington on, my predecessors have defended this Presidential responsibility, recognizing that the traditional division of powers and comity between the executive and legislative branches must be maintained. I intend to do no less.

A practical effect of section 4 would be to restrict the USIA access to sensitive foreign policy information essential to carrying out its mission. The Agency could also be forced to disclose internal documents and working papers which do not represent approved policy. Failure of the Congress to respect the confidentiality of such papers would prevent a free and frank exchange of views within the USIA and between it and other parts of the executive branch—an exchange that is vital if the USIA is to function as an effective arm of American foreign policy.

This Administration has invoked Executive privilege to withhold information only in the most compelling circumstances and only after thorough, thoughtful evaluation of the facts. As evidence of our good faith, the USIA has complied as

fully as possible with every Congressional request for information during the authorization and appropriations hearings this year, and will continue to do so. For example, it provided the Senate Foreign Relations Committee alone with detailed answers to more than one hundred substantive questions prior to this year's authorization hearings.

If a President failed to take a stand in this instance to protect the division of powers and uphold the doctrine of Executive privilege, the door would be opened to even more serious encroachments on the constitutional system. Already, provisions similar to those in section 4 are contained in two vital bills at very advanced stages in the legislative process—S. 2335, the economic foreign assistance authorization bill, and S. 1443, the security assistance authorization bill.

The issue at stake is simple. It involves far more than the confidential documents of the USIA or our other foreign affairs and national security agencies. Rather, it involves the preservation of the basic ability of the executive branch to continue to function and perform the responsibilities assigned to it by the Constitution. Unless privacy in the preliminary exchange of views between personnel of the Executive agencies can be maintained, the healthy expression of opinion and the frank, forthright interplay of ideas that are essential to sound policy and effective administration cannot survive.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
October 23, 1973.

NOTE: The Senate sustained the President's veto on October 30, 1973.

311 Veto of the War Powers Resolution. *October 24, 1973*

To the House of Representatives:

I hereby return without my approval House Joint Resolution 542—the War Powers Resolution. While I am in accord with the desire of the Congress to assert its proper role in the conduct of our foreign affairs, the restrictions which this resolution would impose upon the authority of the President are both unconstitutional and dangerous to the best interests of our Nation.

The proper roles of the Congress and the Executive in the conduct of foreign affairs have been debated since the founding of our country. Only recently, however, has there been a serious challenge to the wisdom of the Founding Fathers in choosing not to draw a precise and detailed line of demarcation between the foreign policy powers of the two branches.

The Founding Fathers understood the impossibility of foreseeing every contingency that might arise in this complex area. They acknowledged the need for flexibility in responding to changing circumstances. They recognized that foreign policy decisions must be made through close cooperation between the two branches and not through rigidly codified procedures.

These principles remain as valid today as they were when our Constitution was written. Yet House Joint Resolution 542 would violate those principles by defining the President's powers in ways which would strictly limit his constitutional authority.

CLEARLY UNCONSTITUTIONAL

House Joint Resolution 542 would attempt to take away, by a mere legislative act, authorities which the President has properly exercised under the Constitution for almost 200 years. One of its provisions would automatically cut off certain authorities after sixty days unless the Congress extended them. Another would allow the Congress to eliminate certain authorities merely by the passage of a concurrent resolution—an action which does not normally have the force of law, since it denies the President his constitutional role in approving legislation.

I believe that both these provisions are unconstitutional. The only way in which the constitutional powers of a branch of the Government can be altered is by amending the Constitution—and any attempt to make such alterations by legislation alone is clearly without force.

UNDERMINING OUR FOREIGN POLICY

While I firmly believe that a veto of House Joint Resolution 542 is warranted solely on constitutional grounds, I am also deeply disturbed by the practical consequences of this resolution. For it would seriously undermine this Nation's ability to act decisively and convincingly in times of international crisis. As a result, the confidence of our allies in our ability to assist them could be diminished and the respect of our adversaries for our deter-

rent posture could decline. A permanent and substantial element of unpredictability would be injected into the world's assessment of American behavior, further increasing the likelihood of miscalculation and war.

If this resolution had been in operation, America's effective response to a variety of challenges in recent years would have been vastly complicated or even made impossible. We may well have been unable to respond in the way we did during the Berlin crisis of 1961, the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, the Congo rescue operation in 1964, and the Jordanian crisis of 1970—to mention just a few examples. In addition, our recent actions to bring about a peaceful settlement of the hostilities in the Middle East would have been seriously impaired if this resolution had been in force.

While all the specific consequences of House Joint Resolution 542 cannot yet be predicted, it is clear that it would undercut the ability of the United States to act as an effective influence for peace. For example, the provision automatically cutting off certain authorities after 60 days unless they are extended by the Congress could work to prolong or intensify a crisis. Until the Congress suspended the deadline, there would be at least a chance of United States withdrawal and an adversary would be tempted therefore to postpone serious negotiations until the 60 days were up. Only after the Congress acted would there be a strong incentive for an adversary to negotiate. In addition, the very existence of a deadline could lead to an escalation of hostilities in order to achieve certain objectives before the 60 days expired.

The measure would jeopardize our role as a force for peace in other ways as well.

It would, for example, strike from the President's hand a wide range of important peace-keeping tools by eliminating his ability to exercise quiet diplomacy backed by subtle shifts in our military deployments. It would also cast into doubt authorities which Presidents have used to undertake certain humanitarian relief missions in conflict areas, to protect fishing boats from seizure, to deal with ship or aircraft hijackings, and to respond to threats of attack. Not the least of the adverse consequences of this resolution would be the prohibition contained in section 8 against fulfilling our obligations under the NATO treaty as ratified by the Senate. Finally, since the bill is somewhat vague as to when the 60 day rule would apply, it could lead to extreme confusion and dangerous disagreements concerning the prerogatives of the two branches, seriously damaging our ability to respond to international crises.

FAILURE TO REQUIRE POSITIVE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

I am particularly disturbed by the fact that certain of the President's constitutional powers as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces would terminate automatically under this resolution 60 days after they were invoked. No overt Congressional action would be required to cut off these powers—they would disappear automatically unless the Congress extended them. In effect, the Congress is here attempting to increase its policy-making role through a provision which requires it to take absolutely no action at all.

In my view, the proper way for the Congress to make known its will on such foreign policy questions is through a posi-

tive action, with full debate on the merits of the issue and with each member taking the responsibility of casting a yes or no vote after considering those merits. The authorization and appropriations process represents one of the ways in which such influence can be exercised. I do not, however, believe that the Congress can responsibly contribute its considered, collective judgment on such grave questions without full debate and without a yes or no vote. Yet this is precisely what the joint resolution would allow. It would give every future Congress the ability to handcuff every future President merely by doing nothing and sitting still. In my view, one cannot become a responsible partner unless one is prepared to take responsible action.

STRENGTHENING COOPERATION BETWEEN THE CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE BRANCHES

The responsible and effective exercise of the war powers requires the fullest cooperation between the Congress and the Executive and the prudent fulfillment by each branch of its constitutional responsibilities. House Joint Resolution 542 includes certain constructive measures which would foster this process by enhancing the flow of information from the executive branch to the Congress. Section 3, for example, calls for consultations with the Congress before and during the involvement of the United States forces in hostilities abroad. This provision is consistent with the desire of this Administration for regularized consultations with the Congress in an even wider range of circumstances.

I believe that full and cooperative par-

ticipation in foreign policy matters by both the executive and the legislative branches could be enhanced by a careful and dispassionate study of their constitutional roles. Helpful proposals for such a study have already been made in the Congress. I would welcome the establishment of a non-partisan commission on the constitutional roles of the Congress and the President in the conduct of foreign affairs. This commission could make a thorough review of the principal constitutional issues in Executive-Congressional relations, including the war powers, the international agreement powers, and the question of Executive privilege, and then submit its recommendations to the President and the Congress. The members of such a commission could be drawn from both parties—and could represent many perspectives including those of the Congress, the executive branch, the legal profession, and the academic community.

This Administration is dedicated to strengthening cooperation between the Congress and the President in the conduct of foreign affairs and to preserving the constitutional prerogatives of both branches of our Government. I know that the Congress shares that goal. A commission on the constitutional roles of the Congress and the President would provide a useful opportunity for both branches to work together toward that common objective.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

October 24, 1973.

NOTE: On November 7, 1973, the House of Representatives and the Senate voted to override the President's veto. As enacted, H. J. Res. 542 is Public Law 93-148 (87 Stat. 555), which became law without the President's signature on November 7.

312 The President's News Conference of
October 26, 1973

THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] Ladies and gentlemen, before going to your questions, I have a statement with regard to the Mideast which I think will anticipate some of the questions, because this will update the information which is breaking rather fast in that area, as you know, for the past 2 days.

The cease-fire is holding. There have been some violations, but generally speaking it can be said that it is holding at this time. As you know, as a result of the U.N. resolution which was agreed to yesterday by a vote of 14 to 0, a peacekeeping force will go to the Mideast, and this force, however, will not include any forces from the major powers, including, of course, the United States and the Soviet Union.

The question, however, has arisen as to whether observers from major powers could go to the Mideast. My up-to-the-minute report on that, and I just talked to Dr. Kissinger 5 minutes before coming down, is this: We will send observers to the Mideast if requested by the Secretary General of the United Nations, and we have reason to expect that we will receive such a request.

With regard to the peacekeeping force, I think it is important for all of you ladies and gentlemen, and particularly for those listening on radio and television, to know why the United States has insisted that major powers not be part of the peacekeeping force and that major powers not introduce military forces into the Mideast. A very significant and potentially explosive crisis developed on Wednesday of

this week. We obtained information which led us to believe that the Soviet Union was planning to send a very substantial force into the Mideast, a military force.

When I received that information, I ordered, shortly after midnight on Thursday morning, an alert for all American forces around the world. This was a precautionary alert. The purpose of that was to indicate to the Soviet Union that we could not accept any unilateral move on their part to move military forces into the Mideast. At the same time, in the early morning hours, I also proceeded on the diplomatic front. In a message to Mr. Brezhnev—an urgent message—I indicated to him our reasoning, and I urged that we not proceed along that course and that, instead, we join in the United Nations in supporting a resolution which would exclude any major powers from participating in a peacekeeping force.

As a result of that communication and the return that I received from Mr. Brezhnev—we had several exchanges, I should say—we reached the conclusion that we would jointly support the resolution which was adopted in the United Nations.

We now come, of course, to the critical time in terms of the future of the Mideast. And here, the outlook is far more hopeful than what we have been through this past week. I think I could safely say that the chances for not just a cease-fire—which we presently have and which, of course, we have had in the Mideast for some time—but the outlook for a permanent peace is the best that it has been in 20 years.

The reason for this is that the two

major powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, have agreed—this was one of the results of Dr. Kissinger's trip to Moscow¹—have agreed that we would participate in trying to expedite the talks between the parties involved. That does not mean that the two major powers will impose a settlement. It does mean, however, that we will use our influence with the nations in the area to expedite a settlement.

The reason we feel this is important is that first, from the standpoint of the nations in the Mideast, none of them—Israel, Egypt, Syria, none of them—can or should go through the agony of another war.

The losses in this war on both sides have been very, very high. And the tragedy must not occur again. There have been four of these wars, as you ladies and gentlemen know, over the past 20 years. But beyond that, it is vitally important to the peace of the world that this potential trouble spot, which is really one of the most potentially explosive areas in the world, that it not become an area in which the major powers come together in confrontation.

What the developments of this week should indicate to all of us is that the United States and the Soviet Union, who admittedly have very different objectives in the Mideast, have now agreed that it is not in their interest to have a confrontation there, a confrontation which might lead to a nuclear confrontation, and

neither of the two major powers wants that.

We have agreed, also, that if we are to avoid that, it is necessary for us to use our influence more than we have in the past, to get the negotiating track moving again, but this time, moving to a conclusion—not simply a temporary truce but a permanent peace.

I do not mean to suggest that it is going to come quickly, because the parties involved are still rather far apart. But I do say that now there are greater incentives within the area to find a peaceful solution, and there are enormous incentives as far as the United States is concerned, and the Soviet Union and other major powers, to find such a solution.

Turning now to the subject of our attempts to get a cease-fire on the home front, that is a bit more difficult.

PRESIDENTIAL TAPE RECORDINGS

[2.] Today, White House Counsel contacted Judge Sirica—we tried yesterday, but he was in Boston, as you know—and arrangements were made to meet with Judge Sirica on Tuesday to work out the delivery of the tapes to Judge Sirica.²

¹ On October 20, 1973, the White House announced that, at the request of the Soviet Government, the President had agreed to send Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger to visit Moscow for direct discussions with the Soviet leadership on means to end hostilities in the Middle East.

² On October 23, 1973, Charles Alan Wright, consultant to the Counsel to the President, announced before Judge John J. Sirica in the U.S. District Court that "the President of the United States would comply in all respects with the order of August 29 as modified by the order of the court of appeals." Later the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing containing information on the President's decision to turn the tape recordings over to Judge Sirica. Participants in the news briefing were Mr. Wright and Alexander M. Haig, Jr., Assistant to the President. The news briefing is printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 9, p. 1275).

WATERGATE SPECIAL PROSECUTOR

[3.] Also, in consultations that we have had in the White House today, we have decided that next week the Acting Attorney General, Mr. Bork, will appoint a new Special Prosecutor for what is called the Watergate matter. The Special Prosecutor will have independence. He will have total cooperation from the executive branch, and he will have as his primary responsibility to bring this matter which has so long concerned the American people, bring it to an expeditious conclusion, because we have to remember that under our Constitution, it has always been held that justice delayed is justice denied. It is time for those who are guilty to be prosecuted and for those who are innocent to be cleared. And I can assure you ladies and gentlemen, and all of our listeners tonight, that I have no greater interest than to see that the new Special Prosecutor has the cooperation from the executive branch and the independence that he needs to bring about that conclusion.

QUESTIONS

THE SPECIAL PROSECUTOR

[4.] And now I will go to Mr. Cormier [Frank Cormier, Associated Press].

Q. Mr. President, would the new Special Prosecutor have your go-ahead to go to court if necessary to obtain evidence from your files that he felt were vital?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Cormier, I would anticipate that that would not be necessary. I believe that as we look at the events which led to the dismissal of Mr. Cox, we find that these are matters that can be worked out and should be worked out in cooperation and not by having a

suit filed by a Special Prosecutor within the executive branch against the President of the United States.

This, incidentally, is not a new attitude on the part of a President. Every President since George Washington has tried to protect the confidentiality of Presidential conversations, and you remember the famous case involving Thomas Jefferson where Chief Justice Marshall, then sitting as a trial judge, subpoenaed the letter which Jefferson had written which Marshall thought or felt was necessary evidence in the trial of Aaron Burr. Jefferson refused to do so, but it did not result in a suit. What happened was, of course, a compromise in which a summary of the contents of the letter which was relevant to the trial was produced by Jefferson, and the Chief Justice of the United States, acting in his capacity as Chief Justice, accepted that.

That is exactly, of course, what we tried to do in this instant case.

I think it would be well if I could take just a moment, Mr. Cormier, in answering your question to point out what we tried to do and why we feel it was the proper solution to a very aggravating and difficult problem.

The matter of the tapes has been one that has concerned me because of my feeling that I have a constitutional responsibility to defend the Office of the Presidency from any encroachments on confidentiality which might affect future Presidents in their abilities to conduct the kind of conversations and discussions they need to conduct to carry on the responsibilities of this office. And of course, the Special Prosecutor felt that he needed the tapes for the purpose of his prosecution.

That was why, working with the Attorney General, we worked out what we

thought was an acceptable compromise, one in which Judge Stennis, now Senator Stennis, would hear the tapes and would provide a complete and full disclosure, not only to Judge Sirica but also to the Senate committee.

Attorney General Richardson approved of this proposition. Senator Baker, Senator Ervin approved of the proposition. Mr. Cox was the only one that rejected it.

Under the circumstances, when he rejected it and indicated that despite the approval of the Attorney General, of course, of the President, and of the two major Senators on the Ervin committee, when he rejected the proposal, I had no choice but to dismiss him.

Under those circumstances, Mr. Richardson, Mr. Ruckelshaus felt that because of the nature of their confirmation that their commitment to Mr. Cox had to take precedence over any commitment they might have to carry out an order from the President.

Under those circumstances, I accepted with regret the resignations of two fine public servants.

Now we come to a new Special Prosecutor. We will cooperate with him, and I do not anticipate that we will come to the time when he would consider it necessary to take the President to court. I think our cooperation will be adequate.

Q. This is perhaps another way of asking Frank's question, but if the Special Prosecutor considers that information contained in Presidential documents is needed to prosecute the Watergate case, will you give him the documents, beyond the nine tapes which you have already given him?

THE PRESIDENT. I have answered that question before. We will not provide Pres-

idential documents to a Special Prosecutor. We will provide, as we have in great numbers, all kinds of documents from the White House, but if it is a document involving a conversation with the President, I would have to stand on the principle of confidentiality. However, information that is needed from such documents would be provided. That is what we have been trying to do.

Q. Mr. President, you know in the Congress there is a great deal of suspicion over any arrangement which will permit the executive branch to investigate itself or which will establish a Special Prosecutor which you may fire again. And 53 Senators, a majority, have now cosponsored a resolution which would permit Judge Sirica to establish and name an independent prosecutor, separate and apart from the White House and the executive branch. Do you believe this arrangement would be constitutional, and would you go along with it?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I would suggest that the action that we are going to take, appointing a Special Prosecutor, would be satisfactory to the Congress and that they would not proceed with that particular matter.

THOUGHTS ON QUESTIONS OF IMPEACHMENT OR RESIGNATION

[5.] Mr. Rather [Dan Rather, CBS News].

Q. Mr. President, I wonder if you could share with us your thoughts, tell us what goes through your mind when you hear people, people who love this country and people who believe in you, say reluctantly that perhaps you should resign or be impeached.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I am glad we don't take the vote of this room, let me say. And I understand the feelings of people with regard to impeachment and resignation. As a matter of fact, Mr. Rather, you may remember that when I made the rather difficult decision—I thought the most difficult decision of my first term—on December 18, the bombing by B-52's of North Vietnam, that exactly the same words were used on the networks—I don't mean by you, but they were quoted on the networks—that were used now: tyrant, dictator, he has lost his senses, he should resign, he should be impeached.

But I stuck it out, and as a result of that, we not only got our prisoners of war home, as I have often said, on their feet rather than on their knees, but we brought peace to Vietnam, something we haven't had and didn't for over 12 years.

It was a hard decision, and it was one that many of my friends in the press who had consistently supported me on the war up to that time disagreed with. Now, in this instance I realize there are people who feel that the actions that I have taken with regard to the dismissal of Mr. Cox are grounds for impeachment.

I would respectfully suggest that even Mr. Cox and Mr. Richardson have agreed that the President had the right, constitutional right, to dismiss anybody in the Federal Government. And second, I should also point out that as far as the tapes are concerned, rather than being in defiance of the law, I am in compliance with the law.

As far as what goes through my mind, I would simply say that I intend to continue to carry out, to the best of my ability, the responsibilities I was elected to carry out last November. The events of

this past week—I know, for example, in your head office in New York, some thought that it was simply a blown-up exercise; there wasn't a real crisis. I wish it had been that. It was a real crisis. It was the most difficult crisis we have had since the Cuban confrontation of 1962.

But because we had had our initiative with the Soviet Union, because I had a basis of communication with Mr. Brezhnev, we not only avoided a confrontation but we moved a great step forward toward real peace in the Mideast.

Now, as long as I can carry out that kind of responsibility, I am going to continue to do this job.

MOTIVES OF MR. COX

[6.] Mr. Lisagor [Peter Lisagor, Chicago Daily News].

Q. There have been reports that you felt that Mr. Cox was somehow out to get you. I would like to ask you if you did feel that, and if so, what evidence did you have?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Lisagor, I understand Mr. Cox is going to testify next week under oath before the Judiciary Committee, and I would suggest that he perhaps would be better qualified to answer that question.

As far as I am concerned, we had cooperated with the Special Prosecutor. We tried to work out in a cooperative way this matter of the production of the tapes. He seemed to be more interested in the issue than he was in a settlement, and under the circumstances, I had no choice but to dismiss him. But I am not going to question his motives as to whether or not he was out to get me. Perhaps the Senators would like to ask that question.

THE NATION'S CONFIDENCE

[7.] Q. Mr. President, in 1968, before you were elected, you wrote that too many shocks can drain a nation of its energy and even cause a rebellion against creative change and progress. Do you think America is at that point now?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that many would speculate—I have noted a lot on the networks, particularly, and sometimes even in the newspapers. But this is a very strong country, and the American people, I think, can ride through the shocks that they have—the difference now from what it was in the days of shocks, even when Mr. Lisagor and I first met 25 years ago, is the electronic media.

I have never heard or seen such outrageous, vicious, distorted reporting in 27 years of public life. I am not blaming anybody for that. Perhaps what happened is that what we did brought it about, and therefore, the media decided that they would have to take that particular line.

But when people are pounded night after night with that kind of frantic, hysterical reporting, it naturally shakes their confidence. And yet, I should point out that even in this week, when many thought that the President was shell-shocked, unable to act, the President acted decisively in the interests of peace, in the interests of the country, and I can assure you that whatever shocks gentlemen of the press may have, or others, political people, these shocks will not affect me in my doing my job.

THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

[8.] Q. Mr. President, getting back to the Middle East crisis for a moment, do

you consider that the crisis is over now, and how much longer will the American forces be kept on alert around the world?

THE PRESIDENT. With regard to the alert, the alert has already been discontinued with regard to NORAD, that is, the North American [Air Defense] Command, and with regard to SAC [Strategic Air Command]. As far as other forces are concerned, they are being maintained in a state of readiness, and obviously, Soviet Union forces are being maintained in a state of readiness.

Now, as far as the crisis in the Mideast is concerned, I don't want to leave any impression that we aren't going to continue to have problems with regard to the cease-fire. There will be outbreaks because of the proximity of the antagonistic forces, and there will be some very, very tough negotiating in attempting to reach a diplomatic settlement. But I think now that all parties are going to approach this problem of trying to reach a settlement with a more sober and a more determined attitude than ever before, because the Mideast can't afford—Israel can't afford, Egypt can't afford, Syria can't afford—another war. The world cannot afford a war in that part of the world. And because the Soviet Union and the United States have potentially conflicting interests there, we both now realize that we cannot allow our differences in the Mideast to jeopardize even greater interests that we have, for example, in continuing a détente in Europe, in continuing the negotiations which can lead to a limitation of nuclear arms and eventually reducing the burden of nuclear arms, and in continuing in other ways that can contribute to the peace of the world.

As a matter of fact, I would suggest

that with all of the criticism of détente, that without détente, we might have had a major conflict in the Middle East. With détente, we avoided it.

OIL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

[9.] Q. Mr. President, a question from the electronic media, related to the Middle East—

THE PRESIDENT [to Forrest J. Boyd, Mutual Broadcasting System]. Radio.

Q. Radio, yes. I have heard that there was a meeting at the State Department this afternoon of major oil company executives on the fuel shortage. Whether or not you can confirm that, has this confrontation in the Middle East caused a still more severe oil problem, and is there any thinking now of gasoline rationing?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we have contingency plans for gasoline rationing and so forth, which I hope never have to be put into place.

But with regard to the oil shortage, which you referred to, one of the major factors which gave enormous urgency to our efforts to settle this particular crisis was the potential of an oil cutoff.

Let me say that I have also noted that in the State Department—or from the State Department—today a statement raised a little difficulty in Europe to the effect that our European friends hadn't been as cooperative as they might have been in attempting to help us work out the Middle East settlement or at least the settlement to the extent that we have worked it out as of the resolution of yesterday.

I can only say on that score that Europe, which gets 80 percent of its oil from the Mideast, would have frozen to death

this winter unless there had been a settlement, and Japan, of course, is in that same position. The United States, of course, gets only approximately 10 percent of its oil from the Mideast.

What I am simply suggesting is this: that with regard to the fuel shortage, potentially, in the United States and in the world, it is indispensable at this time that we avoid any further Mideast crisis so that the flow of oil to Europe, to Japan, and to the United States can continue.

EXCHANGES WITH GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV

[10.] Q. Mr. President, against this background of détente, Mr. Brezhnev's note to you has been described as rough or perhaps brutal by one Senator.³ Can you characterize it for us and for history in any way?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I could characterize it, but, Mr. Theis [J. William Theis, Hearst Newspapers and Hearst Headline Service], it wouldn't be in the national interest to do so. My notes to him he might characterize as being rather rough. However, I would rather—perhaps it would be best to characterize it. Rather than saying, Mr. Theis, that his note to me was rough and brutal, I would say that it was very firm, and it left very little to the imagination as to what he intended.

And my response was also very firm and left little to the imagination of how we would react. And it is because he and I know each other, and it is because we have had this personal contact, that notes ex-

³ Senator Henry M. Jackson made the characterization earlier the same day.

changed in that way result in a settlement rather than a confrontation.

MR. REBOZO AND CAMPAIGN
CONTRIBUTIONS

[11.] Mr. Deakin?

Q. Yes, Mr. Deakin [James Deakin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch]. Is it credible, can the American people believe that your close friend, Mr. Rebozo, for 3 years, during which time you saw him weekly sometimes, kept from you the fact that he had \$100,000 in cash from Mr. Howard Hughes? Is that credible? Is it credible that your personal attorney, Mr. Kalmbach, knew about this money for at least a year and never told you about it?

And if this was a campaign contribution, as your press secretaries say, who authorized Mr. Rebozo to collect campaign contributions for your reelection or for the Republican Party?

What campaign committee was he an official of?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it is obviously not credible to you, and I suppose that it would sound incredible to many people who do not know how I operate. In terms of campaign contributions, I have had a rule, Mr. Deakin, which Mr. Stans, Mr. Kalmbach, Mr. Rebozo, and every contributor will agree has been the rule—I have refused always to accept contributions myself. I have refused to have any discussion of contributions. As a matter of fact, my orders to Mr. Stans were that after the campaign was over, I would then send notes of appreciation to those that contributed, but before the election, I did not want to have any information from anybody with regard to campaign contributions.

Now, with regard to Mr. Rebozo, let me say that he showed, I think, very good judgment in doing what he did. He received a contribution. He was prepared to turn it over to the finance chairman when the finance chairman was appointed. But in that interlude, after he received the contribution and before the finance chairman was appointed, the Hughes company, as you all know, had an internal fight of massive proportions, and he felt that such a contribution to the campaign might prove to be embarrassing.

At the conclusion of the campaign, he decided that it would be in the best interests of everybody concerned rather than to turn the money over then, to be used in the '74 campaigns, to return it intact. And I would say that any individual, and particularly a banker, who would have a contribution of \$100,000 and not touch it—because it was turned back in exactly the form it was received—I think that is a pretty good indication that he is a totally honest man, which he is.

PRESIDENTIAL TAPE RECORDINGS

[12.] Q. Mr. President, after the tapes are presented to Judge Sircia and they are processed under the procedure outlined by the U.S. Court of Appeals, will you make those tapes public?

THE PRESIDENT. No, that is not the procedure that the court has ordered, and it would not be proper. Judge Sirica, under the circuit court's order, is to listen to the tapes and, then, is to present to the grand jury the pertinent evidence with regard to its investigation. Publication of the tapes has not been ordered by the circuit court of appeals, and Judge Sirica, of course, would not do anything

that would be in contravention of what the circuit court of appeals has ordered.

PRESIDENTIAL STRESS

[13.] Mr. terHorst [J. F. terHorst, Detroit News].

Q. Mr. President, Harry Truman used to talk about the heat in the kitchen—

THE PRESIDENT. I know what he meant.

Q. — and a lot of people have been wondering how you are bearing up emotionally under the stress of recent events. Can you discuss that?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, those who saw me during the Middle East crisis thought I bore up rather well, and, Mr. terHorst, I have a quality which is—I guess I must have inherited it from my Midwestern mother and father—which is that the tougher it gets, the cooler I get. Of course, it isn't pleasant to get criticism. Some of it is justified, of course. It isn't pleasant to find your honesty questioned. It isn't pleasant to find, for example, that, speaking of my friend Mr. Rebozo, that despite the fact that those who printed it, and those who said it, knew it was untrue—said that he had a million-dollar trust fund for me that he was handling—it was nevertheless put on one of the networks, knowing it was untrue. It isn't pleasant, for example, to hear or read that a million dollars in campaign funds went into my San Clemente property and, even after we had a complete audit, to have it repeated.

Those are things which, of course, do tend to get under the skin of the man who holds this office. But as far as I am concerned, I have learned to expect it. It has been my lot throughout my political life,

and I suppose because I have been through so much, that may be one of the reasons that when I have to face an international crisis, I have what it takes.

WATERGATE INFLUENCE ON MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

[14.] Q. Mr. President, I would like to ask you a question about the Mideast. To what extent do you think your Watergate troubles influenced Soviet thinking about your ability to respond in the Mideast, and did your Watergate problems convince you that the United States needed a strong response in the Mideast to convince other nations that you have not been weakened?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have noted speculation to the effect that the Watergate problems may have led the Soviet Union to miscalculate. I tend to disagree with that, however.

I think Mr. Brezhnev probably can't quite understand how the President of the United States wouldn't be able to handle the Watergate problems. He would be able to handle it all right, if he had them. [Laughter] But I think what happens is that what Mr. Brezhnev does understand is the power of the United States. What he does know is the President of the United States.

What he also knows is that the President of the United States, when he was under unmerciful assault at the time of Cambodia at the time of May 8, when I ordered the bombing and the mining of North Vietnam, at the time of December 18, still went ahead and did what he thought was right; the fact that Mr. Brezhnev knew that regardless of the pressures at home, regardless of what peo-

ple see and hear on television night after night, he would do what was right. That is what made Mr. Brezhnev act as he did.

PRESIDENTIAL VIEWS ON TELEVISION COVERAGE

[15.] Q. Mr. President, you have lambasted the television networks pretty well. Could I ask you, at the risk of reopening an obvious wound, you say after you have put on a lot of heat that you don't blame anyone. I find that a little puzzling. What is it about the television coverage of you in these past weeks and months that has so aroused your anger?

THE PRESIDENT [to Robert C. Pierpoint, CBS News]. Don't get the impression that you arouse my anger. [*Laughter*]

Q. I'm afraid, sir, that I have that impression. [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. You see, one can only be angry with those he respects.

REGAINING THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE

[16.] Q. Mr. President, businessmen increasingly are saying that many chief executive officers of corporations do not get the latitude you have had, if they have the personnel problems that you have had, to stay in the job and correct them. You have said you are going to stay. Do you have any plan set out to regain confidence of people across the country and these businessmen who are beginning to talk about this matter? Do you have any plans besides the Special Prosecutor, which looks backward; do you have any plan that looks forward for regaining confidence of people?

THE PRESIDENT. I certainly have. First,

to move forward in building a structure of peace in the world, in which we have made enormous progress in the past and which we are going to make more progress in, in the future; our European initiative, our continued initiative with the Soviet Union, with the People's Republic of China. That will be the major legacy of this Administration.

Moving forward at home in our continuing battle against the high cost of living, in which we are now finally beginning to make some progress, and moving forward also on the matters that you referred to, it is true that what happened in Watergate, the campaign abuses, were deplorable. They have been very damaging to this Administration; they have been damaging certainly to the country as well.

Let me say, too, I didn't want to leave an impression with my good friend from CBS over here that I don't respect the reporters. What I was simply saying was this: that when a commentator takes a bit of news and then, with knowledge of what the facts are, distorts it, viciously, I have no respect for that individual.

EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGE

[17.] Q. Mr. President!

THE PRESIDENT [to Clark R. Mollenhoff, Des Moines Register and Tribune]. You are so loud, I will have to take you.

Q. I have to be, because you happen to dodge my questions all of the time.

THE PRESIDENT. You had three last time.

Q. Last May, you went before the American people, and you said executive privilege will not be invoked as to any testimony concerning possible criminal conduct or discussing of possible criminal

conduct, including the Watergate affair and the alleged coverup.

If you have revised or modified this position, as you seem to have done, could you explain the rationale of a law-and-order Administration covering up evidence, prima facie evidence, of high crimes and misdemeanors?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I should point out that perhaps all the other reporters in the room are aware of the fact that we have waived executive privilege on all individuals within the Administration. It has been the greatest waiver of executive privilege in the whole history of this

Nation.

And as far as any other matters are concerned, the matters of the tapes, the matters of Presidential conversations, those are matters in which the President has a responsibility to defend this office, which I shall continue to do.

MR. CORMIER. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Nixon's thirty-fifth news conference was held at 7:01 p.m. in the East Room at the White House on Friday, October 26, 1973. It was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

313 Statement on the Death of Representative John P. Saylor of Pennsylvania. *October 28, 1973*

JOHN P. SAYLOR was a Congressman of exceptional stature. During nearly a quarter of a century of service in the House of Representatives, he rose to stand among the top rank of his party in seniority and earned the high esteem of colleagues on both sides of the aisle. Long before the issues of conservation, natural resources, and environmental quality came to fashion, he was helping to shape wise national policy for these vital concerns. His Pennsylvania constituents came to trust him implicitly for faithful representation of their interest and needs, and we in Washington learned to count on him

for unflagging legislative responsibility, independence, and integrity.

Mrs. Nixon joins me in mourning the loss of a former House colleague, longtime friend, and dedicated public servant whose death bereaves all Americans.

NOTE: Representative Saylor, 65, died in Houston, Tex. He was elected to Congress in 1949 and was senior Republican member of the House Interior Committee at the time of his death.

The White House later announced that Max L. Friedersdorf, Deputy Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, was designated to represent the President in funeral services in Johnstown, Pa., on November 1, 1973.

314 Message to the Senate Transmitting the United States-Danish Treaty on Extradition. *October 30, 1973*

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty on Extradition between the United States of Amer-

ica and the Kingdom of Denmark, signed at Copenhagen on June 22, 1972. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Treaty is one of a new series of extradition treaties being negotiated by the United States and contains provisions for offenses of aircraft hijacking, narcotics, and conspiracy to commit listed offenses.

The Treaty will make a significant contribution to the international effort to control narcotics traffic. I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable con-

sideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

October 30, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the treaty and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive U (93d Cong., 1st sess.).

315 Message to the Congress Transmitting the Cost of Living Council's Quarterly Report on the Economic Stabilization Program. *October 30, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

I herewith transmit to the Congress the most recent Quarterly Report of the Economic Stabilization Program, covering the period April 1, 1973, through June 30, 1973.

The second quarter of 1973 was a time of tremendous growth for the American economy. Employment increased by over one million jobs. Our gross national product grew by \$29.5 billion and real per capita disposable income reached a new high. On the international front, our balance of payments continued to improve significantly according to all major measures of the payments deficit. The basic balance deficit was reduced to an annual rate of slightly more than \$3 billion in this period, as compared to a deficit rate of \$9.8 billion for all of 1972.

Unfortunately, during this same period the rate of inflation continued its unsatisfactory rise. This increase reflected a strong growth in demand—both here at home and around the world—particularly for agricultural and petroleum products.

Accordingly, I decided to institute a 60-day freeze on prices beginning June 13. At the same time, I directed that plans be developed for a new phase of the Economic Stabilization Program. Phase IV, which was developed in extensive consultation with representatives of all segments of our economy, is now in effect.

I am convinced that Phase IV, combined with actions to increase supplies, a restrictive monetary policy, and restraint in Federal spending, will enable us to reduce the inflationary threat to our economic well-being.

With the cooperation of business, labor and the American public, we can achieve our goal of reasonable price stability and return our country to a strong and healthy free market system.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

October 30, 1973.

NOTE: The report, covering the period April 1 through June 30, 1973, is entitled "Economic Stabilization Program Quarterly Report" (Government Printing Office, 94 pp.)

316 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Reports
on Highway, Traffic, and Motor Vehicle Safety
Programs. *October 30, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

Ever since the Highway Safety and the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Acts were passed in 1966, the fatality rate on our Nation's highways has been falling. In 1967, the number of deaths per 100 million miles driven was 5.5. By 1972 it had dropped by 18 percent to 4.5.

A wide range of programs have contributed to this decrease, programs designed to increase the safety of our highways, our motor vehicles and the driving habits of our motorists. The full impact of many of these safety programs still has not been felt, and there is reason for us to expect still greater progress in the future.

Unfortunately, the success we have enjoyed in reducing the fatality rate has not been extended to reducing the total number of highway deaths. In 1967, 53,000 persons died in motor vehicle accidents of various kinds. By 1972 that annual toll had risen to an estimated 57,000—a truly shocking level.

The discrepancy between the falling rate of fatalities and the rising *number* of deaths is explained, of course, by the fact that the number of vehicle miles driven in this country increased by more than 300 billion between 1967 and 1972. The total mileage driven in 1972 was 1.25 trillion. In short, our safety measures, effective as they have been, have not been able to hold in check the total number of

highway deaths occasioned by the vastly greater use of our highways.

My Administration is profoundly committed to the cause of highway safety. The annual toll which traffic accidents take in lives and in injuries is more than any society should have to bear. And the annual financial cost of traffic accidents is now estimated at nearly \$50 billion.

It is my hope that this three-volume report on the Highway Safety and National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Acts of 1966, by reviewing the challenge of traffic safety and by detailing our efforts to meet it, will increase our awareness and enhance our effectiveness in this vital field.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
October 30, 1973.

NOTE: The reports are entitled:

"Traffic Safety '72: A Report on the Activities of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration and the Federal Highway Administration under the Highway Safety Act of 1966 and the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966" (Government Printing Office, 63 pp.).

"Traffic Safety '72: A Report on Activities Under the Highway Safety Act" (Government Printing Office, 88 pp. plus appendixes).

"Traffic Safety '72: A Report on Activities Under the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act" (Government Printing Office, 78 pp. plus appendixes).

317 Special Message to the Congress Requesting Funds for the International Development Association and the Asian Development Bank. *October 31, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

As their role in conveying financial assistance to developing countries has steadily enlarged in recent years, multilateral lending institutions have become vital to our hopes for constructing a new international economic order.

One of the most important of these institutions is the International Development Association, a subsidiary of the World Bank that provides long-term loans at low interest rates to the world's poorest nations. During the 13 years of its operation, IDA has provided over \$6.1 billion of development credits to nearly 70 of the least developed countries of the world. Two dozen countries have contributed funds for this effort.

By next June, however, the International Development Association will be out of funds unless it is replenished. As a result of an understanding reached in recent international negotiations, I am today proposing to the Congress that the United States join with other major industrialized nations in pledging significant new funds to this organization. Specifically, I am requesting that the Congress authorize for future appropriation the sum of \$1.5 billion for the fourth replenishment of IDA. Initial payments would be made in fiscal year 1976 and the full amount would be paid out over a period of years.

I am also requesting that the Congress authorize an additional \$50 million for the Special Funds of the Asian Development Bank. The bank is one of the major

regional banks in the world that complements the work of the International Development Association and the World Bank.

Legislation for both of these authorities is being submitted to the Congress today by the Secretary of the Treasury.

STRENGTHENING THE INTERNATIONAL
ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Just over a year ago, in September 1972 at the annual meeting in Washington of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, I stressed the urgent need to build a secure structure of peace, not only in the political realm but in the economic realm as well. I stated then that the time had come for action across the entire front of international economic problems, and I emphasized that recurring monetary crises, incorrect alignments, distorted trading arrangements, and great disparities in development not only injured our economies, but also created political tensions that subvert the cause of peace. I urged that all nations come together to deal promptly with these fundamental problems.

I am happy to be able to report that since that 1972 meeting, we have made encouraging progress toward updating and revising the basic rules for the conduct of international financial and trade affairs that have guided us since the end of World War II. Monetary reform negotiations, begun last year, are now well advanced toward forging a new and

stronger international monetary system. A date of July 31, 1974, has been set as a realistic deadline for completing a basic agreement among nations on the new system.

Concurrently, we are taking the fundamental steps at home and abroad that will lead to needed improvement in the international trading system. On September 14, while meeting in Tokyo, the world's major trading nations launched new multilateral trade negotiations which could lead to a significant reduction of world trade barriers and reform of our rules for trade. The Congress is now considering trade reform legislation that is essential to allow the United States to participate effectively in these negotiations.

ESSENTIAL ROLE OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

While there is great promise in both the trade and monetary negotiations, it is important that strong efforts also be made in the international effort to support economic development—particularly in providing reasonable amounts of new funds for international lending institutions.

A stable and flexible monetary system, a fairer and more efficient system of trade and investment, and a solid structure of cooperation in economic development are the essential components of international economic relations. We must act in each of these interdependent areas. If we fail or fall behind in one, we weaken the entire effort. We need an economic system that is balanced and responsive in all its parts, along with international institutions that reinforce the principles and rules we negotiate.

We cannot expect other nations—de-

veloped or developing—to respond fully to our call for stronger and more efficient trading and monetary systems, if at the same time we are not willing to assume our share of the effort to ensure that the interests of the poorer nations are taken into account. Our position as a leader in promoting a more reasonable world order and our credibility as a negotiator would be seriously weakened if we do not take decisive and responsible action to assist those nations to achieve their aspirations toward economic development.

There are some two dozen non-communist countries which provide assistance to developing countries. About 20 percent of the total aid flow from these countries is now channeled through multilateral lending institutions such as the World Bank group—which includes IDA—and the regional development banks.

These multilateral lending institutions play an important role in American foreign policy. By encouraging developing countries to participate in a joint effort to raise their living standards, they help to make those countries more self reliant. They provide a pool of unmatched technical expertise. And they provide a useful vehicle for encouraging other industrialized countries to take a larger responsibility for the future of the developing world, which in turn enables us to reduce our direct assistance.

The American economy also benefits from our support of international development. Developing countries today provide one-third of our raw material imports, and we will increasingly rely upon them in the future for essential materials. These developing countries are also good customers, buying more from us than we do from them.

NEW PROPOSALS FOR MULTILATERAL ASSISTANCE

Because multilateral lending institutions make such a substantial contribution to world peace, it must be a matter of concern for the United States that the International Development Association will be out of funds by June 30, 1974, if its resources are not replenished.

The developing world now looks to the replenishment of IDA's resources as a key test of the willingness of industrialized, developed nations to cooperate in assuring the fuller participation of developing countries in the international economy. At the Nairobi meeting of the World Bank last month, it was agreed by 25 donor countries to submit for approval of their legislatures a proposal to authorize \$4.5 billion of new resources to IDA. Under this proposal, the share of the United States in the replenishment would drop from 40 percent to 33 percent. This represents a significant accomplishment in distributing responsibility for development more equitably. Other countries would put up \$3 billion, twice the proposed United States contribution of \$1.5 billion. Furthermore, to reduce annual appropriations requirements, our payments can be made in installments at the rate of \$375 million a year for four years, beginning in fiscal year 1976.

We have also been negotiating with other participating nations to increase funds for the long-term, low-interest operation of the Asian Development Bank. As a result of these negotiations, I am requesting the Congress to authorize \$50 million of additional contributions to the ADB by the United States—beyond a

\$100 million contribution already approved. These new funds would be associated with additional contributions of about \$350 million from other nations.

MEETING OUR RESPONSIBILITIES

In addition to these proposals for pledging future funds, I would point out that the Congress also has before it appropriations requests for fiscal year 1974—a year that is already one-third completed—for bilateral and multilateral assistance to support our role in international cooperation. It is my profound conviction that it is in our own best interest that the Congress move quickly to enact these pending appropriations requests. We are now behind schedule in providing our contributions to the International Development Association, the Inter-American Development Bank and the Asian Development Bank, so that we are not keeping our part of the bargain. We must show other nations that the United States will continue to meet its international responsibilities.

All nations which enjoy advanced stages of industrial development have a grave responsibility to assist those countries whose major development lies ahead. By providing support for international economic assistance on an equitable basis, we are helping others to help themselves and at the same time building effective institutions for international cooperation in the critical years ahead. I urge the Congress to act promptly on these proposals.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
October 31, 1973.

318 Statement on the Death of Paul Dudley White.
October 31, 1973

IN THE annals of medicine, Dr. Paul Dudley White will be remembered as a man who not only revolutionized the treatment of heart disease but also educated millions of Americans on ways to prevent heart attacks. His services in this field were great and, taken by themselves, would justify his place in history.

But Dr. White will also be remembered as the inspired physician who guided President Eisenhower back to health from his

critical heart attack in 1955, an achievement that won him the gratitude of an entire nation.

He has left us after a full and rich life and a dedicated medical career during which he treated over 12,000 people, rich and poor, famous and obscure. He will long stand as a model of all that is best in American medicine—a source of pride to physicians and laymen alike.

NOTE: Dr. White, 87, died in Boston, Mass.

319 Remarks Announcing Intention To Nominate
 William B. Saxbe To Be Attorney General.
November 1, 1973

Ladies and gentlemen:

I have an announcement today with regard to the new Attorney General.

I shall send to the Senate, as soon as the papers are prepared, the nomination of William Saxbe, Senator Saxbe of Ohio, as the Attorney General of the United States.

The Senator and I, as I have found from reading press reports, have had several discussions on this in recent days, and I have found that he is eminently qualified, which I had known before, having known him for 25 years. I met him first when he was speaker of the house of representatives for the State of Ohio, knew him when I was Vice President, also, when he was attorney general of the State of Ohio, on two different terms.

Not only is he eminently qualified, but he is an individual who wants to take this position and to do everything that he possibly can to serve the Nation as the first

lawyer in the Nation. As a matter of fact, as you know, Bill Saxbe had already indicated that he wasn't going to run for the Senate again in Ohio this year and that he wanted to practice law. So I have given him the opportunity, with the Senate's consent—which I think will be overwhelming—to head the largest law firm in America, the Department of Justice.

He will have, of course, under the rules, only a brief statement to make, since he has to answer questions in his confirmation hearings and has to delay any other questions which might relate to those hearings. But you can make a statement, Bill, as I understand, when I complete my own statement with regard to you, and also with regard to Mr. Bork.

Mr. Bork, the Acting Attorney General, who has handled this position with very great ability during a very difficult time, has an announcement with regard to the Special Prosecutor. Mr. Bork will make

the announcement and then will be prepared to answer any questions you ladies and gentlemen may have with regard to the Special Prosecutor and his activities in the future.

This matter we have already discussed with various Congressional leaders and, of course, discussed it this morning with the Republican Congressional leaders in our regular leaders meeting, and they generally felt that the selection which Mr. Bork will announce is one that is perhaps the best we could get for this very important position.

And so, Mr. Saxbe, Senator Saxbe, who shortly we hope we will call Mr. Attorney General, you will have an opportunity to speak to the members of the press here at the White House now, and when you finish your statement, Bob, if you will then make your announcement with regard to the Special Prosecutor and take any ques-

tions that the ladies and gentlemen may have on that, I would appreciate that.

Thank you.

ATTORNEY GENERAL-DESIGNATE SAXBE.

Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Congratulations.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:05 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

Attorney General-designate Saxbe spoke briefly in response to the President's remarks. His remarks, released with the President's, and an announcement containing additional biographical data are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, pp. 1301, 1302).

Following Senator Saxbe's remarks, Acting Attorney General Robert H. Bork announced his appointment of Leon Jaworski as Director of the Office of Watergate Special Prosecution Force and took questions from reporters. His announcement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 1303). Biographical data on Mr. Jaworski was also released.

320 Statement on Signing the Amtrak Improvement Act of 1973. *November 3, 1973*

THREE years ago this week I signed into law the Rail Passenger Service Act of 1970, making the Federal Government a supporting partner with our Nation's passenger railroads in the effort to maintain nationally available, high-quality, economically competitive intercity rail passenger service in this country.

Emerging trends and international events since that time have increasingly dramatized two additional dimensions of the national interest in enabling—and indeed encouraging—our people to choose a train when they make travel plans. Those dimensions are energy conservation and protection of our environment. Railroads can carry more passengers over

greater distances per gallon of fuel than automobiles or airlines are able to do, while adding fewer pollutants to our air. With our oil resources becoming increasingly precious, not just this winter but for some years ahead, the energy efficiency of rail travel is an especially compelling argument for expansion of appropriate Federal assistance to Amtrak, the rail passenger corporation.

It is with these concerns in mind that I have today signed S. 2016, the Amtrak Improvement Act of 1973, despite my reservations about several aspects of this bill.

S. 2016 provides for increased Federal financial aid to Amtrak during the cur-

rent fiscal year, in the form of a \$107 million increase in grant authority plus \$300 million in new loan guarantees, thus assuring the corporation of continuity and flexibility in its operations at this important time in rail passenger development and in our national energy squeeze. It should enable Amtrak to build on the progress it has already made in reversing the long downtrend in rail passenger ridership and to make further ridership gains beyond the one-third improvement expected in the current fiscal year above the level of fiscal year 1972.

To my regret, however, the Congress in framing this bill failed to address some of the major shortcomings that have shown up in Amtrak's early experience, including a number of routes with uneconomically low ridership, persistent management weaknesses, and increasing operating losses.

Three sections of S. 2016 actually threaten to worsen these problems:

—Section 11 freezes all Amtrak routes in existence for another year and requires the establishment of at least one additional experimental route each year.

—Section 12 deprives the executive branch of any meaningful authority to review in advance the spending plans of the rail passenger corporation or to exercise sensible budgetary and legislative control. We will seek legislation to repeal the mandatory spending and direct budget submittal features which create this anomaly, but in any event I do not consider that they establish a precedent for other agencies, since Amtrak enjoys special status as a profitmaking corporation.

—Third, section 14 gives the Interstate Commerce Commission broad new regulatory responsibilities which would have the effect of dictating the way in

which a large part of Amtrak's capital and operating expenditures are made without regard to the economic disciplines which ought to govern corporate decisionmaking.

The overall effect of these provisions would be to deepen in amount, and to extend indefinitely in time, Amtrak's dependence on public funds, and simultaneously to bar the executive branch from exercising the close stewardship over subsidy funds which taxpayers have a right to expect. The original intent with which Amtrak was established—that of creating a market-oriented, profitmaking corporation which would gradually outgrow the need for taxpayer support—would be turned precisely inside out, tending to make Amtrak a permanently subsidized establishment.

Accordingly, while I have decided to sign this bill for the overriding reasons already stated, I am also directing the Secretary of Transportation to take immediate steps aimed at remedying the bill's defects. Legislation to change the objectionable provisions will be submitted to the Congress, and while that is pending, the Administration will move to improve Amtrak's management efficiency and economic viability through the authority granted by S. 2016 to establish general guidelines for grants and loans and to review certain aspects of management.

Finally, looking beyond the rail passenger problem to the larger context of the Nation's overall railroad needs, I want to emphasize very strongly that my acceptance of this bill in no way alters my position that Federal action to shore up the financial condition of our major Northeast and Midwest railroad freight lines must take the form of a *private* solution that would impose only a minimal

and finite financial burden on the taxpayer. As I stated in my message to the Congress on national legislative goals on September 10, I simply could not sign any legislation which purported to solve this problem through massive, open-ended subsidies or through quasi-nationalization. As we work with the Congress to strength-

en the new Amtrak Improvement Act, the Administration will also continue cooperating fully in helping to produce a sound, acceptable bill to assist the bankrupt Northeast-Midwest railroads.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 2016 is Public Law 93-146 (87 Stat. 548).

The statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

321 Message to the Congress Transmitting Report on the Hudson River Basin Compact Act. *November 6, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with section 3 of Public Law 89-605, as amended by Public Law 91-242, I am transmitting a report by the Secretary of the Interior. This report recommends discontinuance of negotiations for a Federal-Interstate Compact and suggests repeal by Congress of Public Law 89-605 as amended by Public Law 91-242, the Hudson River Basin Compact Act.

The report includes a letter of agreement signed by the Secretary of the In-

terior and the Governors of New Jersey and New York. This letter documents the agreement reached and explains the facts leading to the agreement.

I concur in the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior. A draft bill repealing Public Law 89-605 as amended by Public Law 91-242 is enclosed for your consideration.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
November 6, 1973.

322 White House Statement About House Action Overriding the War Powers Resolution Veto. *November 7, 1973*

THE PRESIDENT is extremely disappointed with the House vote to override his veto of House Joint Resolution 542.

He feels the action seriously undermines this Nation's ability to act decisively and convincingly in times of international crisis.

The confidence of our allies in our ability to assist them will be diminished by the House's action. Our potential adversaries may be encouraged to engage in future acts of international mischief because of this blow to our deterrent posture.

323 Address to the Nation About Policies To Deal With the Energy Shortages. November 7, 1973

Good evening:

I want to talk to you tonight about a serious national problem, a problem we must all face together in the months and years ahead.

As America has grown and prospered in recent years, our energy demands have begun to exceed available supplies. In recent months, we have taken many actions to increase supplies and to reduce consumption. But even with our best efforts, we knew that a period of temporary shortages was inevitable.

Unfortunately, our expectations for this winter have now been sharply altered by the recent conflict in the Middle East. Because of that war, most of the Middle Eastern oil producers have reduced overall production and cut off their shipments of oil to the United States. By the end of this month, more than 2 million barrels a day of oil we expected to import into the United States will no longer be available.

We must, therefore, face up to a very stark fact: We are heading toward the most acute shortages of energy since World War II. Our supply of petroleum this winter will be at least 10 percent short of our anticipated demands, and it could fall short by as much as 17 percent.

Now, even before war broke out in the Middle East, these prospective shortages were the subject of intensive discussions among members of my Administration, leaders of the Congress, Governors, mayors, and other groups. From these discussions has emerged a broad agreement that we, as a nation, must now set upon a new course.

In the short run, this course means that we must use less energy—that means less

heat, less electricity, less gasoline. In the long run, it means that we must develop new sources of energy which will give us the capacity to meet our needs without relying on any foreign nation.

The immediate shortage will affect the lives of each and every one of us. In our factories, our cars, our homes, our offices, we will have to use less fuel than we are accustomed to using. Some school and factory schedules may be realigned, and some jet airplane flights will be canceled.

This does not mean that we are going to run out of gasoline or that air travel will stop or that we will freeze in our homes or offices anywhere in America. The fuel crisis need not mean genuine suffering for any American. But it will require some sacrifice by all Americans.

We must be sure that our most vital needs are met first—and that our least important activities are the first to be cut back. And we must be sure that while the fat from our economy is being trimmed, the muscle is not seriously damaged.

To help us carry out that responsibility, I am tonight announcing the following steps:

First, I am directing that industries and utilities which use coal—which is our most abundant resource—be prevented from converting from coal to oil. Efforts will also be made to convert powerplants from the use of oil to the use of coal.

Second, we are allocating reduced quantities of fuel for aircraft. Now, this is going to lead to a cutback of more than 10 percent of the number of flights and some rescheduling of arrival and departure times.

Third, there will be reductions of ap-

proximately 15 percent in the supply of heating oil for homes and offices and other establishments. To be sure that there is enough oil to go around for the entire winter, all over the country, it will be essential for all of us to live and work in lower temperatures. We must ask everyone to lower the thermostat in your home by at least 6 degrees so that we can achieve a national daytime average of 68 degrees. Incidentally, my doctor tells me that in a temperature of 66 to 68 degrees, you are really more healthy than when it is 75 to 78, if that is any comfort. In offices, factories, and commercial establishments, we must ask that you achieve the equivalent of a 10-degree reduction by either lowering the thermostat or curtailing working hours.

Fourth, I am ordering additional reductions in the consumption of energy by the Federal Government. We have already taken steps to reduce the Government's consumption by 7 percent. The cuts must now go deeper and must be made by every agency and every department in the Government. I am directing that daytime temperatures in Federal offices be reduced immediately to a level of between 65 and 68 degrees, and that means in this room, too, as well as in every other room in the White House. In addition, I am ordering that all vehicles owned by the Federal Government—and there are over a half-million of them—travel no faster than 50 miles per hour except in emergencies. This is a step which I have also asked Governors, mayors, and local officials to take immediately with regard to vehicles under their authority.

Fifth, I am asking the Atomic Energy Commission to speed up the licensing and construction of nuclear plants. We must seek to reduce the time required to bring

nuclear plants on line—nuclear plants that can produce power—to bring them on line from 10 years to 6 years, reduce that time lag.

Sixth, I am asking that Governors and mayors reinforce these actions by taking appropriate steps at the State and local level. We have already learned, for example, from the State of Oregon, that considerable amounts of energy can be saved simply by curbing unnecessary lighting and slightly altering the school year. I am recommending that other communities follow this example and also seek ways to stagger working hours, to encourage greater use of mass transit and carpooling.

How many times have you gone along the highway or the freeway, wherever the case may be, and see hundreds and hundreds of cars with only one individual in that car? This we must all cooperate to change.

Consistent with safety and economic considerations, I am also asking Governors to take steps to reduce highway speed limits to 50 miles per hour. This action alone, if it is adopted on a nationwide basis, could save over 200,000 barrels of oil a day—just reducing the speed limit to 50 miles per hour.

Now, all of these actions will result in substantial savings of energy. More than that, most of these are actions that we can take right now—without further delay.

The key to their success lies, however, not just here in Washington but in every home, in every community across this country. If each of us joins in this effort, joins with the spirit and the determination that have always graced the American character, then half the battle will already be won.

But we should recognize that even these steps, as essential as they are, may not be

enough. We must be prepared to take additional steps, and for that purpose, additional authorities must be provided by the Congress.

I have therefore directed my chief adviser for energy policy, Governor Love, and other Administration officials, to work closely with the Congress in developing an emergency energy act.

I met with the leaders of the Congress this morning, and I asked that they act on this legislation on a priority, urgent basis. It is imperative that this legislation be on my desk for signature before the Congress recesses this December.

Because of the hard work that has already been done on this bill by Senators Jackson and Fannin and others, I am confident that we can meet that goal and that I will have the bill on this desk and will be able to sign it.

This proposed legislation would enable the executive branch to meet the energy emergency in several important ways:

First, it would authorize an immediate return to daylight saving time on a year-round basis.

Second, it would provide the necessary authority to relax environmental regulations on a temporary, case-by-case basis, thus permitting an appropriate balancing of our environmental interests, which all of us share, with our energy requirements, which, of course, are indispensable.

Third, it would grant authority to impose special energy conservation measures, such as restrictions on the working hours for shopping centers and other commercial establishments.

And fourth, it would approve and fund increased exploration, development, and production from our naval petroleum reserves. Now, these reserves are rich sources of oil. From one of them alone—

Elk Hills in California—we could produce more than 160,000 barrels of oil a day within 2 months.

Fifth, it would provide the Federal Government with authority to reduce highway speed limits throughout the Nation.

And finally, it would expand the power of the Government's regulatory agencies to adjust the schedules of planes, ships, and other carriers.

If shortages persist despite all of these actions and despite inevitable increases in the price of energy products, it may then become necessary—may become necessary—to take even stronger measures.

It is only prudent that we be ready to cut the consumption of oil products, such as gasoline, by rationing or by a fair system of taxation, and consequently, I have directed that contingency plans, if this becomes necessary, be prepared for that purpose.

Now, some of you may wonder whether we are turning back the clock to another age. Gas rationing, oil shortages, reduced speed limits—they all sound like a way of life we left behind with Glenn Miller and the war of the forties. Well, in fact, part of our current problem also stems from war—the war in the Middle East. But our deeper energy problems come not from war, but from peace and from abundance. We are running out of energy today because our economy has grown enormously and because in prosperity what were once considered luxuries are now considered necessities.

How many of you can remember when it was very unusual to have a home air-conditioned? And yet, this is very common in almost all parts of the Nation.

As a result, the average American will consume as much energy in the next

7 days as most other people in the world will consume in an entire year. We have only 6 percent of the world's people in America, but we consume over 30 percent of all the energy in the world.

Now, our growing demands have bumped up against the limits of available supply, and until we provide new sources of energy for tomorrow, we must be prepared to tighten our belts today.

Let me turn now to our long-range plans.

While a resolution of the immediate crisis is our highest priority, we must also act now to prevent a recurrence of such a crisis in the future. This is a matter of bipartisan concern. It is going to require a bipartisan response.

Two years ago, in the first energy message any President has ever sent to the Congress, I called attention to our urgent energy problem. Last April, this year, I reaffirmed to the Congress the magnitude of that problem, and I called for action on seven major legislative initiatives. Again in June, I called for action. I have done so frequently since then.

But thus far, not one major energy bill that I have asked for has been enacted. I realize that the Congress has been distracted in this period by other matters. But the time has now come for the Congress to get on with this urgent business—providing the legislation that will meet not only the current crisis but also the long-range challenge that we face.

Our failure to act now on our long-term energy problems could seriously endanger the capacity of our farms and of our factories to employ Americans at record-breaking rates—nearly 86 million people are now at work in this country—and to provide the highest standard of liv-

ing we or any other nation has ever known in history.

It could reduce the capacity of our farmers to provide the food we need. It could jeopardize our entire transportation system. It could seriously weaken the ability of America to continue to give the leadership which only we can provide to keep the peace that we have won at such great cost for thousands of our finest young Americans.

That is why it is time to act now on vital energy legislation that will affect our daily lives, not just this year, but for years to come.

We must have the legislation now which will authorize construction of the Alaska pipeline—legislation which is not burdened with irrelevant and unnecessary provisions.

We must have legislative authority to encourage production of our vast quantities of natural gas, one of the cleanest and best sources of energy.

We must have the legal ability to set reasonable standards for the surface mining of coal.

And we must have the organizational structures to meet and administer our energy programs.

And therefore, tonight, as I did this morning in meeting with the Congressional leaders, I again urge the Congress to give its attention to the initiatives I recommended 6 months ago to meet these needs that I have described.

Finally, I have stressed repeatedly the necessity of increasing our energy research and development efforts. Last June, I announced a 5-year, \$10 billion program to develop better ways of using energy and to explore and develop new energy sources. Last month, I announced plans for an

immediate acceleration of that program.

We can take heart from the fact that we in the United States have half the world's known coal reserves. We have huge, untapped sources of natural gas. We have the most advanced nuclear technology known to man. We have oil in our continental shelves. We have oil shale out in the western part of the United States, and we have some of the finest technical and scientific minds in the world. In short, we have all the resources we need to meet the great challenge before us. Now we must demonstrate the will to meet that challenge.

In World War II, America was faced with the necessity of rapidly developing an atomic capability. The circumstances were grave. Responding to that challenge, this Nation brought together its finest scientific skills and its finest administrative skills in what was known as the Manhattan Project. With all the needed resources at its command, with the highest priority assigned to its efforts, the Manhattan Project gave us the atomic capacity that helped to end the war in the Pacific and to bring peace to the world.

Twenty years later, responding to a different challenge, we focused our scientific and technological genius on the frontiers of space. We pledged to put a man on the Moon before 1970, and on July 20, 1969, Neil Armstrong made that historic "giant leap for mankind" when he stepped on the Moon.

The lessons of the Apollo project and of the earlier Manhattan Project are the same lessons that are taught by the whole of American history: Whenever the American people are faced with a clear goal and they are challenged to meet it, we can do extraordinary things.

Today the challenge is to regain the strength that we had earlier in this century, the strength of self-sufficiency. Our ability to meet our own energy needs is directly limited to our continued ability to act decisively and independently at home and abroad in the service of peace, not only for America but for all nations in the world.

I have ordered funding of this effort to achieve self-sufficiency far in excess of the funds that were expended on the Manhattan Project. But money is only one of the ingredients essential to the success of such a project. We must also have a unified commitment to that goal. We must have unified direction of the effort to accomplish it.

Because of the urgent need for an organization that would provide focused leadership for this effort, I am asking the Congress to consider my proposal for an Energy Research and Development Administration, separate from any other organizational initiatives, and to enact this legislation in the present session of the Congress.

Let us unite in committing the resources of this Nation to a major new endeavor, an endeavor that in this Bicentennial Era we can appropriately call "Project Independence."

Let us set as our national goal, in the spirit of Apollo, with the determination of the Manhattan Project, that by the end of this decade we will have developed the potential to meet our own energy needs without depending on any foreign energy sources.

Let us pledge that by 1980, under Project Independence, we shall be able to meet America's energy needs from America's own energy resources.

In speaking to you tonight in terms as direct as these, my concern has been to lay before you the full facts of the Nation's energy shortage. It is important that each of us understands what the situation is and how the efforts we together can take to help to meet it are essential to our total effort.

No people in the world perform more nobly than the American people when called upon to unite in the service of their country. I am supremely confident that while the days and weeks ahead may be a time of some hardship for many of us, they will also be a time of renewed commitment and concentration to the national interest.

We have an energy crisis, but there is no crisis of the American spirit. Let us go forward, then, doing what needs to be done, proud of what we have accomplished together in the past and confident of what we can accomplish together in the future.

Let us find in this time of national necessity a renewed awareness of our capacities as a people, a deeper sense of our responsibilities as a nation, and an increased understanding that the measure and the meaning of America has always been determined by the devotion which each of us brings to our duty as citizens of America.

I should like to close with a personal note.

It was just one year ago that I was reelected as President of the United States of America. During this past year we have made great progress in achieving the goals that I set forth in my reelection campaign.

We have ended the longest war in America's history. All of our prisoners of war have been returned home. And for the first time in 25 years, no young Americans are being drafted into the armed services. We have made progress toward our goal of a real prosperity, a prosperity without war. The rate of unemployment is down to 4½ percent, which is the lowest unemployment in peacetime that we have had in 16 years, and we are finally beginning to make progress in our fight against the rise in the cost of living.

These are substantial achievements in this year 1973. But I would be less than candid if I were not to admit that this has not been an easy year in some other respects, as all of you are quite aware.

As a result of the deplorable Watergate matter, great numbers of Americans have had doubts raised as to the integrity of the President of the United States. I have even noted that some publications have called on me to resign the Office of President of the United States.

Tonight I would like to give my answer to those who have suggested that I resign.

I have no intention whatever of walking away from the job I was elected to do. As long as I am physically able, I am going to continue to work 16 to 18 hours a day for the cause of a real peace abroad, and for the cause of prosperity without inflation and without war at home. And in the months ahead, I shall do everything that I can to see that any doubts as to the integrity of the man who occupies the highest office in this land—to remove those doubts where they exist.

And I am confident that in those months ahead, the American people will come to realize that I have not violated

the trust that they placed in me when they elected me as President of the United States in the past, and I pledge to you tonight that I shall always do everything that I can to be worthy of that trust in the future.

Thank you and good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:30 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television. An advance text of his address was released on the same day.

The White House also released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the contents of the President's address by John A. Love, Director of the Energy Policy Office.

Prior to his address, the President met sepa-

ately during the day with members of the bipartisan Congressional leadership; a group of Governors, mayors, and county officials; and a group of business leaders and representatives of labor and consumer groups.

On November 7 and 8, 1973, the President sent telegrams to Governors, mayors, and county officials, recommending specific actions to meet the energy shortages.

On November 14, the White House announced that the President had directed Director Love to form a Special Action Group to report to the President on steps being taken to achieve the conservation of energy for which the President had asked and to coordinate the energy activities of the Administration with the initial, primary emphasis on short-term problems and solutions.

324 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Emergency Energy Legislation. *November 8, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

As America has grown and prospered in recent years, our demands for energy have begun to outstrip available supplies. Along with other major industrialized nations, we are now faced with the prospect of shortages for several years to come.

Two years ago, in the first energy message ever sent to the Congress by a President of the United States, I called attention to the looming energy problem. Since that time, I have repeatedly warned that the problem might become a full-blown crisis, and seeking to minimize shortages, I have taken a number of administrative steps to increase supplies and reduce consumption. Earlier this year, I also sent more than a half dozen urgent legislative proposals to the Congress. While none of these has yet been enacted, I am hopeful at least several of the measures will be ready for my signature before year's end.

Unfortunately, the energy crisis that once seemed a distant threat to many people is now closing upon us quickly. We had expected moderate shortages of energy this winter, but four weeks ago, when war broke out in the Middle East, most of our traditional suppliers in that area cut off their shipments of oil to the United States. Their action has now sharply changed our expectations for the coming months.

Largely because of the war, we must face up to the stark fact that we are heading toward the most acute shortages of energy since the Second World War. Of the 17 million barrels of oil a day that we would ordinarily consume this winter, more than two million barrels a day will no longer be available to us. Instead of a shortage of approximately 2-3 percent that we had anticipated this winter, we now expect that our supply of petroleum

will be at least 10 percent short of our anticipated demands—and could fall short by as much as 17 percent.

ADMINISTRATION ACTIONS TO MEET THE EMERGENCY

Faced with this emergency, I believe that we must move forward immediately on two fronts: administrative and legislative.

In a speech to the Nation last night, I announced a number of immediate actions:

First, industries and utilities which use coal—our most abundant resource—will be prevented from converting to oil. Efforts will also be made to convert power plants from the use of oil to the use of coal.

Second, reduced quantities of fuel will be allocated to aircraft. This will lead to a cutback of some 10 percent in the number of commercial flights, but it should not seriously disrupt air travel nor cause serious damage to the airline industry.

Third, there will be reductions of approximately 15 percent in the supply of heating oil for homes, offices and other establishments. This is a precautionary measure to ensure that the oil now available not be consumed early in the winter, so that we shall have adequate amounts available in the later months. This step will make it necessary for all of us to live and work in lower temperatures. We must ask everyone to lower the thermostat in his home by at least 6 degrees, so that we can achieve a national daytime average of 68 degrees. In offices, factories and commercial establishments we must ask that the equivalent of a 10-degree reduction be achieved by either lowering the thermostat or curtailing working hours.

Fourth, there will be additional reductions in the consumption of energy by the Federal Government, cutting even deeper than the 7 percent reduction that I ordered earlier this year. This new reduction will affect the operations of every agency and department in the Government, including the Defense Department, which has already led the way in previous cutbacks. As one of the steps in this Federal effort, I have ordered that daytime temperatures in Federal offices be reduced to a level between 65 and 68 degrees. I have also ordered that all vehicles owned by the Federal Government be driven no faster than 50 miles per hour except in emergencies. This is a step which I have also asked Governors, mayors, and other local officials to take immediately with regard to vehicles under their authority.

Fifth, I have asked the Atomic Energy Commission to speed up the licensing and construction of nuclear plants, seeking to reduce the time required to bring nuclear plants on line from ten years to six years.

Sixth, I have also asked Governors and mayors to reinforce these actions by taking appropriate steps at the State and local level. Among the steps which I believe would be helpful are these: staggering of working hours, the encouragement of mass transit and carpooling, alteration of school schedules, and elimination of unnecessary lighting. I have also recommended to the Governors that, consistent with safety and economic considerations, they seek to reduce highway speed limits to 50 miles per hour. This step alone could save over 200,000 barrels of oil a day.

NEED FOR EMERGENCY LEGISLATION

As essential as these actions are to the solution of our immediate problem, we

must recognize that standing alone, they are insufficient. Additional steps must be taken, and for that purpose, we must have new legislation.

I am therefore proposing that the Administration and the Congress join forces and together, in a bipartisan spirit, work to enact an emergency energy bill. Members of my Administration have been consulting with appropriate leaders of the Congress for more than two weeks on this matter. Yesterday I met with the bipartisan leaders of the House and Senate and found them constructive in spirit and eager to get on with the job. In the same manner, I pledge the full cooperation of my Administration. It is my earnest hope that by pushing forward together, we can have new emergency legislation on the books before the Congress recesses in December.

Based on previous consultations with the Congress, I have decided not to send a specific Administration bill to the Congress on this matter but rather to work with the Members in developing a measure that would be acceptable to both the executive and legislative branches. As part of that process, I think it would be helpful to call attention to those provisions that I think should be included in this emergency bill. At a minimum, I hope that the act would:

—Authorize restrictions on both the public and private consumption of energy by such measures as limitations on essential uses of energy (office hours, for instance) and elimination of non-essential uses (decorative lighting, for example);

—Authorize the reduction to 50 miles per hour of speed limits on highways across the country;

—Authorize the exemption or granting of waivers of stationary sources from Fed-

eral and State air and water quality laws and regulations. Such actions would be taken through the Administrator of EPA.

—Authorize the exemption of steps taken under the proposed energy emergency act from the National Environmental Protection Act (NEPA).

—Provide emergency powers for the Federal regulatory agencies involved in transportation to adjust the operations of air, rail, ship and motor carriers in a manner responsive to the need to conserve fuel.

—Empower the Atomic Energy Commission to grant a temporary operating license of up to 18 months for nuclear power plants without holding a public hearing. Such actions would be subject to all safety and other requirements normally imposed by the Commission.

—Authorize the initiation of full production in Naval Petroleum Reserve #1 (Elk Hills, California) and the exploration and further development of other Naval Petroleum Reserves, including Naval Petroleum Reserve #4 in Alaska.

—Permit Daylight Saving Time to be established on a year-round basis.

—And authorize the President, where practicable, to order a power plant or other installation to convert from the use of a fuel such as oil to another fuel such as coal and to make such equipment conversions as are necessary.

In addition to the provisions above, all of which I believe must be enacted before December, there are a number of other authorities which should be provided as soon as possible and hopefully will be included in the emergency measure.

One such provision would grant the President additional authority to allocate and ration energy supplies. Under this

new authority, the President could take such actions based solely upon energy considerations. It is my hope that rationing of energy products will never be required, but if circumstances dictate it, there should be no impediments to swift action. For contingency purposes, I have already directed that plans for gasoline rationing be drawn up and held in reserve.

Recognizing that a more efficient use of our transportation resources is necessary, we should also provide additional authority to encourage greater use of funds from the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1973 for mass transit capital improvements.

In addition, we should provide the Federal Power Commission with authority, during the duration of the energy emergency, to suspend the regulation of prices of new natural gas at the wellhead.

Finally, I believe it would be wise if, on energy grounds, the President were empowered to exercise any authority now contained in the Defense Production Act, the Economic Stabilization Act and the Export Administration Act, even though those acts may have otherwise expired.

MEETING THE LONG-TERM CHALLENGE

As we act to deal with the immediate problem before us, we must not ignore the need for preventing such a crisis from recurring. The lead-times required to meet our long-range energy needs dictate that we must move on them at once.

Legislation authorizing construction of the Alaskan pipeline must be the first order of business as we tackle our long-range energy problems. The American people are depending upon the Congress to enact this legislation at the earliest possible moment, and they are depending upon me

to approve it. With passage apparently imminent, I would urge the Congress not to burden this legislation with irrelevant amendments. This is no time to hold the Nation's energy future hostage to other controversial interests.

I am also requesting early action on pending legislative proposals to:

- permit the competitive pricing of new natural gas;
- provide reasonable standards for the surface mining of coal;
- provide simplified procedures for the siting and approving of electric energy facilities;
- establish a Department of Energy and Natural Resources;
- and provide procedures for approving construction and operation of deepwater ports.

Because of the critical role which energy research and development will play in meeting our future energy needs, I am requesting the Congress to give priority attention to the creation of an Energy Research and Development Administration separate from my proposal to create a Department of Energy and Natural Resources. This new administration would direct the \$10 billion program aimed at achieving a national capacity for energy self-sufficiency by 1980.

This new effort to achieve self-sufficiency in energy, to be known as Project Independence, is absolutely critical to the maintenance of our ability to play our independent role in international affairs. In addition, we must recognize that a substantial part of our success in building a strong and vigorous economy in this century is attributable to the fact that we have always had access to almost unlimited amounts of cheap energy. If this growth is to continue, we must develop

our capacity to provide enormous amounts of clean energy at the lowest possible cost. Thus, irrespective of the implications for our foreign policy and with the implicit understanding that our intentions are not remotely isolationist, the increas-

ing costs of foreign energy further contribute to the necessity of our achieving self-sufficiency in energy.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
November 8, 1973.

325 Remarks at an Awards Dinner of the Nevada State Society of Washington, D.C. November 8, 1973

President Smith and—this list of honored guests is so very long I think I will read just a little of it—Secretary and Mrs. Weinberger, and if I may be a bit premature, Vice President and Mr. Ford—you notice I made his wife the Vice President—Senator Bible, Senator Cannon, Senator Symington, Senator John McClellan, Senator Long—Russell Long—and Governor O’Callaghan:

First, I want to apologize for being a bit late. I could only drive at 50 miles per hour. And I also want to express my apologies to you, President Smith, and all the honored guests, for leaving after my brief remarks. I have to get back to the White House to do some work before they turn off the lights.

I did want to come by today to join the Nevada State Society in this extraordinary occasion in which you honor three very great ladies of Nevada—you call them “Women of the Century”—and I would say three great ladies of the Nation.

I would simply say that Nevada is not one of our most populous States. It has, as we know, much territory, but only one Congressman and two Senators. But there is no State in America, large or small, that has produced three more remarkable women than the State of Nevada—the three you honor tonight.

Now, a lot is going to be said about these honorees by others, and I will not try to preempt them, because I don’t want them to tear up their notes while I am speaking, but I would like to put it all in perspective, if I could, by mentioning each of them briefly, how I have known each of them through many, many years.

Eva Adams, I remember meeting you many, many years ago—and you don’t look a bit older today than when I first met you—when you were the administrative assistant for Pat McCarran and I was a junior Congressman from California. We have both come up a bit in the world since then. You became Director of the Mint, and now, isn’t it Mutual of Omaha? Is that right? And certainly to be here to honor you is something that I am very proud to be able to do.

Helen Bentley is a woman of great capacity, as we all know, and I am proud to say that she is the first woman ever to be appointed by a President of the United States—and I happened to be the President who had the honor to do that—to be appointed as Chairman of one of the regulatory agencies—Helen Bentley.

And then, of course, I wanted to come because you are honoring the first lady in my family and America’s First Lady, Pat Nixon.

Now, these three women have several things in common: They were all born in Nevada; they are all intelligent; they are all women who have come up from rather humble beginnings to very high places in their various lives that they have lived. And they share one other quality which I would like to address just a bit tonight, and that is the quality of character. They have great character.

That is what Nevada is all about. It is a State that produces men and women of character. I have been trying to think how I could describe that character best.

I remember, when I was considering Helen Bentley for the position as Chairman of the Maritime Commission, a Senator who was trying to get me to appoint somebody else came to the office and said, "Mr. President, you can't appoint Helen Bentley to this job. You know, she swears like a man." [*Laughter*]

Well, you know, as all of our honored Senators here know, I never like to put a Senator down, but in this case I did. I said, "Senator, you are absolutely wrong. She swears like a lady, and that is much more powerful."

I think, too, of the fact that through many years that Pat Nixon, who was born in Ely, Nevada, and I have shared many great moments, and some difficult moments. And I, of course, remember the great moments, but even more, I remember the more difficult moments, because that is the test of an individual, and the great test of Nevada's First Ladies, one of whom I have the privilege to know extremely well, is that when the going is toughest, they are at their very best.

I remember, for example—to show how much the Nation thinks of her—that after I had named Jerry Ford as the Vice Presi-

dent-designate of the United States of America, I received a lot of letters and other correspondence indicating their approval of it, but one man wrote me a letter with a clipping in it about the inauguration in Argentina, where President Perón has named his wife as Vice President. He said, "Mr. President, why didn't you think of that?"

And I can only say that I remember many moments, but one in particular that I would describe for you that perhaps never has been in the history books to date: 1958, Caracas, when great mobs of rather violent rioters attacked the cars of the Vice President and those in the caravan as we moved through the city of Caracas.

The Vice Presidential car was badly bashed in, they began to tip it over, and Pat Nixon was in the car immediately behind. Don Hughes, then a major, now a general, of the Air Force was sitting by her, and he said that what impressed him was that as she looked at that mob attacking her husband's car and also attacking her car, that she sat there cool, calm, just smiling at them. And he said, "She was the bravest woman I ever saw in my life."

And I know that I have talked to many world leaders, and I have found that whenever you find a strong world leader, you find usually by his side a very strong woman. I have been fortunate in that respect.

Perhaps I can describe her spirit by a reference to another woman who has played a very major role in my life, my mother. I remember the last conversation I ever had with her. It was in the mid-sixties. It had not been particularly a good period for me. I had just lost for President, and then I lost for Governor of Cali-

fornia. There wasn't anything else to run for—[laughter]—so I moved to New York and started to make money.

I came back to see her because she had had several serious operations, and the prognosis was that she would not live. I remember going into the hospital room. I talked to her a while. I noticed that she seemed to be a little down. I said, "Mother, don't you give up," and all of a sudden she got up on her elbow, and she looked at me, and she said, "Richard, don't you ever give up."

I want to say to this great audience here that that is the spirit of the three honorees you have here tonight; that is the spirit of the frontier women of America, the women who helped make the West, Nevada and all the great States that we, who come from the West, know so well, and that is the spirit, strength in adversity, that

has carried America through many trials and that will carry it on to many great triumphs in the future.

And I am proud to be here tonight to join with the Nevada State Society in honoring these three great ladies, and by honoring them, honoring the women of America who have the character to make the men whatever they happen to be.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:15 p.m. in the Sheraton Room of the Sheraton-Park Hotel.

The Nevada State Society of Washington, D.C., was holding its "Salute to Nevada's Outstanding Women of the Century," and awards were presented to Mrs. Nixon, Helen Delich Bentley, Chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission, and Eva B. Adams, Director of the Bureau of the Mint from 1961 to 1969.

Chester H. Smith was president of the Nevada State Society, and Mike O'Callaghan was Governor of Nevada.

326 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Convention on the International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea, 1972. *November 9, 1973*

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate to acceptance, the Convention on the International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea, 1972, done at London October 20, 1972. The report of the Department of State is enclosed for the information of the Senate.

The Convention is designed to revise and bring up to date the International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea, 1960, in the light of technological developments and increased use of the marine environment since those Regulations were concluded.

International concern for the protection

and effective management of our oceans has been growing in recent years. The international community has also become more aware that the effects of marine casualties are not confined to the men and vessels immediately involved but, through the increased risk of marine pollution, can extend well beyond. I recommend that the Senate give prompt consideration to this Convention and consent to its acceptance.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

November 9, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the convention and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive W (93d Cong., 1st sess.).

327 Message to the Senate Transmitting a Protocol to the Convention for the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea. *November 9, 1973*

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Protocol to the Convention for the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea, done at Copenhagen on August 13, 1970.

This Protocol amends the Convention for the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea, done at Copenhagen September 12, 1964, with respect to the vote required by the Council for approving its annual budget. I transmit, for the

information of the Senate, the report received from the Department of State with respect to the Protocol.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Protocol submitted herewith and give its advice and consent to ratification.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

November 9, 1973.

NOTE: The text of the protocol and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive V (93d Cong., 1st sess.).

328 Statement Announcing Procedures for Providing Presidential Tape Recordings and Documents to the United States District Court. *November 12, 1973*

AS A CONSEQUENCE of the public disclosure 2 weeks ago that two conversations of the President were not recorded on the White House recording system, doubts have arisen about just what happened to these conversations and why they were not recorded. The purpose of this statement is to help dispel those doubts and to spell out certain steps I will take to offer information to the court that will help determine the substance of all nine conversations subpoenaed by the court.

First, there are no missing tapes. There are two conversations requested by the courts which were not recorded. The first is a 4-minute conversation with the former Attorney General, John Mitchell, on June 20, 1972. The second is a meeting of 55 minutes with John Dean, late in

the evening of Sunday, April 15, 1973.

There is no question in my mind but that the open-court hearing now being conducted will demonstrate to the court's satisfaction the truth of our statements that these two conversations were never recorded. In fact there is no affirmative evidence to the contrary. I believe that when the court concludes its evaluation of the testimony and documentary evidence, public doubt on this issue will be completely and satisfactorily removed.

In the meantime, I believe it important to make a statement about this proceeding so that misconceptions about this matter do not persist, simply because certain basic facts are not presented to the American public.

First, the Senate Select Committee did

not subpoena the substance of the two unrecorded conversations. That material was requested only by the Special Prosecutor, and the court, who believed the substance of nine Presidential conversations was necessary for completion of the Watergate investigation.

We are complying fully with the Federal court decision. In seven of nine instances, the actual recording of the conversation is being submitted; this includes five conversations in which John Dean participated: September 15, 1972, March 13, 1973, two on March 21, 1973, one on March 22, 1973. For all nine conversations covered by the subpoena, such contemporaneous notes and memoranda as were made of the conversations are being provided in accordance with the court order.

Before discussing these matters, the issue of when and why the recorded conversations were listened to by me, and by others on my behalf, should be placed in chronological perspective.

On June 4, 1973, I listened to the tape recordings of a number of conversations I had with John Dean in order to refresh my memory of those discussions. All of the conversations to which I listened that day had taken place prior to March 21, 1973. My purpose in reviewing the recordings of my conversations with Mr. Dean was to confirm my recollection that he had not reported certain facts to me prior to March 21, 1973. In late April 1973, I asked H. R. Haldeman to listen and report on the conversation of March 21, 1973, in which he had been present for a substantial portion of time. My primary purpose in having Mr. Haldeman listen to this tape was to confirm my recollection that March 21, 1973, was the date on

which John Dean had first reported certain facts to me.

There had been rumors and reports to the contrary—one of them suggesting that John Dean and I had met 30 or 40 times to discuss Watergate—and I wanted to refresh my recollection as to what was the precise and entire truth.

On September 29, 1973, I began a review of the tape recordings subpoenaed by the Special Prosecutor for the grand jury and by the Senate Select Committee. The reason was it had been my deliberate intention to litigate the matter up to the Supreme Court, if necessary, to protect the right of confidentiality and the related principle of separation of powers. By late September, however, I had come to the conclusion that the national interest would be better served by a reasonable compromise.

Thus, in late September, I began to consider various approaches which led to what has come to be known as the "Stennis Compromise"—turning over to both the Senate committee and the court the full substance of the relevant recorded conversations, leaving the verification of the precision and accuracy of that substance to Senator Stennis. That compromise offer, accepted by the Senate committee chairman and vice chairman, proved unacceptable to the Special Prosecutor.

It was during this process that I first became aware of the possibility that two of the 10 conversations in question had not been recorded.

I proceeded with a review of the eight recorded conversations and subsequently ordered a further search for recordings of the two conversations in question and an investigation into the circumstances which

caused the conversations not to be recorded. The search and investigation were not finally completed until October 27.

One of the conversations for which no recording could be found was a 4-minute telephone call I made to John Mitchell on the evening of June 20, 1972. The only telephone calls which were recorded in the residence of the White House were those made in the Lincoln Sitting Room, which I use as an office. Telephone conversations in the family quarters have never been recorded during this Administration. The telephone call with John Mitchell was one that I made on the telephone in the family quarters just before going in to dinner, and consequently, it was not recorded.

My conversation with John Dean on Sunday evening, April 15, 1973, was not recorded because the tape on the recording machine for my Executive Office Building office was used up and ran out earlier in the day. The tape which was on the operating recorder on Sunday, April 15, 1973, contains recordings of the conversations in my Executive Office Building office on Saturday, April 14, 1973. It also contains a portion of the first conversation I had in that office on Sunday, April 15, 1973, which was with Attorney General Kleindienst. During that conversation the tape ran out. Normally, I see very few people in my Executive Office Building office on the weekends. However, on the weekend of April 14 and 15, the activity in my Executive Office Building office was unusual and unanticipated. Certain reports made to me by my staff early in the morning of April 14, 1973, led me to have lengthy discussions with staff members during the day in my office in the Executive Office

Building. In addition, international developments required a lengthy meeting with my Assistant for National Security Affairs late that morning.

On Sunday, April 15, 1973, I began another series of meetings in my Executive Office Building office at about 1 p.m. The first meeting was with Attorney General Kleindienst. Thereafter the meetings continued until late in the evening with the exception of a break of about 2 hours for dinner. I did not meet with John Dean until approximately 9 o'clock that evening. Since the tape on the recorder for my Executive Office Building office had run out during my afternoon meeting with Attorney General Kleindienst, the Dean meeting was not recorded.

It should be pointed out that the court order calls for evidentiary materials such as notes and memoranda in addition to recordings of specified conversations. The court order spells out a detailed procedure for turning materials over for Judge Sirica's private review. In recent days, in an effort to locate materials for the court, a diligent search has been made for materials that might shed further light on the substance of the conversations in question, including the unrecorded conversations with John Mitchell on June 20, 1972, and with John Dean, on the evening of April 15, 1973.

Since I have been in office, I have maintained a personal diary file which consists of notes which I have personally taken during meetings and of dictation belts on which I record recollections. The dictation belts and notes are placed in my personal diary file by my secretary. They are sealed under specific instructions that they not be transcribed.

In the course of searching my personal

diary files, I have located a dictation belt that I dictated at 8:30 p.m. on June 20, 1972, on which, among other activities of the day, I referred to a telephone call with John Mitchell. The portion of the belt relating to the conversation with John Mitchell will be submitted to the court.

We have also located the dictation belt of my recollections of the conversations in question for March 21, 1973, and the relevant portions of these recollections together with the actual recordings of the conversations, of course, will also be submitted to the court in compliance with its order.

Over the weekend of November 4 and 5, 1973, upon checking my personal diary file for April 15, 1973, to locate information to be produced in accordance with the court's order, I found that my file for that day consists of personal notes of the conversation held with John Dean the evening of April 15, 1973, but not a dictation belt. My original handwritten notes, made during my meeting with John Dean on the evening of April 15, 1973, will be submitted to the court.

On June 11, 1973, the Special Prosecutor requested a tape of a conversation I had with John Dean on April 15, 1973 (which I had previously offered to let Assistant Attorney General Petersen hear).

As has been pointed out, my personal diary file consists of notes of conversations and dictation belts of recollections, and I believed in June that I had dictated my recollections of April 15, 1973, of conversations which occurred on that day. The response to the Special Prosecutor made on June 16, 1973, referred to such a dictation belt. At that time, however, I did not review my file to confirm that it contained the belt.

I have made a diligent search for other evidentiary materials that might shed light on the substance of my conversation with John Dean on the evening of April 15, 1973. Other than my contemporaneous notes of that meeting mentioned above, I have found no such evidence. However, I did meet with John Dean on Monday, April 16, 1973, on two occasions. The first was in the morning in the Oval Office; the second was in the afternoon in the Executive Office Building office. This was my final meeting with Mr. Dean before he left the White House Staff. Both of these conversations were recorded on the White House recording system. I recently reviewed the recordings of these conversations. A comparison of my notes of the April 15, 1973, meeting and the recording of the conversation with Mr. Dean on the morning of April 16, 1973, shows both conversations covered much the same subject matter. There are references throughout the conversation on the morning of April 16 to the conversation held the evening before.

I shall voluntarily submit to the court, under the procedures applicable to recordings of conversations already covered by the court order, these recordings of my two conversations with John Dean on April 16, 1973.

In addition, as stated above and consistent with the court order, the court will be provided with:

- (1) The portion of the dictation belt containing my recollection of the June 20, 1972, conversation with Mr. Mitchell.
- (2) The portion of the dictation belt of my recollections of the meetings with Mr. Dean on March 21, 1973.
- (3) Contemporaneous notes from the

April 15, 1973, conversation with Mr. Dean.

- (4) All other materials covered by the court order.

I have also authorized my Counsel to make available to the court certain tape recordings not covered by the court order to assist the court in verifying that the two conversations in question were not recorded. The additional tape recordings to be provided are (a) the full reel of telephone recordings covering the period of June 20, 1972, and (b) the two reels of tape which were on the recorders for my Executive Office Building office on April 15, 1973. This will permit the court to

check the sequence of the conversations against my daily logs of meetings and telephone conversations already provided to the court, and thus further demonstrate that the Mitchell and Dean conversations in question were not recorded.

I have also agreed that a group of court-approved independent experts employing the most advanced technological methods shall examine all tapes in question for any evidence of alterations to the tapes.

It is my hope that these steps will clear up this aspect of the Watergate matter once and for all.

329 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Customs Convention on Containers, 1972, and the International Convention for Safe Containers. *November 14, 1973*

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification (1) the Customs Convention on Containers, 1972, and (2) the International Convention for Safe Containers, both signed at Geneva on December 5, 1972. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Secretary of State with respect to the Conventions.

The Customs Convention on Containers, 1972, is designed to supersede and update the Customs Convention on Containers of 1956. The new Convention provides for the temporary importation of containers free of import duties and taxes and free of import prohibitions and restrictions. It also harmonizes and unifies technical provisions applicable to containers used for transport of merchandise

under Customs seal and provides for the use of temporarily imported containers in internal transport operations under specified conditions. This Convention is important because it will insure United States-owned containers the same treatment in the territories of States parties to this Convention as that afforded in the United States to foreign-owned containers.

The International Convention for Safe Containers specifies structural requirements for certain transport containers to assure their safe operation. The need for an international convention on this topic became apparent with the threat of proliferation of individual State safety requirements which would be applicable to all containers transiting their respective borders. The safety record of the con-

tainerization movement has been excellent and the present Convention is based on existing safety standards.

The Customs Convention on Containers, 1972, and the International Convention for Safe Containers will make a significant contribution to efforts to estab-

lish uniform international regulations regarding containers.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

November 14, 1973.

NOTE: The texts of the conventions and accompanying papers are printed in Senate Executive X (93d Cong., 1st sess.).

330 Remarks at the National Association of Realtors Annual Convention. November 15, 1973

President Sawyer, all of the distinguished gentlemen on the platform, and all of the very distinguished ladies and gentlemen who are here for this convention of the National Association of Realtors, and your guests:

First, I am most grateful for this presentation,¹ and I hope I will not have to use it in some places. But in any event, it will always be a symbol of my affection for you, whom I have known for many, many years, long before I became President, and also of what I appreciate, your receiving me so well this morning.

And, Mr. President, I should mention that as I looked over the background material, I am able to say today to this group that I am honored to be the first President of the United States since 1960, when Dwight Eisenhower addressed you, to address the National Association of Realtors.

Now, there must be a pretty good reason for that, and it may not have occurred to you, but I should point it out to you, and

that is this: All I own in the world is real estate. I think it is a good investment.

I remember in the year 1968 when I decided to become a candidate for President of the United States—that is not quite correct; I decided to become a candidate several times for President of the United States but in the year 1968, when I decided to become a candidate, I read of the difficulties that Cabinet officers, Presidents, et cetera, had had through the years when questions were raised with regard to owning stocks and bonds and blind trusts, and all that sort of thing, and although those difficulties had been raised, I knew that in each case when they had been raised where a President was concerned, I had no doubt about his integrity, but I felt that in this instance there was only one thing to do, and that was to make sure that there would be no question about whatever I had acquired, and consequently, I sold what few stocks I owned, I sold my apartment in New York, I bought a house in California, I bought also my mother's house in California, and I bought two pieces of property in Florida, one of which I have since sold, and that is what I own.

I believe in America, and I believe in

¹ J. D. Sawyer, president of the National Association of Realtors, presented the President with a gavel made of wood from the home of George Washington and metal from the deck of the battleship *Missouri*.

America's real estate. That is why my money is in real estate.

The other day when I was riding up the road, the old 101 to Los Angeles from San Clemente, I saw a sign on the window of one very handsome real estate office saying "1973 is our best year ever. Come on in and make it better." It occurred to me that that is the spirit of this group, and I would like to talk to you at the conclusion of your sessions today about 1973, why it is a good year in many respects and a great year in some respects, and why, also, it is a year that is troublesome in other respects and that causes us concern. Because, as realtors, I know one thing about you—I have been exposed to insurance salesmen and to stock salesmen, but believe me, you have never been exposed to a salesman until a realtor gets at you.

And the reason realtors are good salesmen is that you believe in your product. You believe that real estate is a good investment. And real estate is not a good investment unless America is a good investment. And I want to tell you today why I think America is the best investment in the world, a better investment because of what has happened in 1973.

The year 1973 has seen some major accomplishments which makes America a better investment than it was in any of the years prior to that time, going clear back to the time that President Eisenhower left office in January of 1961, because the year 1973 saw the end of the longest war in America's history. It saw our prisoners of war returning home and, as one of them said, proud to return on their feet rather than on their knees.

It was a year which saw that for the first time in 25 years, no young Americans

are being drafted for the armed services. We want them to serve, but they will be volunteers and so young people can plan their lives their own way and not be drafted.

Also, on the international front it was a year when we saw continuing progress in our relationships with two of the great powers in the world whose ideologies are totally different from ours, but who, because we both exist on this planet together and have the potential of great power, must find a way to live together or we will find ways that we will die together.

And that is why the relationship with the Soviet Union, with the second summit held here in Washington, at Camp David, and concluded in San Clemente, the relationship with the People's Republic of China where 800 million people of the world live, has continued with Dr. Kissinger's trip just being completed there, with meetings with Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-tung going, as usual, very well and, in this case, better than the previous meetings that we have had, and they went very well considering the state of our relationships.

It has seen also in this year 1973 in the foreign policy field a very serious crisis develop in the Mideast, but a crisis which, after war flared up, has now been resolved, at least on a temporary basis. But this is the difference: We have had truces in the Mideast before, because this is the fourth war in the last 25 years, but it has only been a truce. There has never been any hope that the truce might be followed by negotiations which would lead to a permanent peace.

This war we have ended with a truce where the United States played an indispensable role, but having played that in-

dispensable role, the difference is that for the first time in the four wars that have been fought in the Mideast in the last 25 years, we now have laid the foundation for the parties involved to negotiate and to build a permanent peace, because putting it quite directly, ladies and gentlemen, in this troublespot of the world, one which has flared into war four different times, here, as distinguished from Vietnam, where none of the great powers would have become involved because of Vietnam—it was not that important to the Soviets or to the Chinese for them to become involved except in furnishing supplies—here in the Mideast, the crossroads of the world, the oil of the world, the gateway to Africa, the anchor of NATO, the entry to the Mediterranean, here the Mideast is so important that if the great powers do not find a way to work together in that area, if they should come in conflict in that area, the possibility of that being an area where neither could back down is quite obvious, and that is why our negotiations with the Soviets at the highest level have continued and will continue in this area.

That is why we are working, having obtained the cease-fire, now to take the second step to build a permanent peace.

I do not tell you, this audience today, that 1973 will be the year that the permanent peace was agreed to. It will not be such a year, because where hatreds go back over thousands of years, they are not ended even in thousands of hours, let alone a thousand days, or whatever the case might be. But I do know this: 1973, I trust, I believe, I am confident, will be the year that will mark the beginning of a process which will lead to a settlement which will be a permanent peace, one where the parties in the area will not

learn to love each other, the hatreds will not be removed, but where they will understand that they must learn that neither side can afford another war, and that it is to their interests, therefore, to find a way to have peace in that area.

You see what that means to us, you see what it means to our European friends and our friends in Japan who depend on the war (oil) in the Mideast. You see also what it means to the cause of world peace, where the Soviet Union has a vital interest in that area, where the United States has a vital interest in that area.

This, then, is the major target of a foreign policy which has ended the war in Vietnam, which has developed a new relationship with the two great powers, the Soviet Union and China, and which now attempts to find a solution to an age-old conflict in the Middle East.

Moving from that area to the domestic front, we have here achieved a goal that I set when I first came into office in 1969.

When I came into office, I found that during the entire period of the sixties—1961, 1962, '63, '64, all through the sixties—the previous 8 years, the United States had never had unemployment at a rate lower than 5 percent, in the 4 percent range, which most consider to be possibly acceptable, although we like it as low as possible, but the United States had never had unemployment in the 4 percent range except at the cost of war.

In fact, we had to go back to the year 1955 and '56 when President Eisenhower was in office to find a period when the United States had unemployment, or what we might call a full employment, in the 4 to 4½ percent range, without war. And now, finally, in this year 1973, as you will note from the figures that were released just a few weeks ago, we have

achieved the goal of employment without war in the United States, and that is a goal worth achieving.

And so, we could stop here. We could say, a good year, 1973; therefore, real estate is a good investment because it is a good year, because of what has happened abroad, because of what happened at home in our economy, with the economy moving up.

But then, we also have to put in the balance those things that people are thinking about, that you are thinking about, which tend to indicate that there are minus sides of a year as well as plus sides, which will always be the case in any year.

There is, for example, the problem of inflation, and I know that in your case it hits it in the case of interest rates. I know that in your case, you are concerned about the downturn in housing starts. All that I can say is that this Administration is going to continue to fight the battle of inflation as we have fought it in the past.

We finally have begun to make progress on the food price front. We believe we are going to be making more progress on the interest rate front, but the main thing is—lend now and borrow later, that is what I would suggest you to do—[*laughter*]*—*but one of the main things that you can do that can help, apart from complying with our programs of controls where they happen to affect you, and I assume that you who are in other business than real estate may find areas where you are affected by the control system, remember this: A major factor that drives up prices is when your Federal Government spends more than it needs to and spends more than it takes in in taxes.

Help us in the battle against Govern-

ment spending. Let's not have the Government spend down.

And incidentally, I say this in no partisan sense, because, believe me, Democrats as well as Republicans in the House and the Senate have joined in this battle, and we have won most of them. But we need for them to hear from back home, because they always hear from those that want to spend more; they seldom hear from those who realize that when you do spend more in a way that raises prices, it means that your busting the Federal budget makes it impossible to balance the family budget.

You can get that message across, because you know how to talk quite directly to people, as I have pointed out on several occasions.

There is then the problem of energy. I discussed that at some length a few nights ago on television. I will not go into it in any detail because I am sure you have read about it, thought about it, wondered how serious it is.

Let me capsule it very simply in this way: Before the Mideast war broke out, we had a serious energy problem in the United States. The reason the problem was serious was not because our production was lower, but because our demands were so much higher.

It is the fact that, for example, more people have television, more people use more lights, more heat, there are more cars using more gasoline. In fact, the United States, with 7 percent of the world's people, uses 30 percent of the world's energy, and so, consequently, it was a question, a serious problem in the spring of this year, that was arising with regard to energy.

We had to get more sources. It was in

April of this year that I sent to the Congress requests for seven major pieces of legislation. I urged action on an urgent basis.

One has now reached my desk, the Alaskan pipeline, and as far as that one is concerned, despite the fact that it has some riders on it that I will have to ask the Congress in later legislation to remove, I, of course, will sign the bill, because the Alaskan pipeline is necessary, and once it is in operation in 1967 (1977) it will furnish the United States—and get this number—almost a third of our oil needs [imports], and that is, of course, one of the reasons why its delay has been almost unconscionable, a delay for reasons that I thought were rather fatuous, frankly.

Now, coming beyond that, however, as we look at our energy problem, as I described it, a serious problem, what was a serious problem in April—and the Congress did consider it serious but not serious enough to act upon it—became a crisis as a result of the Mideast.

Now, one thing I must warn this audience and the American people about, now that we see that we have already had a cease-fire in the Mideast, now that we see negotiations beginning that hold out the hope that some of the Arab nations that have oil may relent with regard to their oil embargo and let the oil come in, some may get the impression, well, if we begin to get the Mideast oil again, then there will be no energy crisis which the President had described a few days ago in his remarks, and we can go back to driving 70 miles an hour rather than 50 miles an hour, and we can turn up our heat in our home from 68 to 78 or 88, or higher yet, if you want to go someplace that I don't want to go to. [*Laughter*]

But the point is, we have already lost, my friends, we have already lost 6 weeks of oil from the Mideast. Even if the thing were settled in the next 2 weeks, we would have lost 2 months. We may lose 3 months. And so the crisis is there, and that is why these extraordinary measures have been taken and why we urge your cooperation voluntarily in seeing that across this Nation we have enough light, enough transportation, enough heat, but not more than we need, so that everybody sacrifices a little, and no one, then, will have to suffer at all. That is the program, and I hope that you will support it.

But again, putting it in parallel with the Mideast situation, it is so easy to say, as in the Mideast, "Well, we have a cease-fire," and then relax, and then 7 or 8 years from now another war and an even closer possibility of confrontation between the super powers.

In the Mideast we have not been satisfied with that. We are moving from the cease-fire toward a permanent settlement, and in energy we must not be satisfied with doing enough this year to take care of our heating and transportation and lighting and power to run our factories and farms, and so forth, and feel that if we do enough this year, then maybe next year we can go back to business as usual.

And that is why I have set a goal for the United States, one that I ask all Americans to join in. In the year 1976, as you know, we will be celebrating our 200th birthday, and that, of course, is a great birthday because it is the birthday of our independence. I was hoping that we could also set as a goal for the year 1976, our national independence birthday, a goal of being self-sufficient in energy so that no nation, not an Arab country, not a Latin American country,

not even our Canadian friends—they are pretty tough on us at times, too, you know, when they are looking down our throats, and I understand it, and we do not complain about it, because that is the way the business world works, but the point that I make is this:

The United States of America is a great nation. No great nation must ever be in the position where it is dependent on any other nation, friend or foe, for its energy. That does not mean that we will not continue to desire the oil of the Mideast, and try to develop the gas resources, perhaps, in Siberia, and work with our friends in Canada and Latin America, and so forth, for trade and all that kind of thing. But it does mean that the United States must be independent in this area, and we can be, and we can be by 1980, and I will tell you how.

First, coal. We have half the coal resources of the world in the United States. We have got to find better ways to bring it out of the ground without destroying the environment—John Whitaker,² I am sure, has addressed you with regard to land use and that sort of subject, and I could have more to say, but time will not permit—but that can and will be done.

And second, we must find ways to make coal a cleaner fuel, and through a process that we are now going through of maximum research, we are finding ways where coal can be made a cleaner fuel through degasification and the like. And so coal is one of our potentials to make us self-sufficient in energy.

A second area is natural gas. Here we run right counter to great political forces, which I well understand. In order to get more natural gas, which is the cleanest

fuel we could possibly have, or a very clean fuel, I should say, because nuclear power is probably cleaner than natural gas, but in order to get more natural gas, the old law of supply and demand works. And at the present time, the price for natural gas is held so artificially low that wells that could produce it and wells that could be drilled anew to produce it are not producing it and are not being drilled.

Now, we need the gas. In order to get it, we have got to deregulate so that the price can go up, not a price where the American consumer pays an exorbitant price, because as that supply goes up that demand, of course, will also eat it up, and eventually the price situation will, I think, take care of itself. But it doesn't make any sense to keep the gas in the ground at a time that people in New England are going around cold because they don't have the fuel they need. We have got to get it out of the ground, and that is why the deregulation of natural gas is important. And I would hope that the Congress, after due consideration of all the price factors and the rest, will act expeditiously now on this particular matter.

The third area—there are others that could be mentioned—is nuclear power. And here, as educators of your country—and I know that real estate people are educators to an extent. You spend long days in which you never make a sale. You spend long days when people come in there and put their feet up on the desk and they waste your time and talk about things, but that is a time to do some educating, and I want to tell you what I think you can do in this particular area.

In the field of nuclear power, there is a fear syndrome in the United States. Because nuclear power created the greatest destructive force the world has ever

² John C. Whitaker was Under Secretary of the Interior.

known, there is the feeling that the use of nuclear power for peaceful purposes should not even be explored. I live 12 miles from a nuclear powerplant in California, and I am not afraid, and none of my neighbors are afraid. It is safe; it is clean; it is necessary. And the United States, which was the first to develop nuclear power, must now go forward to develop it for peaceful purposes so that by the year 1980 we can have all the power that we need.

And now let me come to a critical question—realtors. Realtors, of course, believe in this country. Realtors believe that real estate, American real estate, is the best investment you can make, not only in real estate or probably in anything else. I didn't check with my New York stockbrokers to see whether or not they agreed with that—the ones I formerly knew—but nevertheless, I think most of them are now saying, have your portfolio with some real estate in it as well as common stocks and bonds. If I have left anything out, it is not deliberate.

The point is, when I have been talking here, I have been talking about extracting coal and making it a clean fuel, and in the meantime using it even when it isn't clean if it is necessary in order to have the energy that produces our jobs and keeps us warm and keeps us moving.

Second, I have been talking about nuclear power and nuclear power also runs into the problem that some people who are desperately concerned about the environment, the beauty of America, as I am concerned, and as you are concerned, they wonder, should we develop nuclear power, might it have a detrimental effect on the environment?

Let me tell you what is my belief. Our goal for 1980 is not only to have independ-

ence—we call it "Project Independence 1980"—to be self-sufficient in energy, our goal for 1980 is to be self-sufficient in clean energy.

America can have all the energy it needs, and we can still have it a clean energy, clean nuclear power, clean coal power, clean shale oil power, and clean natural gas power, just to name those.

That is our goal, because we want this to be a beautiful country, not just a prosperous country. We want this to be a beautiful country, not just a peaceful country. We want this to be a beautiful country, not just one that has all the energy that it needs, but which so contaminates the air that our children will not enjoy the life that we have had the opportunity to enjoy in past years.

My time has expired, and I will simply close on one final note that I know will be of some interest to this great audience.

I mentioned some of the plus things and some of the problem areas and some of the minus things, but all of them are soluble. There is one other problem that most of you have been reading about and hearing about, the problem of the campaign of 1972 and the issues that arose out of it, the mistakes that were made, mistakes made by people who, as I have often stated, were overzealous, mistakes that I never approved of, mistakes that I would never have tolerated, but mistakes for which I will have to take responsibility.

But let me also say this: Mistakes are one thing; as far as the President of the United States is concerned, he has not violated his trust, and he isn't going to violate his trust now.

And I say to you ladies and gentlemen that, finally, I was elected to do a job. I considered as the great goals ending the longest war in America's history, but not

stopping there, building a permanent peace that in the year 2000 your children and my children could enjoy.

I had as another goal building a new prosperity of full employment without war and without unacceptable inflation.

And I had as another goal making this country a safe country, a beautiful country, a country that our children would invest in and believe in and love.

That was the job I was elected to do, and I can assure you that no matter what some of my good-intentioned friends and, certainly, I would say, honest opponents, may suggest to the contrary, I am not going to walk away until I get that job done.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:04 a.m. at the Sheraton-Park Hotel.

331 Statement on the Launching of the Skylab 3 Spacecraft. *November 16, 1973*

THE SKYLAB flight that begins today marks the conclusion of the single most productive program in the history of man's quest for knowledge about himself and his world. The crew of Skylab will mark in space the 16th anniversary of America's first step toward the heavens. From the launch of a 30-pound space satellite, we progressed to the exploration of the Moon, which is helping to determine Earth's place in the universe. Now we are moving to determine through space technology man's own place in the universe, and to greater understanding of

our own planet.

As we are grateful for the success of our previous ventures into space, and as we look to the success of that which is imminent, let us never take for granted the skill and courage and devotion of those who labor on behalf of the United States space program. Let us rather pause to reflect with pride upon what we have done, asking God's blessings upon our efforts, and God's grace upon those who bravely place their lives at the service of peace for all mankind.

332 Remarks on Signing a Bill Authorizing the Trans-Alaska Oil Pipeline. *November 16, 1973*

I WANT to congratulate all of the Members of the House and Senate that are here, as well as members of the Administration, for their support of this legislation.

It has a couple of clinkers in it, as you know—shall we say, riders—that I would very much like to see removed. However, I thought that the importance of dealing with the energy crisis was so great that

that had to override my objections to the amendments.

I will, of course, ask the Congress in its wisdom to consider the possibility of considering the two riders separately in legislation and then possibly removing them. Could I have your support, Senator?

SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON. You will have my consideration.

THE PRESIDENT. That is a Senator's way of saying no. [*Laughter*]

There is the bill. I would like to give it to one of you, but that has to go to the Archives. So, under the circumstances, it has to go here in this little box.

The Alaska pipeline is on its way. The environment will be saved, right?

SENATOR JACKSON. Right.

THE PRESIDENT. No problem.

Mark, you are an environmentalist, right?

SENATOR MARK O. HATFIELD. Right.

THE PRESIDENT. You have no problems on the pipeline?

SENATOR HATFIELD. No great problems.

THE PRESIDENT. No great problems. That is a way of saying there could be.

I want to say that this is the first piece of legislation in this area that we have. I am glad that with Senator Jackson's leadership and others in the House and the Senate—I mention both Republicans and Democrats—that we trust that before the session is completed, we can have action on some of the other matters.

And I understand that is quite possible; is it not?

SENATOR JACKSON. Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. What do you think we can get, Senator?

SENATOR JACKSON. We have the mandatory allocations bill which I presume you are about ready to sign.

THE PRESIDENT. Right.

SENATOR JACKSON. And of the next, we are right now, at this moment, we are going back to vote on amendments in connection with the authority that you need to deal with the developing shortages. We will pass that by, say, Monday.

Then, we will be reporting to the Senate the research and development bill.

THE PRESIDENT. Right. That is long-

term, though.

SENATOR JACKSON. That is right. That is a 10-year program of \$2 billion a year, comparable to what you have proposed on a 5-year. It is the same thing.

And then, we have the strategic reserve bill. So, there will be five bills.

THE PRESIDENT. Elk Hills?

SENATOR JACKSON. Yes. We have got some problems on Elk Hills that we have to work out. We are working on that. I have been talking to Mel Laird. He may have to go over to the Defense Department again to resume duties for a temporary period.

THE PRESIDENT. I am going to be down to see Uncle Carl Vinson, Sunday.

SENATOR JACKSON. I will be there, too.

Mr. President, may I just say that we want to thank you. We have our party differences from time to time, but we are all determined to proceed on a full bipartisan basis with the energy program. We are doing this.

I might mention that when we had the emergency bill up for markup for amendments, we did something that doesn't happen very often, that is, we had Governor Love's representatives, Interior representatives, and all the other representatives participating in the markup, amending the bill.

And we are proceeding on a bipartisan basis to demonstrate to the world that we are going to meet this problem and that we can meet it. I just wanted to give you that assurance and I know that I can help.

REPRESENTATIVE CRAIG HOSMER. Mr. President, I think you ought to know that we are also proceeding on a bicameral basis on the House side on a lot of these things, too. It is not only on the other side.

SENATOR CLIFFORD P. HANSEN. Mr.

President, Dr. Pecora's widow, who is here today, and who received the first pen, deserves our special attention because it was he, a number of years ago, who pointed out the fact that this Nation was headed in a direction that would spell nothing but crisis for us.¹

He called a long time ago for us to do something about supply, and I am sure Mrs. Pecora is very pleased today to be here to see you take this action, which will implement a very major step forward in doing something about increasing supply.

THE PRESIDENT. As a matter of fact, I want to say, Mrs. Pecora, that it was your husband who was the moving force behind the first energy message ever sent to the Congress by a President of the United States, which was, of course, 2 years ago in 1971. I really should have called it the Pecora message, but now we see some of the beginnings.

I also would like to say, as I tried to emphasize yesterday, that there is a tendency sometimes for us when we talk about a crisis or a problem to get very excited, and after you make the presentation to the Congress or on television, and then to sort of forget about it and think about what the next crisis may be.

I want to emphasize very strongly that because of the progress, and it has been real progress, that we have made in the Mideast, because of the possibility, and it is still just a possibility, but it is, I think, a reasonable possibility that at some time in the future we can see some change with regard to some of the Arab oil-producing

countries and their attitude toward exporting to the United States and to Europe, which affects us indirectly because of the residuals that Europe sends to us.

While that can happen, even if it happened tomorrow, we would still have an energy crisis for this year. That is a thing we have to remember. That is why it seems to me that as we move on the Alaska pipeline, which deals with the longer range problem, it is not going to help us with our automobile fuel this year or with our power or anything else this year, but it will in the years ahead.

But as we think of the energy crisis, let us handle it this year. It will require some sacrifice by all, and no suffering by any. But beyond that, let us think primarily of the greater goal, and that is, the goal of what I call "Project Independence 1980." That is a realistic goal.

By 1980, the United States of America can be and must be independent of any reliance upon any foreign source for its energy, because energy is essential for everything that we do. And in this connection, that is why we must move forward in the nuclear field.

We have got to move forward in the natural gas field, recognizing its controversy, the deregulation there under some proper circumstances to protect the consumer, and we have got to move forward particularly in the coal field, where we have half the coal in the world, and have to have ways to extract it that will not despoil the environment, and also to clean it up so that once it is used, it will not then have an adverse effect on the environment.

I will just say finally that as we sign this bill, I know that much of the reason for the delay was concern by very fine people in Alaska about the environment.

¹ Dr. William T. Pecora, a research scientist with the Geological Survey in the Department of the Interior for more than 30 years, was Under Secretary of the Interior from 1971 until his death in 1972.

Remember, I was there the time I met the Emperor of Japan. The President is always met with a few signs when he arrives at a place, and in this case there were quite a few signs, some friendly and some unfriendly, but all, of course, in the great American tradition.

There were a number of young people there who said, "Don't build the Alaska pipeline. Don't build it because it is going to spoil the environment in Alaska."

Now, we have looked into this problem. Rogers Morton and I had long talked about it, and he has given me his assurance that this is going to be built in a way that is not going to despoil the environment.

What I mean to say is this: The goal is not simply self-sufficiency for 1980 for energy, using nuclear power, coal power, shale oil, as well as gas and, of course, our own oil resources, and anything else that we may be able to develop in that period—something nobody has ever thought of perhaps may come along. But the point is that by 1980 we want this country to be one where we have all the energy we need to create the jobs and to heat our homes and to light them and to move us along our highways or on our railbeds, or whatever the case might be.

We want enough energy so that America is not dependent on any other country. But we want this to be a beautiful country, and we can have both. So, it is clean energy we are talking about.

That is why the research and development effort, Scoop [Senator Jackson], which you have supported so heavily and so many of the rest of you, has to go forward right along. It is clean energy and enough of it in 1980 so that we are independent of the world.

So, we thank you.

SENATOR PAUL J. FANNIN. Mr. President, we are moving forward on a bipartisan basis. But we certainly don't want to mislead anyone that we are not having our problems in getting some of the programs carried forward that you have advocated.

We are going to need your help and the help of the members of your Administration to do exactly what you have stated today and that is some relaxation as far as EPA [Environmental Protection Agency] is concerned, the utilization of coal, and many other factors that are involved, and without those programs, we will not achieve the goal that you have outlined.

THE PRESIDENT. We have to tackle, on a short-range basis, the environmental problem. I am sorry that it has to be done. I am sorry, for example, that we are going to have to continue to use coal when we could use oil, which is a cleaner fuel. I am sorry that we are going to ask some companies that have converted to oil to convert back to coal because we have more of it.

But at this point, we have to have the energy. That has to come first. As far as the Environmental Protection Agency is concerned, it will, of course, cooperate on a short-term basis, having in mind that in the long term, we can have both the clean environment and enough energy.

So, having made my speech to you—I made the same talk to a number of Congressmen this morning—I simply want to say that I think that for the Congress not to act before its recess on those matters that are urgent—I am not referring to those things that are impossible, Scoop—

SENATOR JACKSON. I understand.

THE PRESIDENT. —but on those mat-

ters that are urgent, I think, for the Congress not to act would be a very great let-down for the American people.

I don't mean that the Congress can solve it, but without the Congress, it is impossible to solve it. We will work with

you. I will stay here just as long as the Congress will let me stay.

NOTE: The exchange of remarks began at 10:20 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

As enacted, the bill (S. 1081) is Public Law 93-153 (87 Stat. 576):

333 Statement About the Trans-Alaska Oil Pipeline.

November 16, 1973

AMERICA'S energy requirements in recent years have outpaced our capacity to meet these requirements through the domestic energy resources presently developed. This has created a dangerous condition of reliance on foreign energy sources which could have a profound effect on this Nation's ability to play an independent role in the international arena. It has further created a situation in which an economy built on access to plentiful domestic supplies of cheap energy must now compete in foreign markets for increasingly expensive energy. It is clear that the United States has entered a new era with regard to energy, and as Lincoln once said, "we must think anew and act anew."

We must take every available step to conserve energy in order to avoid the potential hardships of the short-range energy shortage. And we must take every available step to utilize our vast, but untapped, domestic energy resources in order to avoid dependence on foreign sources of supply in the long run.

In the past year, I have urged the Congress on several occasions to act on specific legislative proposals directed to these ends. S. 1081—the Alaskan pipeline bill—is the first piece of major legislation by this Congress dealing with our energy requirements.

This legislation, which I am signing today, will at last enable us to construct the pipeline necessary for vital access to the rich oil deposits located on the North Slope of Alaska. When completed in 1977, the pipeline will initially carry 600,000 barrels of oil per day, and eventually 2 million barrels of oil per day on its way to the continental United States. This is an amount equal to over 11 percent of the current U.S. demand for oil. The project itself is the single largest endeavor ever undertaken by private enterprise.

It should be noted that the pipeline will be constructed and operated under the most rigid environmental safeguards ever devised for such a project. We can be confident that the Alaskan pipeline will not require us to sacrifice our environmental priorities to help meet our energy needs.

While I am extremely gratified that we can at last begin construction of the Alaskan pipeline, I am concerned by several extraneous and ill-advised amendments added to the bill on the Senate floor.

One of these amendments grants the Federal Trade Commission the authority to itself litigate certain civil matters arising out of its regulatory activities after appropriate notification to the Attorney General. I am advised that this provision would dangerously decentralize the gen-

eral control and coordination over Federal litigation which has traditionally been exercised by the Department of Justice.

Another amendment permits independent regulatory agencies to require information of business and industry separate and apart from the statutory controls that now govern requests for information by Federal agencies from the private sector. This provision will unfortunately eliminate present safeguards against bureaucratic harassment of business and industry by permitting endless duplication of requests by regulatory agencies.

A further amendment authorizes Senate confirmation of the incumbent Director of the Energy Policy Office and the head of the Department of the Interior's Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration. The President should be free to select, without Senate intervention, those

advisers who function in an intimate staff relationship with him, as does the Director of the Energy Policy Office.

In addition, this amendment raises constitutional difficulties because of the way it affects incumbent executive officials.

While I am considering the need for corrective action, I want to take this opportunity to urge the Congress to refrain from attaching nongermane amendments to legislation of vital national importance like S. 1081, thereby depriving the concerned committees, the public, and the Administration of the opportunity to consider and deal with such amendments on their individual merits.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the trans-Alaska oil pipeline. Participants in the news briefing were Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary, and Jared G. Carter, Deputy Under Secretary, Department of the Interior.

334 Question-and-Answer Session at the Annual Convention of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association, Orlando, Florida. *November 17, 1973*

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] *President Quinn and ladies and gentlemen:*

When Jack Horner,¹ who has been a correspondent in Washington and other places around the world, retired after 40 years—he once told me that if I thought that the White House press corps answered (asked) tough questions, he (I) should hear the kind of questions the managing editors asked him. Consequently, I welcome this opportunity tonight to

meet with the managing editors of the Nation's newspapers.

I will not have an opening statement, because I know, with 400 of you, it will be hard to get through all of the questions you have. And I understand the president has a prerogative of asking the first question.

QUESTIONS

WATERGATE AND THE FUTURE

[2.] Mr. Quinn [John C. Quinn, Gannett Newspapers, and president, Associated Press Managing Editors Association].

Q. Mr. President, this morning, Gover-

¹Garnett D. (Jack) Horner was a reporter with the Washington Star from 1937 and was that newspaper's White House correspondent from 1954 until his retirement in November 1973.

nor Askew of Florida addressed this group and recalled the words of Benjamin Franklin. When leaving the Constitutional Convention he was asked, "What have you given us, sir, a monarch or a republic?" Franklin answered, "A republic, sir, if you can keep it."

Mr. President, in the prevailing pessimism of the lingering matter we call Watergate, can we keep that republic, sir, and how?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Quinn, I would certainly not be standing here answering these questions unless I had a firm belief that we could keep the republic, that we must keep it, not only for ourselves but for the whole world. I recognize that because of mistakes that were made—and I must take responsibility for those mistakes—whether in the campaign or during the course of an administration, that there are those who wonder whether this republic can survive. But I also know that the hopes of the whole world for peace, not only now but in the years to come, rests in the United States of America. And I can assure you that as long as I am physically able to handle the position to which I was elected, and then reelected last November, I am going to work for the cause of peace in the world, for the cause of prosperity without war and without inflation at home, and also to the best of my ability to restore confidence in the White House and in the President himself. It is a big job, but I think it can be done, and I intend to do it.

PRESIDENTIAL TAPE RECORDINGS

[3.] Q. Mr. President, I am George Gill of the Louisville Courier-Journal. Would you please tell us, sir, when did you personally discover that two of the nine

subpoenaed White House tapes did not exist, and why did you apparently delay for a matter of weeks disclosing this matter to the Federal court and to the public?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the first time that the fact that there were no recordings of the two conversations to which you referred—that they did not exist—came to my attention on approximately September 29 or September 30.

At that time, I was informed only that they might not exist, because a search was not made, because seven of the nine recordings requested did exist, and my secretary, listening to them for me and making notes for me, proceeded to go through those seven tapes.

I should point out, incidentally, that the two which did not exist, in which there were no tape recordings of the conversations, were not ones that were requested by the Senate committee, and consequently, we felt that we should go forward with the ones that were requested by both the Senate committee and the others.

When we finally determined that they could not be in existence was on October 26 of this year. And we learned it then when I directed the White House Counsel, Mr. Buzhardt, to question the Secret Service operatives as to what had happened to make sure that there might not be a possibility, due to the fact that the mechanism was not operating properly, that we might find them in some other place.

He questioned them for 2 days and reported on the 27th that he could not find them. He then, having had a date made—and he asked for the date sooner with Judge Sirica, he asked for a date on Thursday, you may recall I pointed that out in my press conference on the 26th—

Judge Sirica saw him on Tuesday *in camera*. The White House Counsel reported to Judge Sirica that the two tapes did not exist and gave him the reasons for it.

The judge decided, and I think quite properly, that the reasons for the tape not existing should be made public and those involved with access to the tapes and those who operated the machines should be questioned so that there would be no question of the White House, somebody around the President, or even the President himself, having destroyed evidence that was important, even though the Senate committee had not, as I have already pointed out, subpoenaed either of these two tapes.

And since we are on this subject, and I do not want to be taking all of the time on it except that I know there is going to be enormous interest in it, not only among this audience here but among our television viewers, let me point this out: I have done everything that I possibly can to provide the evidence that would have existed had we found the tapes.

First, with regard to the tape of June 20, as you may recall, it was a 5-minute telephone conversation with the former Attorney General, John Mitchell, who had just left as campaign manager or was planning to leave as campaign manager at that time.

I have a practice of keeping a personal diary—I can assure you not every day. Sometimes you are too tired at the end of a day to either make notes or dictate it into a dictabelt.

On that particular day, I happened to have dictated a dictabelt, and on the dictabelt for June 20, which I found, I found that I had referred to the conversation to John Mitchell. And I think it is fair to

disclose to this audience what was there, because it will be disclosed to the court. It has already been offered to the court and eventually, I assume, will be made public.

It said, first, that I called John Mitchell to cheer him up, because I knew he was terribly disheartened by what had happened in the so-called Watergate matter. Second, he expressed chagrin to me that the organization over which he had control could have gotten out of hand in this way. That was what was on that tape.

Now, turning to the one on April 15, I thought that I might have a dictabelt of that conversation as well.

Let me tell you first why the telephone conversation was not recorded. Not because of any deliberate attempt to keep the recording from the public, but because the only telephones in the residence of the White House which are recorded—the only telephone, there is only one, is the one that is in the office, the little Lincoln Sitting Room right off the Lincoln Bedroom. The call I made to John Mitchell was made at the end of the day at about 6:30, just before going into dinner from the family quarters, and no telephones in the family quarters ever were recorded. That is why the recording did not exist.

Turning to April 15, the conversation referred to there was at the end of the process in which Mr. Dean came in to tell me what he had told the U.S. attorneys that day. He saw me at 9 o'clock at night, Sunday night. There should have been a recording. Everybody thought there probably was a recording. The reason there was not a recording is that the tape machines over the weekend only can carry 6 hours of conversation, and usually that is more than enough, because I do not use the EOB office—that is, the Exec-

utive Office Building office rather than the Oval Office—over the weekend to that extent.

But that weekend, I was in the EOB for a long conversation with Dr. Kissinger on foreign policy matters. I was there for 2 other hours, or 2 or 3 other hours, and the tape ran out in the middle of a conversation with Mr. Kleindienst in the middle of the afternoon, Sunday afternoon.

And a later conversation I had—the rest of Kleindienst's conversation—a later conversation I had also with Mr. Petersen, and the conversation at 9 o'clock at night with Mr. Dean was not there.

So, I tried to find whatever recording, whatever record that would help the prosecutor in this instance to reconstruct the evidence, because it was the evidence that he was after and not just the tape.

What I found was not a dictabelt. What I found was my handwritten notes made at the time of the conversation. I have turned those over to or have authorized my Counsel to turn those notes over to the judge so that he can have them checked for authenticity, and I understand there are ways that he can tell that they were written at that time. Those handwritten notes are available.

And then I did one other thing which I think will also be helpful. The next day, I had a conversation with Mr. Dean in the morning at 10 o'clock. That conversation was recorded, and in that conversation there are repeated references to what was said the night before, and when compared with my handwritten notes it is clear that we are discussing the same subjects.

That entire tape, as well as the conversation I had in the afternoon with Mr. Dean for about 20 minutes, will be made

available to the court even though the court has not subpoenaed them.

I would just simply say in conclusion, you can be very sure that this kind of a subject is one that is a difficult one to explain. It appears that it is impossible that when we have an Apollo system that we could have two missing tapes when the White House is concerned. Let me explain for one moment what the system was. This is no Apollo system. I found that it cost—I just learned this—\$2,500. I found that instead of having the kind of equipment that was there when President Johnson was there, which was incidentally much better equipment, but I found—and I am not saying that critically—but I found that in this instance it was a Sony, a little Sony that they had, and that what they had are these little lapel mikes in my desks. And as a result the conversations in the Oval Office, the conversations in the Cabinet Room, and particularly those in the EOB—those are the three rooms, only those three rooms, where they recorded—for example, the Western White House had no recording equipment, and my house in Key Biscayne had none—but as far as those particular recordings are concerned, the reason that you have heard that there are difficulties in hearing them is that the system itself was not a sophisticated system.

I do not mean to suggest by that that the judge, by listening to them, will not be able to get the facts, and I would simply conclude by saying this: I think I know what is on these tapes from having listened to some, those before March 21, and also from having seen from my secretary's notes the highlights of others. And I can assure you that those tapes, when they are presented to the judge and, I

hope, eventually to the grand jury—and I trust, in some way we can find a way at least to get the substance to the American people—they will prove these things without question:

One, that I had no knowledge whatever of the Watergate break-in before it occurred.

Two, that I never authorized the offer of clemency to anybody and, as a matter of fact, turned it down whenever it was suggested. It was not recommended by any member of my staff, but it was, on occasion, suggested as a result of news reports that clemency might become a factor.

And third, as far as any knowledge with regard to the payment of blackmail money, which, as you recall, was the charge that was made, that Mr. Hunt's attorney had asked for \$120,000 in money to be paid to him or he would tell things about members of the White House Staff, not about Watergate, that might be embarrassing.

Testimony had been given before the Senate committee that I was told that before the 21st of March, actually told it on the 13th of March. I know I heard it for the first time the 21st of March, and I will reveal this much of the conversation—I am sure the judge wouldn't mind.

I recall very well Mr. Dean, after the conversation began, telling me, "Mr. President, there are some things about this I haven't told you. I think you should know them." And then he proceeded then for the first time to tell me about that money.

Now, I realize that some will wonder about the truth of these particular statements that I have made. I am going to hand out later—I won't hand them out, but I will have one of your executives

hand out—my May 22 statement, my August 15 statement, and one with regard to these two tapes. You can believe them if you want—I can tell you it is the truth, because I have listened to or have had knowledge of, from someone I have confidence in, as to what is in the tapes.

Q. Mr. President, Richard Tuttle, Democrat and Chronicle, Rochester, New York. Could you tell us your personal reaction and your political reaction—and within that word I mean your credibility with the American people—your reaction to the discovery that the Dean and Mitchell tapes did not exist?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, my personal reaction was one of very great disappointment, because I wanted the evidence out, and I knew that when there was any indication that something didn't exist, immediately there would be the impression that some way, either the President or, more likely, perhaps, somebody on the President's staff, knew there was something on those tapes that it wouldn't be wise to get out. But let me point out again, while I was disappointed, let me say I would have been a lot more disappointed if the tapes that had been considered important by both Mr. Cox, the Special Prosecutor, and the Ervin committee, if any one of those had been missing, because I should point out the tape of September 15 when, as you recall, has been testified that I was first informed there was a coverup—that, of course, is there.

The tape of March 1, where it has been testified, as I pointed out in the answer to the Louisville Courier-Journal, where it has been testified that I was informed then of the demands for money for purposes of blackmail, that is avail-

able. And the tape of March 21, where we discussed this in great detail, as well as three other tapes in which Mr. Dean participated, three other conversations, are all available.

But as far as these two tapes are concerned, even though they were not considered by the Ervin committee to be an indispensable part of their investigation, the fact that they were not there was a great disappointment, and I just wish we had had a better system—I frankly wish we hadn't had a system at all, then I wouldn't have to answer this question.

THE ELLSBERG CASE

[4.] Q. Mr. President, John Dougherty [Rochester Times-Union]. Did you tell Mr. Cox to stay out of the Ellsberg case, and if you did, why, and do you think that the new Special Prosecutor should be kept from investigating the Ellsberg case?

THE PRESIDENT. I have never spoken to Mr. Cox at all; as a matter of fact, however, I did talk to Mr. Petersen about it, before Mr. Cox took over.

I told Mr. Petersen that the job that he had—and I would have said the same thing to Mr. Cox—was to investigate the Watergate matter, that national security matters were not matters that should be investigated, because there were some very highly sensitive matters involved, not only in Ellsberg but also another matter so sensitive that even Senator Ervin and Senator Baker have decided that they should not delve further into them.

I don't mean by that that we are going to throw the cloak of national security over something because we are guilty of something. I am simply saying that where the national security would be disserved by having an investigation, the President

has the responsibility to protect it, and I am going to do so.

STATUS OF THE WATERGATE INVESTIGATION

[5.] Q. Paul Poorman from the Detroit News. Are you personally satisfied, sir, that the investigation of the Watergate matter is complete, to your satisfaction, and if so, could you tell us what your plans are to tell the American people about the facts of the case with regard, again, to your credibility on this matter?

THE PRESIDENT. First, with regard to whether the investigation is complete, as you know, there is now a new Special Prosecutor, Mr. Jaworski. He is a Democrat. He has always supported the Democratic ticket. He is a highly respected lawyer, a former president of the ABA in the year 1971. I may have met him. I have never talked to him personally and certainly have never talked to him about this matter. I refuse to because I want him to be completely independent.

He cannot be removed unless there is a consensus of the top leadership of both the House and the Senate, Democrat and Republican: the Speaker and the majority and minority leaders of the House and the President pro tem, the majority and minority leaders of the Senate and the ranking two members of the Judiciary Committees of both the House and the Senate, which, incidentally, gives you, as you can see, a very substantial majority as far as the Democrats are concerned.

The second point, and the point I am trying to make is: one, he is qualified; two, he is independent and will have cooperation; and three, he will not be removed unless the Congress, particularly the leaders of the Congress and particularly the

Democratic leaders who have a strong majority on this group that I have named, agree that he should be removed, and I do not expect that that time will come.

As to what I can tell the American people, this is one forum, and there may be others. As to what the situation is as to when it can be done, it is, of course, necessary to let the grand jury proceed as quickly as possible to a conclusion. And I should point out to you, as you may recall, Mr. Petersen testified before the Ervin committee that when he was removed from his position—you recall he was removed in April, and a Special Prosecutor was put in—that the case was 90 percent ready. For 6 months, under the Special Prosecutor who was then appointed, the case has not been brought to a conclusion.

And I think that now, after 6 months of delay, it is time that the case be brought to a conclusion. If it was 90 percent finished in April, they ought to be able to finish it now.

Those who are guilty, or presumed to be guilty, should be indicted. Those who are not guilty at least should get some evidence of being cleared, because in the meantime, the reputations of men, some maybe who are not guilty, have been probably irreparably damaged by what has happened in the hearings that they have appeared before publicly. They have already been convicted and they may never recover. And that isn't our system of government.

The place to try a man or a woman for a crime is in the courts and not to convict them either in the newspapers or on television before he has a fair trial in the courts.

JOHN EHRLICHMAN AND H. R. HALDEMAN

[6.] Q. Mr. President, I'm Bob Hai-man from the St. Petersburg Times in St. Petersburg, Florida. When Mr. Ehrlichman and Mr. Haldeman left your Administration, you said they were guiltless in the Watergate affair, and they were, quote, two of the finest public servants you had ever known, end quote. After what has transpired and been revealed since then, do you still feel the same way about both men and both statements?

THE PRESIDENT. First, I hold that both men and others who have been charged are guilty until I have evidence that they are not guilty,² and I know that every newspaperman and newspaperwoman in this whole audience would agree with that statement. That is our American system. Second, Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman had been and were dedicated, fine public servants, and I believe, it is my belief based on what I know now, that when these proceedings are completed that they will come out all right.

On the other hand, they have appeared before the grand jury before, they will be appearing again, and as I pointed out in answer to an earlier question, it probably does not make any difference, unfortunately, whether the grand jury indicts them or not, whether they are tried or not, because, unfortunately, they have already been convicted in the minds of millions of Americans by what happened before a Senate committee.

² Later in the session, it was pointed out that the President had misspoken. See page 954, at [9].

FURTHER QUESTIONS ON THE ELLSBERG
CASE

THE PRESIDENT'S INCOME TAXES

[7.] Q. Mr. President, this is Ed Heins from the Des Moines Register and Tribune. At the time you gave Egil Krogh approval for the Dr. Ellsberg project, was there any discussion of surreptitious entry to any premises, and was there any discussion of legality or illegality in that situation?

THE PRESIDENT. I think, sir, that you have made an assumption that Mr. Krogh and others have not testified to—I am not saying that critically, but I think I do remember what the evidence is. I don't think Mr. Krogh has said, or Mr. Ehrlichman or anybody else, that I specifically approved or ordered the entrance into Dr. Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office. As a matter of fact, on the other hand, I learned of that for the first time on the 17th of March, which I have stated in my August 15 statement, which will be available to the members of the press when this meeting is concluded.

Second, with regard to such activities, I personally thought it was a stupid thing to do, apart from being an illegal thing to do. And third, I should also point out that in this particular matter, the reason that Mr. Krogh and others were engaged in what we call the "plumbers operation" was because of our concern at that time about leaks out of our Government—the Pentagon Papers, which is, you recall, what Ellsberg was all about, as well as other leaks which were seriously damaging to the national security, including one that I have pointed out that was so serious that even Senator Ervin and Senator Baker agreed it should not be disclosed. That is what they were working on.

[8.] Q. Joe Ungaro of the Providence Evening Bulletin. The Journal-Bulletin on October 3 reported that you paid \$792 in Federal income tax in 1970, and \$878 in 1971. Are these figures accurate, and would you tell us your views on whether elected officials should disclose their personal finances?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the answer to the second question is I have disclosed my personal finances, and an audit of my personal finances will be made available at the end of this meeting, because obviously you are all so busy that when these things come across your desk, maybe you don't see them. I can simply point out that that audit I paid for—I have not gotten the bill yet but I know it is several thousands of dollars—and I think that that audit is one that is a pretty good one. That audit, however, deals with the acquisition of my property and knocks down some of the ideas that have been around. But since this question has been raised, let me, sir, try to respond to it as fully as I can.

I paid \$79,000 in income tax in 1969. In the next 2 years, I paid nominal amounts. Whether those amounts are correct or not, I do not know, because I have not looked at my returns, and obviously the Providence Journal has got much better sources than I have to find such returns. And I congratulate you, sir, for having such a lively staff.

Now, why did I pay this amount? It was not because of the deductions for, shall we say, a cattle ranch or interest or, you know, all of these gimmicks that you have got where you can deduct from, which most of you know about, I am sure—if you don't, your publishers do. But

the reason was this: Lyndon Johnson came in to see me shortly after I became President. He told me that he had given his Presidential papers, or at least most of them, to the Government. He told me that under the law, up until 1969, Presidential or Vice Presidential papers given to the Government were a deduction, and should be taken, and could be taken as a deduction from the tax.

And he said, "You, Mr. President, ought to do the same thing." I said, "I don't have any Presidential papers." He said, "You have got your Vice Presidential papers."

I thought of that a moment and said, "All right, I will turn them over to the tax people." I turned them over. They appraised them at \$500,000. I suppose some wonder how could the Vice President's papers be worth that. Well, I was, shall we say, a rather active Vice President. All of my personal notes, including matters that have not been covered in my book—which I don't advise other people to write, but in any event I wrote one and I will stand by it—all of my papers on the Hiss case, on the famous fund controversy in 1952, on President Eisenhower's heart attack, on President Eisenhower's stroke, on my visit to Caracas when I had a few problems in 1968 [1958], and on my visit with Khrushchev, all of those papers, all of my notes, were valued, many believe conservatively, at that amount.

And so, the tax people who prepared it prepared the returns and took that as a deduction. Now, no question has been raised by the Internal Revenue about it, but if they do, let me tell you this: I will be glad to have the papers back, and I will pay the tax because I think they are worth more than that.

I can only say that we did what we

were told was the right thing to do and, of course, what President Johnson had done before, and that doesn't prove, certainly, that it was wrong, because he had done exactly what the law required.

Since 1969, of course, I should point out Presidents can't do that. So I am stuck with a lot of papers now that I have got to find a way to give away or otherwise my heirs will have a terrible time trying to pay the taxes on things that people aren't going to want to buy.

CORRECTION OF EARLIER STATEMENT

[9.] MR. QUINN. Mr. President, may I suggest that you may have misspoke yourself when you said that you assumed Haldeman and Ehrlichman are considered guilty until proven not guilty.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I certainly did, if I said that—thank you for correcting me.

DEMANDS ON THE PRESIDENT

[10.] Q. Richard Smyser, from the Oak Ridger in Oak Ridge, Tennessee. Senator Mark Hatfield said recently that we demand so much of a President, we ask him to play so many roles that no man can hold that kind of responsibility without having to share that responsibility with all Americans.

To what extent do you think that this explains possibly how something like Watergate can occur?

THE PRESIDENT. I could stand here before this audience and make all kinds of excuses, and most of you probably would understand because you are busy also. Nineteen hundred seventy-two was a very busy year for me. It was a year when we had the visit to China. It was a year

when we had the visit to Moscow and the first limited nuclear ban on defensive weapons, you recall, as well as some other very significant events.

It was a year, too, when we had the very difficult decisions on May 8, the bombing and mining of Haiphong and then the negotiations and then in December, of course, the very, very difficult—perhaps the most difficult—decision I made of the December bombing, which did lead to the breakthrough and the uneasy peace, but it is peace with all of the Americans home, all of our POW's home, and peace at least for a while in that period.

Now, during that period of time, frankly, I didn't manage the campaign. I didn't run the campaign. People around me didn't bring things to me that they probably should have, because I was frankly just too busy trying to do the Nation's business to run the politics.

My advice to all new politicians, incidentally, is always run your own campaigns. I used to run mine, and I was always criticized for it, because, you know, whenever you lose you are always criticized for running your own campaign. But my point is, Senator Hatfield is correct. Whether you are a Senator or a Congressman, you are sometimes very busy, you don't watch these things. When you are President, you don't watch them as closely as you might. And on that, I say if mistakes are made, however, I am not blaming the people down below. The man at the top has got to take the heat for all of them.

THE PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL FINANCES

[11.] [To the next questioner] Let me just respond, if I could, sir, before going to your question—I will turn left and then

come back to the right; I don't want to tilt either way at the moment, as you can be sure—since the question was raised a moment ago about my tax payments.

I noted in some editorials and perhaps in some commentaries on television, a very reasonable question. They said, you know, "How is it that President Nixon could have a very heavy investment in a fine piece of property in San Clemente and a big investment in a piece of property in Florida," in which I have two houses, one which I primarily use as an office and the other as a residence, and also an investment in what was my mother's home, not very much of a place but I do own it—those three pieces of property.

I want to say first, that is all I have. I am the first President since Harry Truman who hasn't owned any stock since ever I have been President. I am the first one who has not had a blind trust since Harry Truman. Now, that doesn't prove that those who owned stocks or had blind trusts did anything wrong. But I felt that in the Presidency it was important to have no question about the President's personal finances, and I thought real estate was the best place to put it.

But then, the question was raised by good editorial writers—and I want to respond to it because some of you might be too polite to ask such an embarrassing question—they said, "Now, Mr. President, you earned \$800,000 when you were President. Obviously, you paid at least half that much or could have paid half that much in taxes or a great deal of it—how could you possibly have had the money? Where did you get it?"

And then, of course, overriding all of that is the story to the effect that I have a million dollars in campaign funds, which

was broadly printed throughout this country with retractions not quite getting quite as much play as the printing of the first, and particularly not on television. The newspapers did much better than television in that respect, I should point out.

And second, they said, "How is it that as far as this money is concerned, how is it possible for you to have this kind of investment when all you earned was \$800,000 as President?"

Well, I should point out I wasn't a pauper when I became President. I wasn't very rich as Presidents go. But you see, in the 8 years that I was out of office—first, just to put it all out and I will give you a paper on this, we will send it around to you, and these figures I would like you to have, not today, but I will have it in a few days—when I left office after 4 years as a Congressman, 2 years as a Senator, and 8 years at \$45,000 a year as Vice President, and after stories had been written, particularly in the *Washington Post* to the effect that the [Vice] President had purchased a mansion in Wesley Heights and people wondered where the money came from, you know what my net worth was? Forty-seven thousand dollars total, after 14 years of Government service, and a 1958 Oldsmobile that needed an overhaul.

Now, I have no complaints. In the next 8 years, I made a lot of money. I made \$250,000 from a book and the serial rights which many of you were good enough to purchase, also. In the practice of law—and I am not claiming I was worth it, but apparently former Vice Presidents or Presidents are worth a great deal to law firms—and I did work pretty hard.

But also in that period, I earned between \$100,000 and \$250,000 every year.

So that when I, in 1968, decided to become a candidate for President, I decided to clean the decks and to put everything in real estate. I sold all my stock for \$300,000—that is all I owned. I sold my apartment in New York for \$300,000—I am using rough figures here. And I had \$100,000 coming to me from the law firm.

And so, that is where the money came from. Let me just say this, and I want to say this to the television audience: I made my mistakes, but in all of my years of public life, I have never profited, never profited from public service—I have earned every cent. And in all of my years of public life, I have never obstructed justice. And I think, too, that I could say that in my years of public life, that I welcome this kind of examination, because people have got to know whether or not their President is a crook. Well, I am not a crook. I have earned everything I have got.

SURVEILLANCE OF DONALD NIXON

[12.] Q. Mr. President, Harry Rosenfeld of the *Washington Post*. Sir, there have been reports that the Secret Service was asked, at your direction or authorization, to tap the telephone of your brother, Donald Nixon. Is this true, sir, and if so, why?

THE PRESIDENT. That, of course, is a question that has been commented upon before. It will not take long to respond to it.

The Secret Service did maintain a surveillance. They did so for security reasons, and I will not go beyond that. They were very good reasons, and my brother was aware of it.

And may I say, too, to my friend from the *Washington Post*, I like your sport

page. [*Laughter*] And also, be sure Povich³ isn't paid too much for what I just said then.

Q. Sir, Edward Miller [*Call-Chronicle Newspapers*], Allentown, Pennsylvania. Was your brother aware before, or after, the fact of the surveillance?

THE PRESIDENT. Before or after the fact?

Q. Yes.

THE PRESIDENT. He was aware during the fact, because he asked about it, and he was told about it. And he approved of it. He knew why it was done.

Q. Excuse me. Does it make any sense to conduct surveillance when somebody knows about it?

THE PRESIDENT. Does it make any sense? Certainly. The surveillance involved not what he was doing; the surveillance involved what others who were trying to get him, perhaps, to use improper influence, and so forth, might be doing, and particularly anybody who might be in a foreign country.

COMMUNICATION OF THE FACTS

[13.] Q. Is some of this a full story that you say you can't say now, today, because of national security? Have you told that to Congressmen or anyone else? Will this story come out in the next few weeks, as you present more of the facts?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, as a matter of fact, I should tell all of the editors—and I don't want to leave any implication that you have not tried to publish as much as you could, you have just got so much room in your newspapers, but I do want

you to know that—well, since you haven't raised some of these subjects, I will raise them myself: ITT; how did we raise the price of milk—I wish somebody would ask me that one—and who else wanted it raised; what about the situation with regard to the \$1 million secret stock portfolio that you have; a few of those things. I think all of those things need to be answered and answered effectively, and I think the best way to answer them—twofold:

One, obviously through the medium of a televised conference like this; but two, through sending to the editors of the Nation's newspapers, all 10,000 of them, the facts. I trust that you will use them. And if you don't believe them, I don't mean—what I mean, I am not suggesting that you wouldn't believe them—but if you feel you need more information, write to me and I will give it to you. I want the facts out, because the facts will prove that the President is telling the truth.

SHIELD LAW FOR REPORTERS

[14.] Q. Mr. President, John Finnegan, St. Paul Dispatch-Pioneer Press. I know the Watergate situation has raised questions of executive privilege, and a recent Gallup poll indicated that 62 percent of the American people will favor a confidential news source law if adopted by Congress. There is a two-tiered law now before the Judiciary Committee which would provide an absolute privilege in case of investigative or grand jury hearings, and a qualified shield in case of a civil or criminal case.

If such a law were passed, would you sign it or veto it?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, you are talking

³ Shirley Povich was a sportswriter and columnist for the Washington Post.

about shield laws in general, are you not?

Q. Yes.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, my attitude toward the shield laws briefly is this: First, I share the objective. I believe that reporters, if you are going to have a free press, ought to have some kind of a shield, except of course, if they are involved in criminal activities, and then I don't think the shield law that any of you have suggested would cover those. As I understand, if there are criminal activities involved in by a reporter, obviously a shield law can't protect him.

The second point, however, has to do with the particular legislation and how it reaches my desk, and I will have to take a look at it when it gets there to see if it is proper. If it is proper, I will sign it. But I think that a shield law which would have the effect of providing to reporters what the general public felt, after they had a chance to consider it all—provide for them privileges that went beyond what the general public thought was in the national interest, then I would have to take a second look.

Now, incidentally, I should point out, too, that I followed your editorials—not yours in just the St. Paul paper, but others around the country—and the newspapers in this country are not united on this. So, on the shield law I am not trying to duck the question—it is an open question.

But I will answer one thing I think is important. The new Attorney General, Mr. Saxbe, under my directions, will follow this practice: Any Federal case involving a reporter will not be brought unless it comes expressly to the Attorney General and he approves it, because that way, that is a pretty good shield, I think.

EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGE

[15.] Q. May I ask one other question, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Sure.

Q. Do you feel that the executive privilege is absolute?

THE PRESIDENT. I, of course, do not. I have waived executive privilege with regard to all of the members of my staff who have any knowledge of or who have had any charges made against them in the Watergate matter. I have, of course, voluntarily waived privilege with regard to turning over the tapes, and so forth.

Let me point out it was voluntary on my part, and deliberately so to avoid a precedent that might destroy the principle of confidentiality for future Presidents, which is terribly important.

If it had gone to the Supreme Court—and I know many of my friends argued, "Why not carry it to the Supreme Court and let them decide it?"—that would, first, have had a confrontation with the Supreme Court, between the Supreme Court and the President. And second, it would have established very possibly a precedent, a precedent breaking down constitutionality that would plague future Presidencies, not just President.

I could just say in that respect, too, that I have referred to what I called the Jefferson rule. It is the rule, I think, that we should generally follow—a President should follow—with the courts when they want information, and a President should also follow with committees of Congress, when they want information from his personal files.

Jefferson, as you know, in that very, very famous case, had correspondence which it was felt might bear upon the

guilt or innocence of Aaron Burr. Chief Justice Marshall, sitting as a trial judge, held that Jefferson, as President, had to turn over the correspondence. Jefferson refused.

What he did was to turn over a summary of the correspondence, all that he considered was proper to be turned over for the purposes of the trial.

And then Marshall, sitting as Chief Justice, ruled for the President.

Now, why did Jefferson do that? Jefferson didn't do that to protect Jefferson. He did that to protect the Presidency. And that is exactly what I will do in these cases. It isn't for the purpose of protecting the President; it is for the purpose of seeing that the Presidency, where great decisions have to be made—and great decisions cannot be made unless there is very free flow of conversation, and that means confidentiality—I have a responsibility to protect that Presidency.

At the same time, I will do everything I can to cooperate where there is a need for Presidential participation.

I will come to you next—sorry.

PROSPECTS FOR GAS RATIONING

[16.] Q. Mr. President, Murray Light, Buffalo Evening News. The American people, sir, are very interested in one subject other than Watergate—

THE PRESIDENT. Really? [*Laughter*]

Q. Is gas rationing imminent?

THE PRESIDENT. I didn't hear the last, I am sorry.

Q. Is gas rationing imminent?

THE PRESIDENT. I will tell you a little about my career that I didn't put in my campaign folders when I ran for Congress in 1946. I was once in OPA [Office of Price Administration], and I was in tire

rationing. I suppose they put me in tire rationing—this is just before I went into the service; I was waiting for my service call—because I had worked in a service station. But I didn't know anything about tire rationing and neither did the man above me who I don't think had ever been in a service station, but we put out the rationing regulations on tires, and we were as fair as we could be. But also, I found that if you get a bunch of government bureaucrats—and in order to have rationing you would have to have thousands of them—making decisions with regard to who is going to get this much, this much, this much in rationing, if you are going to try to do that in peacetime when you do not have what we had in wartime, you know, support for, you know—"Don't use a C ration card when you are only entitled to an A"—then you were sort of disloyal or something, or unpatriotic. If you do not have that behind it, I can assure you that a rationing system in peacetime, run by a group of well-intentioned but being bureaucrats that they are, gaining and feeling their power, would be something that the American people would resent very, very much.

Now, what we have asked the Congress for is for a contingency plan in the event that rationing becomes necessary. But in the meantime, let me tell you, our goal is to make it not necessary. I am not going to pledge to this audience and I am not going to pledge to the television audience that rationing may never come. If you have another war in the Mideast, if you have a complete cutoff and not a resumption of the flow of oil from the Mideast, or some other disaster occurs, rationing may come. But if, on the other hand, the things that I recommended in my message of a week ago for immediate action,

if the voluntary cooperation of keeping the speed down to 50 miles an hour—and I am going to talk to the Governors about that on Tuesday in Memphis, urging that every State do exactly the same thing—if we cut back on the aircraft flights, and we have done that—and, for example, I came down here in a plane today, Air Force One. I asked them if I couldn't take the Jetstar. They said, "No, it doesn't have communications." So, I had to take the big plane. But we did one thing that saved half the cost: We didn't have the backup plane. Secret Service didn't like it, Communications didn't like it, but I don't need a backup plane. If this one goes down, it goes down—and then they don't have to impeach. [*Laughter*]

JOHN MITCHELL

[17.] Q. Mr. President, Larry Allison from the Long Beach, California, Independent Press-Telegram. Back to Watergate. Former Attorney General John Mitchell has testified that the reason he did not give you details on the Watergate problems was that you did not ask him.

Now, I realize that you were very busy at that time, as you said, but there were reports in newspapers that linked people very high on your staff with the Watergate problems.

Could you tell us, sir, why you did not ask Mr. Mitchell what he knew?

THE PRESIDENT. For the very simple reason that when I talked to Mr. Mitchell—and I saw him often in that period—that I had every reason to believe that if he were involved, if he had any information to convey, he would tell me. I thought that he would. As a matter of fact, when I called him on the telephone, what did he say—he expressed chagrin that any-

thing like that could have happened in his organization.

Looking back, maybe I should have cross-examined him and said, "John, did you do it?" I probably should have asked him, but the reason I didn't is that I expected him to tell me, and he had every opportunity to and decided he wouldn't, apparently. At least—now, that doesn't mean to tell me that he was involved, because you understand that is still a matter that is open. The question is whether he could have told me about other people that might be involved where he had information where members of my staff did not have information.

Yes, sir.

THE ENERGY CRISIS

[18.] Q. I am Joe Shoquist, Milwaukee Journal. Why didn't the Administration anticipate the energy crisis several years ago, formulate a positive action plan to do something about it?

THE PRESIDENT. You walked into one there. And that is a great paper, incidentally, as is the Milwaukee Sentinel. But anyway, seriously, you see, what happened was that I sent the first energy message ever sent to the Congress. I sent it to the Congress over 2 years ago. I saw this thing coming. And you know why I saw it coming? Not because of the Mideast or the Alaska pipeline and the rest, but because this world with all of its problems is getting richer. Oh, I don't mean there aren't a lot of hungry people not only in America, too many here, but if you want to see hungry people, go to India or go to some of the countries in Latin America or upper Brazil, et cetera, et cetera. But generally, as the world gets richer, there is more air-conditioning, there is more

need for power, and there is more need for energy. And that is why I sent the message 2 years ago and asked at that time that the Congress consider a program so that the United States should become self-sufficient in energy. All right, I followed that up this year in April before we even knew there might be or had any idea that—of the Mideast crisis, which made a serious problem, a serious crisis. I asked them for seven pieces of legislation to deal with energy. One has reached my desk, the Alaska pipeline. I signed it. The other six—I hope they act before they go home for Christmas.

Now, I am not saying here the Congress is to blame, the President should have done something. What I do say is that the President warned about it, and the Congress did not act, even though he warned 2 years ago. The President warned in April, the Congress did not act, and now it is time for the Congress to get away from some of these other diversions, if they have time, and get on to this energy crisis.

Let me just—since that question has come up—I would like to point out, though, how we should react, because the question about rationing is one that your average reader is going to be interested in.

I am interested in it, too, because I remember how we all went through it, the carpools and all that sort of thing. There are a few of you here old enough to remember a carpool, I am sure. Taxicabs in Washington: You couldn't get one unless five of you rode in one, you remember?

We don't want that. But if we look at this energy crisis as simply the crisis of this year, we could not make a greater mistake. If there had never been a Mideast war, there would have been an energy crisis eventually. That is why I have set as

a goal for the American people—and I trust all of you will subscribe to it—what I call "Project Independence 1980."

Why 1980, and why not 1976? Because in checking with the experts, I find that it will not be possible, doing everything that we can do, to become self-sufficient in energy until 1980. But if the Congress cooperates, if the Nation cooperates, this Nation in 1980 can have all the energy we need.

Let me just briefly tell you what areas of cooperation are needed.

One, coal. We have half the coal in the world, and yet, we have conversions from coal to oil. Why? Because coal is not a clean fuel. Coal can be made a clean fuel. Coal can be mined in a way that does not despoil the landscape. Oh, it will be argumentative—I am sure that some of the environmentalists—and I am an environmentalist along with anybody who cares about the future for our children—will object, but we have got to get that coal out of the ground, and we have to develop the shale oil, for example, that exists in Colorado and some of our Western States. That will solve part of the problem.

And second, you have to deregulate natural gas. Some protection for the consumer, yes. But you have got wells in Louisiana and other places that are shut down and many that are not being explored because the price is held at a price too low to make the explorer have a profit. And therefore, he isn't going to do it. And natural gas, as you know, is one of the cleanest fuels we can possibly have.

And then third, the most exciting of all, nuclear power. Now, don't write an editorial on this—you are really going to catch it from your readers if you do, because it scares people. Nuclear power—

they think of the bomb. They think of the possibility that one of them is going to blow up. My house in San Clemente is just 12 miles from the Southern California Edison Company's nuclear power-plant. It is safe. It produces good power. It is clean power. And the United States, which first found the secret of the atom, is behind where it ought to be in the development of nuclear power.

If we go all out in developing our coal resources, our natural gas resources, as well as, of course, our oil from Alaska which will provide one-third—I said incorrectly the other day in talking to a group not one-third of all of our oil needs, but one-third of all of our oil imports—and if we add to that, nuclear power, the United States in 1980 can be self-sufficient. Just closing that off, let me tell you why that is so terribly important. "The Arabs," they say, "well, the Arabs, maybe they are irrational, and we should not depend on them anyway."

Let me tell you, when you are in trouble, don't depend on anybody but yourself. Venezuela? What is going to happen in Venezuela? They send us a lot of oil, but they could change their minds under a radical government, and they could get one, one day. I don't think so, but they could.

What about Canada, our great friends to the north? A lot of Canadians are listening here, but I can tell you, your present Minister of the Interior, or whatever, in charge of oil—he is a tough guy, and they drive hard bargains, and I guess we would, too, if we were Canadians.

My point is, the United States of America, as the greatest industrial power of the world, with 7 percent of the world's people and using 30 percent of the world's energy, shouldn't have to depend on any

other country for energy that provides our jobs and our transportation and our light and our heat. We can become self-sufficient, this is a great project, and I am going to push it.

POST-RETIREMENT PLANS

[19.] Q. Mr. President, I am John Chandley of the Kansas City Times. Not being a member of the Washington press corps, I am not going to ask when you are going to retire, but I am going to ask you, when you do leave the White House, what do you plan to do?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that depends on when I leave.

No, seriously, I know that this group has asked very good questions and very appropriate ones. I was hoping you would ask me about the milk—would you mind asking me about the milk?

Q. I don't know anything about the milk.

THE PRESIDENT. I will answer this, and then I will go to the milk—in the back.

As far as retirement, at that time I understand I will be 63 years of age, and I am relatively healthy at the present time. I don't know how healthy I will be then.

Among the things I will not do, I will not practice law, I won't go on any board of directors. I will tell you, after being President, you never want to sit at any other end of the table, and being on a board of directors—it pays well, but it is rather boring. That is, at least, what I found when I was Vice President—not out of any conceit or anything, it is just the fact boards of directors are fine, but I don't think for former Presidents.

What I probably will do is to do a little writing. I will not do any speaking. I have made enough speeches in a year to

last most people for a lifetime, particularly my audiences.

And so, under the circumstances, what probably will do will be, do some writing and, perhaps, contribute to bettering the political process. Let me just say this: Neither party is without fault in the campaign of 1972—quite a bit of violence on the other side, I never spoke anywhere without getting a pretty good working over.

Neither party was without fault with regard to the financing. They raised \$36 million, and some of that, like some of ours, came from corporate sources and was illegal because the law had been changed, and apparently people didn't know it.

And as far as Congressmen and Senators are concerned, they will all tell you that with the new laws and so forth, there ought to be some changes.

I think that if we can't get the Congress to act on the proposal I gave to them 6 months ago to provide a commission to set up new rules for campaign contributions—limiting them—new rules for campaign procedures, then after I leave office, I am going to work for that, because I don't want to be remembered as the man who maybe brought peace for the first time in 12 years, who opened to China, who opened to Russia, maybe avoided a war in the Mideast, maybe, if we can continue it, cut unemployment down for the first time in 18 years—for the first time in peacetime it is down to 4½ percent. It was never at that level, never below 5 percent in the sixties, any time in the sixties—neither the Kennedy nor the Johnson Administration—except during the war years.

I want to be remembered, I would trust,

as a President that did his best to bring peace and also did his best to bring a degree of prosperity, perhaps a contribution in the energy field, in the environmental field, but also one who did his best, when his own campaign got out of hand, to do everything possible to see that other campaigns didn't get out of hand in the future.

Now we will go to the milk case.

THE MILK CASE

[20.] MR. QUINN. Mr. President, APME would like to ask you about the milk case, but our 60-minute commitment of time has run out. APME appreciates your appearance before us this evening, and we thank—

THE PRESIDENT. I will take the time. Televisions, keep me on just a minute. *[Laughter]*

MR. QUINN.—thank you.

THE PRESIDENT. It is a lousy movie anyway tonight.

The reason the milk case question—and this will be the one I will take—ought to be asked, as it is, is that just some awful nice people are getting a bad rap about it. And I am not referring about myself. I am referring about people in the Administration. They have had John Connally down. They have run him around the track. I guess they are going to have Cliff Hardin down, and Pete Peterson, and all the rest.⁴

The whole charge is basically this: that this Administration, in 1971, raised the support price for milk as a quid pro quo for a promise by the milk producers that

⁴ John B. Connally, Secretary of the Treasury (1971–72); Clifford M. Hardin, Secretary of Agriculture (1969–71); and Peter G. Peterson, Secretary of Commerce (1972).

they would contribute substantial amounts, anywhere from \$100,000 to \$2 million to \$10 million, to our campaign.

Now, that is just not true. I will tell you how it happened—I was there. Cliff Hardin, in the spring of that year, came in and said, “The milk support prices are high enough.” I said, “All right, Cliff, that is your recommendation, the Department of Agriculture?” He said, “Yes.” Within 3 weeks after he had made that announcement, Congress put a gun to our head.

Let me tell you what it was. Republicans? Unh-unh. One hundred and two Members of Congress signed a petition demanding not 85 percent of parity, but a 90 percent support price, and 28 Members of the Senate, most of them Democrats, including Senator McGovern, signed a petition demanding—a petition, or signed a bill, which would have made the milk support price between 85 and 90 percent.

So, I talked to my legislative leaders, and I said, “Look here, what I am concerned about—what I am concerned about—is what people pay for that milk, and I don’t want to have that price jiggged up here if we can keep it and get the supply with the present support price.” You know what I was told. They said, “With the kind of heat that we are getting from the Congress, there is no way that you are not going to get on your desk a bill—and they will be able to override your veto—that will raise the support price probably to 90 percent.” So, we said 85 percent.

And that is why it was done and that is the truth.

Well, thank you very much, gentlemen. I guess that is the end.

NOTE: The session began at 7 p.m. in the Contemporary Hotel at Walt Disney World. It was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

335 Remarks on Arrival at Robins Air Force Base, Georgia. *November 18, 1973*

THANK YOU very much. Pat and I wish we could shake hands with every person who has been so very kind to come out and welcome us on this occasion, but it happens that downtown there is going to be a very special ceremony, as you know, for the 90th birthday of the man we affectionately call “Uncle Carl” Vinson. It also is the 100th anniversary, as I understand it, of the Mercer Law School, one of the fine law schools in the country, and I understand this is the 150th anniversary of Macon, so I am here on a very good day.

The other thing I should say is this: that this happens to be the first time I have ever been to Macon, so I am glad,

after this welcome—after this welcome I am going to make sure it is not the last time I have come to Macon. When I saw that we were going to arrive here at 1:30, I said, “Why, there won’t be much of a crowd. They will all be watching the Falcons.” But they play tomorrow night, right? And who is going to win, Minnesota? It will be a fine game. It will be a lot better than the movie, you can be sure.

Let me say to you, too, that on this occasion, I know this country well through a coincidence. Many years ago, when I came from the west coast for the first time east, I went to Duke University, and my

roommate for 3 years was a boy from Macon. He did not go to Mercer; as a matter of fact, he went to Emory University, which is also a fine university, you know, over in Atlanta. And we roomed together for 3 years.

He taught me a lot. As a matter of fact, he was the first man in our class, the brightest boy in the whole class. In fact, he made the best record at Duke of any man who has ever gone to Duke. And so, as you can imagine, I learned a lot from him, a lot about the law, but also a lot about the South.

When I came—of course, my folks are from the Midwest. I had gone to school in the Far West, and I studied all my history books, and we used to talk sometimes about, well, I called it the Civil War, and he said that isn't what it was, it was the War Between the States.

But sometimes we talked about the generals. Now I was raised with the belief—and I told him this—that Ulysses S. Grant, who later became President, was the greatest general of the Civil War. That is what I thought in my first year at law school. After Bill Perdue had brainwashed me for 3 years, he had Grant in fourth place. He had Robert E. Lee first, Stonewall Jackson second, and Joseph Johnston third.

But thank God that war is history. We can all be thankful this is one country—East, West, North, and South. We can all be thankful that there are people who will sacrifice for this country, who love it wherever they come from. We can all be thankful, too, that there are men and women who served in our Armed Forces in peacetime as well as in wartime, and that here at this great air base, that it played such a great role in the airlift, the greatest airlift that ever took place, and I

congratulate the Robins Air Force Base for what they did in that air thing.

As a matter of fact, somebody gave me a little card. I am going to read it to you. It says, "Every day in Middle Georgia is Air Force appreciation day." How do you like that?

But now, on this occasion—and I will bring my remarks to a close so that we can get back down to the ceremonies at the Mercer University—just let me say that we can be thankful that this year, 1973, which has been in some ways a very hard year, but in other ways perhaps one of the very great years for America, we can be thankful that for the first time in 12 years, the United States is at peace with every nation in the world. For the first time in 8 years, every American POW is home where he belongs, and as one of them said, they are proud they came home on their feet and not on their knees.

And when I see so many here of high school age, I guess all of you would agree that some of you will volunteer for the Armed Forces, but did you know for the first time in 25 years it is your choice. No one is going to be drafted. The draft is finished, and you can choose it if you want. And I urge many of you to go to our Armed Forces, because it is a great service, it is a service in the cause of peace.

I will simply conclude by saying that as I look at the events of recent months—the close situation we had in the Mideast, where the possibility of confrontation developed between great powers, and then it was settled because the leaders of those powers knew each other, were able to talk to each other and had decided long before that whenever they had differences they would talk them out rather than try to fight them out—we can look back to that, we can look back to the end of the

war in Vietnam, but above everything else, what we want is a peace that will last.

I saw so many young children here. I see this one over here, and I saw a little baby in a mother's arms, and there is one over there—you see the one with the little purple sweater—and you wonder what kind of a world they are going to have in the year 2000, when I won't be here, Mrs. Nixon will not be here, most of you will not be here. Is it going to be another war, or are we going to have peace?

Let me tell you that because we have opened communication with countries that we completely disagree with in philosophy—the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union—I believe that we can build a peace that will last, not just 10 years, but will last for a generation and more to come, because once every gener-

ation in this century we have had a war—World War I, World War II, Korea, Vietnam—and everybody said, "Well, that is the last," and it never was. I trust we can make this the last, but there is only one way that can happen.

America has got to be strong. America is the nation that can keep the peace in the the world. If we have a weak America, the danger of war will go up. If we have a strong America, there is a chance that our children and our grandchildren can grow up in peace. So help keep America strong, not just in its arms and not just in its industry but strong in its spirit, strong in its patriotism, strong in its love of the greatest country that civilization has ever known.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:34 p.m. at Robins Air Force Base, Warner Robins, Ga.

336 Remarks at Ceremonies in Macon, Georgia, Marking the 100th Anniversary of the Walter F. George School of Law and the 90th Birthday of Carl Vinson. November 18, 1973

Dr. Harris and all of the distinguished guests who are present here today on this historic occasion:

I am honored to be here for the two reasons that have been mentioned so well and so eloquently by all the speakers that have preceded me: first, because it is the 100th anniversary of a great educational institution, the Law School of Mercer University, now the Walter George Law School; and second, because it is the 90th birthday of a man who has served longer in the House of Representatives, in the Congress, than any man in our history, and one who is a legendary figure for those

who did not know him, and one who is a loved figure for those like myself who had the privilege to know him.

Now, in view of the fact that those two events are being celebrated simultaneously, I expected that we would probably have a very good crowd today, and the chapel, of course, is full. However, I also know that this is Atlanta Falcon territory, and so when I was at the airport, I asked one of the people there—and there was quite a big crowd—how come they were out; why weren't they watching the football game? And they said "They are going to play tomorrow night."

Well, as you know, I am somewhat of a football buff, probably because I never made the team, even at Whittier. But I followed the Falcons, and I guess you could call them the comeback team of 1973. They lost their first three and they have won their last six, and I have been thinking I ought to have a talk with [Falcon head coach] Norm Van Brocklin and find out how they did it.

With regard to this law school, when I was speaking to Dr. Harris earlier, he said it was a small law school, and I was thinking of my own law school at Duke when I was there in the middle of the depression, and when my roommate was a boy from Macon, Georgia, Bill Perdue, who was first in our class, the highest record ever made by anybody who went to the Duke Law School, and there were only 105 in the Duke Law School total in the years '34 to '37. So in my view, the size of the law school is not what is important; it is its quality.

And Mr. Vinson has, of course, recounted what this law school has produced, in terms of 4 Senators and 11 Congressmen and 10 Governors—6 of them Governors of the State of Georgia—and 45 judges of various courts, and that is a great record for any law school, large or small.

But a law school means more, simply, than whether it produces public figures of quality. A law school means the character of the young men and the young women who go through those 3 years and then go out into public life and what they contribute. And I think Mercer, by the very fact that it has produced the public figures of such quality that I have mentioned, also over its 100 years produces that great character that affects every community, whether that lawyer is a very big man in the community or—and just

as important—just a lawyer handling people's cases, rich or poor, each of them deserves honor and any law school that produces them deserves honor.

I think it is very appropriate it is named the Walter George School of Law. As Carl Vinson was speaking, I was thinking of my first days in the House of Representatives back in 1947, and I remember that usually there wasn't much attention paid to speakers—and Phil Landrum says it is the same today, they don't pay much attention. But I always remembered there were two men who, when they spoke, the chamber filled. One was Jim Wadsworth—they always came to hear him—from New York. And the other was Carl Vinson.

And the reason they came was not because these two men always agreed, although they always did agree on matters of national defense, but because they were the giants of the House in those days. There were others that were giants, but these two seem to loom above all of the rest.

And in the Senate, the law school that bears the name of Walter George also has that same distinction, because I recall in the days that I served in the United States Senate, and later presided over it, that the Senate chamber was usually empty, and for good reason. The speeches really weren't worth listening to. They were worth reading, but not worth listening to. But there were two men who filled that chamber in those days almost inevitably. One was Robert Taft and the other was Walter George, and whenever those men rose to their feet, the word would go around in the cloakrooms and through the offices, and the chamber would fill. They didn't always agree, and they were very different in their approach—Taft with his

pithy, terse, sometimes, people thought, even rather brittle speech, but yet going to the heart of every question; and Walter George, with that magnificent background which comes from centuries of being taught eloquence of the great Southern statesmen.

And so, if I were in the Mercer Law School or on its faculty, I would be proud to be here, not only because it is a fine law school but because it bears the name of such a very great man who served the State of Georgia and served his Nation so well.

And now comes the part of my remarks that have to do with Carl Vinson. Actually, I had a very—not very long, but I thought appropriately long speech, and as the various speakers went along I began to scratch it out, because everything I wanted to say about Mr. Vinson had already been said more eloquently than I could possibly say it.

But there is one thing that was not said. A great deal of attention has been paid to the fact that Carl Vinson was a man who stood for strong national defense. He was Mr. Armed Services, he was Mr. Navy, he was Mr. American, he was Mr. Congressman.

He was all of those things, but the emphasis on his life was primarily that of strength, military strength. He must not be just remembered and thought of that way, because Carl Vinson was a broad-gauged man.

There are men in the House and the Senate who think solely in terms of strength by itself is enough; if America is strong enough, we don't have to worry about our diplomacy, and we don't have to worry about what we have in the way of national character. It is that military

strength that we need that will keep the peace and perhaps win the wars.

But a young Congressman came to the House of Representatives as the youngest Member of the Congress when he came, 30 years of age, Carl Vinson of Georgia.

In his first speech, listen to what he said: "I devoutly hope that the casting of every gun and the building of every ship will be done with a prayer for the peace of America. I have at heart no sectional nor political interest but only the Republic's safety."

In those few words we capture the life of this very great man. "I have," he says, "at heart no sectional nor political interest." He served eight Presidents, four of them Republicans, four of them Democrats. He had the confidence of every one of them, and he served each one of them as loyally whether they were of his party or the other. And it is that kind of service, which puts America above party, that he represents and that America can always use today.

And then, "the building of every ship, the casting of every gun will be done with a prayer for the peace of America." I thought as he was speaking that we could be thankful for a lot of things today, thankful for the fact that our young men, for the first time in 25 years, are not being drafted for the armed services. They can make the choice, and we hope many will, to serve their country in peacetime as volunteers.

We can be thankful that for the first time in 12 years, America is at peace with every nation in the world; that for the first time in 8 years, all of our prisoners of war are home; and that we are beginning to make progress, we believe, toward build-

ing a structure of peace that is not just limited to Southeast Asia and Vietnam, an important but not critical part of the world, not just the Mideast, which is a very important and possibly a more critical part of the world than Vietnam, and not just Europe, which is important and potentially an area where confrontation would lead to the disaster that all of us are trying to avoid, but to build the kind of a peace in the world which will cover all the world.

I have always felt that it was wrong to be Asia first, or Europe first. I have always thought it wrong to think just of our own Nation, except as it related to our living in the whole world.

The world has become very small in those years that Carl Vinson has served in the Congress of the United States. The world has become much smaller in the years when he first advocated the two-ocean navy. Today, whether it is halfway around the world to the People's Republic of China in Peking, or a third of the way around the world to the Kremlin in Moscow, or wherever we go, we must realize that there cannot be real peace in the world unless there is developed a structure of peace which covers not only the small nations but particularly the great powers that have the key to peace or to war in their hands. And that is what strength is all about.

I know that many think that when the President of the United States or Herman Talmadge, on this platform, or Eddie Hébert out there in this audience, or Phil Landrum, or Carl Vinson, any of us, talk about a strong America, and let's not be number two, there is the thought that that is jingoism.

Who cares whether we are number one

in arms? I will tell you who care: people in every small and weak nation in the world. Because without America and its strength, no small nation would have a chance to survive today. That is what it is all about.

I am not suggesting that America should be the world's policeman.

I am not suggesting that whenever there is a problem, as there was in Korea and then in Vietnam, that America is the nation that must go to the rescue of these small nations. I am only saying this: that in a world where there is nuclear power, and in a world where there are super powers—two in existence and one coming along very fast, the People's Republic of China—we must not leave the position of leadership to other nations without having the balance that is needed, so that they will see that their interest will be served by not using that enormous power that they have, either for the purpose of conquest without war, or even with war itself.

I am not suggesting here that Mr. Brezhnev wants war, or that Mr. Mao Tse-tung or Mr. Chou En-lai wants war. I am only saying this: that reading the pages of history, when a vacuum is left and when there is a great power with no other power to balance it, then a very dangerous situation develops in terms of the threat to the peace of the world.

And looking at the United States and all of the criticism we have taken for our role in Korea and then in Vietnam, and even in other times, we can be thankful for this: Our young men have gone abroad in four wars. They have fought bravely. They have died. But we have never gone in terms of conquest. We have never gone to seek territory. We have never gone to break the peace. We have always gone to

keep the peace. We have never gone to destroy freedom. We have always gone to defend freedom.

Mistakes, yes, we have made; perhaps in the conduct of the wars, perhaps in the conduct of foreign policy before they ever came about. But we can be proud that the United States in this century is a nation that is dedicated to peace, and that the world needs as a strong, powerful nation, because we do stand for peace and will work for peace whenever the case ever arises.

Looking ahead to the year 2000, and it is very difficult to look much beyond that, but I think there is a better chance than there has been since World War II that because the relationships which Carl Vinson has spoken to, that we have established with countries with whom we have nothing in common as far as ideology is concerned—in fact, we differ completely with Chou En-lai, Mao Tse-tung, Mr. Brezhnev, Podgorny and their colleagues—but because of the initiatives we have taken, we may be establishing the pattern which will mean that the great powers will recognize that the risk of war is too great for them to engage in adventurism in any part of the world, and that the benefits of peace, on the other side, are so much greater that we should use our strength for peace rather than for war.

Let me say just one personal note. I am known as an anti-Communist, and I earned that, and I suppose most of the people in this audience would say, well, I am against the Communists. But let me say, I know the Russian people. They are strong. They are vigorous. They are fine people. I know the Chinese people. And whether they are on Mainland China or Taiwan or in Bangkok, where there are a couple million of them, or in Manila,

where there are a million, they are sophisticated, with layer on layer of history behind them, and also with an ability to give much to the world. And I want a world—I want a world for these young people that we have heard outside a few moments ago in which not only they won't have to be drafted, not only they won't have to go to war, but a world in which they can work with their young colleagues in Russia, in China, in Latin America, in Africa, to find the answer to such critical questions as how do we avoid cancer; to find the answer to such critical questions that we are faced with in the field of energy and all of that; the answer to how we can work together to make the world's environment better.

I am not suggesting that it is going to be easy, and I am not suggesting that because we settled the Mideast conflict, momentarily at least, that we can expect that people who have hated each other for thousands of years are now going to start to love each other. But I do know this: With the kind of power that we have, with the kind of power that exists in other nations across this globe and can exist in others, it is essential, if civilization survives, that America remain strong enough that our voice will be respected so that we can play a peacekeeping role, because a war is unthinkable in the present context in which we presently live.

And that brings me now to Carl Vinson again. He was for strength always in his life, and America can be thankful that because of what he stood for, we were strong enough to have handled World War I, World War II, Korea, Vietnam, with military strength that was necessary; to have handled the recent airlift which avoided what could have been a very difficult situation in the Mideast and helped

to avoid an American involvement in the Middle East. All of these things he contributed to.

And a monument must be built to this man, must be left to him. We build part of it today with this ceremony when we honor him and the great law school, the Walter George Law School.

He would not want a monument built for himself to be there in Washington. I don't know, I have never seen him on a horse, I don't know how he would look on that kind of a monument.

But next to his country, and next to his State of Georgia, Carl Vinson loved the Navy most. And so, I have an announcement to make today. I have discussed with Chairman John Stennis of the Armed Services Committee of the Sen-

ate, and Congressman Ed Hébert—the Congressman from Louisiana, the chairman of the Armed Services Committee of the House—and their counterparts, a proposal, and they have given me permission, because we must do this thing jointly, to make this announcement today.

As you know, we have just begun to develop nuclear carriers. The first one was named the *Eisenhower*, the second one was named the *Nimitz*, the great naval commander of World War II. The third is just beginning, and it will be named the *Carl M. Vinson*.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:14 p.m. in Willingham Chapel at Mercer University.

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the U.S.S. *Vinson*.

Dr. Rufus Carrollton Harris was president of Mercer University.

337 Remarks on Arrival in Memphis, Tennessee.

November 20, 1973

THANK YOU very much. We want to thank you for your very warm welcome here to Memphis. When I got off the airplane just a few minutes ago, Congressman Dan Kuykendall pointed out the last time I was here in Memphis in 1966 it rained, and I suppose it is going to rain again, but that is a good sign. We think that means that here in this great Volunteer State, and here particularly in Memphis, that we have a lot of good friends, and we appreciate your coming out, even though you expected some rain.

You saw Mrs. Nixon a moment ago, and I know you need no introduction to the others, but certainly you should see the Governor and the First Lady of the State of Tennessee—stand up here, Governor Dunn—and your Congressman, Dan Kuykendall.

Let me say that I am particularly happy to see so many very young people here, and as I speak to a group like this, I always think of the future of ourselves, but your future, too. And I think how much better your future looks now than it did when I came into office. I remember then that there were 300 Americans being killed every week in Vietnam. One of the men over here spoke about it, and he said, "Thank you for getting us that war over." There he is, right there.

And I recall then that we had over 500 men who had been prisoners of war, some of them as long as 5 years, and they didn't get out until it was 8 years, and I remember that 25,000 Americans every month were being drafted for the armed services. And I am very proud of the fact that as a result of our policies, that Amer-

ica is at peace throughout the world, that there is no American being drafted anywhere. He can serve in the armed services, volunteer, and I hope a lot of you do, because it is a proud profession.

I know we are all glad that our prisoners of war are home. I am glad that we have the lowest unemployment in peacetime that we have had in 18 years. We have got some problems. They are serious problems in terms of our energy, but that is a problem that exists all over the world, and all that I can say is the greatness about America is that when we've got problems, we just get out and solve them. And by the time 1980 comes around, this Nation, which has half the coal of the world, which has lots of oil and lots of gas, which also was the first in developing nuclear energy, let's make sure that we have by that time—and that is only 7 years away—that we have total independence, so that America hasn't to depend on any other nation in the world for the energy

we need for our jobs and the rest.

So to all of you, we are glad we have a peace, the end of the war in Vietnam. We are glad that we have avoided a war in the Mideast. We also are building what we hope will be a peace that will last for all of these young people in the years to come. But most of all, let me say there is nothing that warms our hearts more than to come out here to this part of Tennessee, which has so much history behind it, which has so much strength and vitality within it, and to receive such a wonderfully warm welcome. You have made our day.

Thank you very much.

I see this last sign: "I believe in Nixon and America." Let me tell you, I believe in you, every one of you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:55 p.m. outside the Rivermont Holiday Inn before meeting with Governors who were attending the Republican Governors Conference.

338 Remarks During a Meeting With Advisers To Discuss Energy Policy. *November 24, 1973*

IT IS an uncommonly warm day as far as the weather is concerned. The weather has been on our side up to this point, but not enough to avoid some pretty tough and strong actions that we are going to have to take on Monday.

JOHN A. LOVE [Director of the Energy Policy Office]. It is difficult, of course, to get that distribution thing equitably spread.

THE PRESIDENT. I will make an announcement with regard to the steps that we are taking with regard to the energy problem on Monday (Sunday) night at

7 o'clock. That will be done live. It will not be a long presentation, but Governor Love, prior to that time, will brief the press on all of the details. I will just make approximately a very brief announcement with regard to the steps that we are taking so the Nation will be aware, and everybody will be aware, of how everybody, through cooperation, can avoid, as I said, any suffering. But everybody is going to have to do some sacrificing in order to handle the energy crisis.

We have been going over it, yesterday, and again today, and there is general

agreement within the Administration as to what steps will be taken. We will still work on it over the weekend, and the decisions will be announced on Monday (Sunday) night for the first time publicly, because Governor Love's briefing will be in the afternoon at probably 3 or 4 o'clock, hold for release a.m.'s and 7 o'clock.

HELEN THOMAS [United Press International]. Will it be on television?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. We will make the announcement on television from here, and UPI can cover if they like.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:40 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House where he was meeting with Director Love and Melvin R. Laird, Counsellor to the President for Domestic Affairs.

The remarks took place during a portion of the meeting when reporters and photographers were invited to be present.

339 Address to the Nation About National Energy Policy. *November 25, 1973*

Good evening:

Three weeks ago, I spoke to you about the national energy crisis and our policy for meeting it. Tonight I want to talk with you again to report on our progress and to announce further steps we must take to carry out our energy policy.

When I spoke to you earlier, I indicated that the sudden cutoff of oil from the Middle East had turned the serious energy shortages we expected this winter into a major energy crisis. That crisis is now being felt around the world, as other industrialized nations have also suffered from cutbacks in oil from the Middle East.

Shortages in Europe, for example, are far more critical than they are in the United States. Already seven European nations have imposed a ban on Sunday driving. Fortunately, the United States is not as dependent upon Middle Eastern oil as many other nations. We will not have a ban on Sunday driving, but as you will hear later, we are going to try to limit it. Nevertheless, we anticipate that our shortages could run as high as 17 percent. This

means that we must immediately take strong, effective countermeasures.

In order to minimize disruptions in our economy, I asked on November 7 that all Americans adopt certain energy conservation measures to help meet the challenge of reduced energy supplies. These steps include reductions in home heating, reductions in driving speeds, elimination of unnecessary lighting. And the American people, all of you, you have responded to this challenge with that spirit of sacrifice which has made this such a great nation.

The Congress has also been moving forward on the energy front. The Alaska pipeline bill has been passed. I signed it into law 9 days ago, right here at this desk. The Congress has passed a fuel allocation bill which I will sign into law on Tuesday.¹ An additional emergency bill providing special authority to deal with this problem has now passed the Senate.

¹ On Tuesday, November 27, 1973, the President signed S. 1570, the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act of 1973, Public Law 93-159 (87 Stat. 627).

When the House returns from its recess, I am confident the House will move promptly so that this vital legislation can be signed into law by the middle of December.

And so we have made some encouraging progress, but there is much more to be done, and that is what I want to talk to you about tonight.

I have appointed an Energy Emergency Action Group, under my chief energy adviser, Governor John Love, to analyze our situation on a continuing basis and to advise me of all actions required to deal with it.

And upon the action and the recommendation of this group, I am announcing tonight the following steps to meet the energy crisis:

First, to increase the supply of heating oil that will be available this winter, we must adjust production schedules and divert petroleum which might normally go for the production of gasoline to the production of more heating oil.

To accomplish this, the amount of gasoline which refiners distribute to wholesalers and retailers will be reduced across the Nation by 15 percent. As we reduce gasoline supplies, we must act to insure that the remaining gasoline available is used wisely and conserved to the fullest possible extent.

Therefore, as a second step, I am asking tonight that all gasoline filling stations close down their pumps between 9 p.m. Saturday night and midnight Sunday every weekend, beginning December 1. We are requesting that this step be taken voluntarily now.

Upon passage of the emergency energy legislation before the Congress, gas stations will be required to close during these hours. This step should not result in any

serious hardship for any American family. It will, however, discourage long-distance driving during weekends. It will mean perhaps spending a little more time at home.

This savings alone is only a small part of what we have to conserve to meet the total gasoline shortage. We can achieve substantial additional savings by altering our driving habits. While the voluntary response to my request for reduced driving speeds has been excellent, it is now essential that we have mandatory and full compliance with this important step on a nationwide basis.

And therefore, the third step will be the establishment of a maximum speed limit for automobiles of 50 miles per hour nationwide as soon as our emergency energy legislation passes the Congress. We expect that this measure will produce a savings of 200,000 barrels of gasoline per day. Intercity buses and heavy-duty trucks, which operate more efficiently at higher speeds and therefore do not use more gasoline, will be permitted to observe a 55 mile-per-hour speed limit.

The fourth step we are taking involves our jet airliners. There will be a phased reduction of an additional 15 percent in the consumption of jet fuel for passenger flights bringing the total reduction to approximately 25 percent.

These savings will be achieved by a careful reduction in schedules, combined with an increase in passenger loads. We will not have to stop air travel, but we will have to plan for it more carefully.

The fifth step involves cutting back on outdoor lighting. As soon as the emergency energy legislation passes the Congress, I shall order the curtailment of ornamental outdoor lighting for homes and the elimination of all commercial

lighting except that which identifies places of business.

In the meantime, we are already planning right here at the White House to curtail such lighting that we would normally have at Christmastime, and I am asking that all of you act now on a voluntary basis to reduce or eliminate unnecessary lighting in your homes.

As just one example of the impact which such an initiative can have, the energy consumed by ornamental gaslights alone in this country is equivalent to 35,000 barrels per day of oil, and that is enough fuel to heat 175,000 homes.

Finally, I want to report to you tonight that we have now developed final plans for allocating reduced quantities of heating oil this winter, and all of you know how very important heating oil is, particularly in the wintertime.

These plans, to be published Tuesday, will call for an average reduction of 10 percent of heating oil for industrial use, 15 percent for home use, and 25 percent for commercial use.

The reductions for homeowners alone will result in a savings of some 315,000 barrels of heating oil a day, which is enough to heat over 1½ million homes every day. For the average American family, as I indicated 3 weeks ago, this cutback in heating oil does not mean severe discomfort for anyone, but it will mean that everyone should lower the thermostat—as it is right here in this office now, and throughout the White House, and throughout every Federal installation—you should lower the thermostat by 6 degrees below its normal setting so that we can achieve a national daytime average of 68 degrees. Those who fail to adopt such a cutback risk running out of fuel before the winter is over.

While additional actions will be necessary to further offset the anticipated shortage of 17 percent, the steps which I have outlined tonight will relieve about 10 percent of that shortage.

They will make a very substantial contribution to our immediate goal of insuring that we have enough fuel to be adequately warm in our homes this winter, that we are able to get to work, and that we experience no serious disruptions in the normal conduct of our lives.

Above all, every step will be taken to insure that any disruptions to our economy, which could cost jobs, will be as brief as possible and that they do not cause serious damage.

Nothing we do can succeed, however, without the full cooperation of the Congress in providing the legislation we must have, without the full cooperation of State and local government in providing the broad leadership that we must have, and without the full cooperation of each and every one of you, all the American people, in sacrificing a little so that no one must endure real hardship.

For my part, I pledge to do everything in my power to insure that the decisions I have announced will be carried out swiftly and effectively and fairly, and whatever additional action is necessary to achieve our objective will be taken.

I intend to participate personally and on a regular basis, as I have since I last addressed you 3 weeks ago, in the work of my energy advisers. I intend to advise the Congressional leadership regularly of problems and progress. And I intend to see that the persons and organizations having responsibilities and capabilities in this area are fully and regularly informed.

We need new rules if we are to meet this challenge, but most of all, we need

sustained and serious action and cooperation by millions of men and women if we are to achieve our objective, and that means millions of Americans across this land listening to me tonight.

Let me conclude by restating our overall objective. It can be summed up in one word that best characterizes this Nation and its essential nature. That word is "independence." From its beginning 200 years ago, throughout its history, America has made great sacrifices of blood and also of treasure to achieve and maintain its independence. In the last third of this century, our independence will depend on maintaining and achieving self-sufficiency in energy.

What I have called Project Independence 1980 is a series of plans and goals set to insure that by the end of this decade, Americans will not have to rely on any source of energy beyond our own.

As far as energy is concerned, this means we will hold our fate and our future in our hands alone. As we look to the future, we can do so, confident that

the energy crisis will be resolved not only for our time but for all time. We will once again have plentiful supplies of energy which helped to build the greatest industrial nation and one of the highest standards of living in the world.

The capacity for self-sufficiency in energy is a great goal. It is also an essential goal, and we are going to achieve it.

Tonight I ask all of you to join together in moving toward that goal, with the spirit of discipline, self-restraint, and unity which is the cornerstone of our great and good country.

Thank you and good evening.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television. An advance text of his address was released on the same day.

The White House also released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the energy policy outlined in the President's address. Participants in the news briefing were John A. Love, Director of the Energy Policy Office, and John C. Sawhill, Associate Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

340 Remarks at the Seafarers International Union Biennial Convention. *November 26, 1973*

President Hall, Secretary Brennan, Secretary Dent, distinguished guests, and all of the distinguished delegates to this convention:

I first express my appreciation for the very warm reception you have given me, and my appreciation to Paul Hall for his remarks. I have had many opportunities during the time I have served in this office to meet many very distinguished people, and I can tell you that in an hour-long—I think it was a little over an hour, Paul—conversation that we had in the

Oval Office, I found that this man, who has traveled the world and knows the world, has as deep a perception of world problems of anybody that I know.

He is a valuable man for any President or anyone else to know. I am proud to call him my friend, as I know he is your friend. And let the record show I can't run again, so that was meant, every word of it.

Paul Hall referred to a campaign promise that I made. Actually, it was made in Seattle, I think, Paul, and on that occasion

I don't think everybody thought it meant very much because the American merchant marine and many of the members of this organization were pretty much flat on their backs, and they seemed to have not much of a future because nobody seemed to care very much about whether or not the United States should have a strong, vital merchant marine, a U.S. merchant marine.

I cared very much about that, and I made some remarks in Seattle about that, and at that time I think a few eyes were lifted, and they said, "Well, we will see." It took some time, but I am proud that on the presentation of this great model ship, the *Brooklyn*, that we now see the fruition of the efforts in one area. And as far as you are concerned, you have seen the fruition of the efforts that we have made to build a strong and powerful U.S. merchant marine in the kind of operations that you are now engaging in around the world, the increase of American trade, but also, that increase not at the expense of American jobs on the sea, and that, of course, is exactly what we were trying to do.

May I say also that, having spoken of the need for a strong American merchant marine, I did so because I believe in something. I believe in independence, just as you believe in independence.

I notice, for example, there is a flag at everybody's place here in this room, and some will say, "Now, why those little flags? Isn't that being a little bit jingoistic? It isn't fashionable to have flags in front of every place; you need only one, one up here."

I will tell you why I think you have those flags there, and I got this from my conversation with Paul Hall and with

some of you that I have met through the years: because there is no group in America that believes more deeply in America than the members of this group and those, the 85,000 of them, that travel the seas and see all the world, and after they see all the world and come back and say, "Thank God I am an American citizen." That is why you feel that way.

Also, as I think of the reason that I made that campaign promise 5 years ago in Seattle, apart from whatever political reasons were involved—and I can assure you that the predominant reason was the one that I mentioned, my belief in the need for a strong American merchant marine as part of our overall national and international policy—as I look back to that particular time, I try to think of it in a broader scope. I think of it in terms of some of our present problems.

Some of you perhaps last night had to endure the President speaking to the Nation again, interrupting one of your favorite shows at 7 o'clock at night, which I try not to do if I can avoid it, but if the subject is important enough, then I must speak to the Nation, and in this instance I spoke about energy. I spoke 3 weeks ago about energy. And that ship is about energy because it carries oil, right?

Now, under these circumstances, therefore, I think it is appropriate for me to relate the belief of this organization in this country, your belief in independence for America, to the problem of energy that we have today. I mentioned last night some things that we could do this year to deal with the crisis that we have for this year, a crisis that was made much more difficult because of what has happened in the Mideast over the past 3 to 4 weeks. And those things, incidentally, perhaps

were not very good medicine for a lot of people, but let's think about it for just a moment.

What does it really mean to the average family in America? What does it really mean in terms of suffering, real suffering, to have to put the thermostat down to 68? As a matter of fact, as I have often said, my doctor says 68 is a lot more healthy than 74. Of course, he doesn't have a sweater, or I don't have a sweater, but whatever the case might be, it apparently means that 68 degrees is not going to cause any suffering for America. It means that we are going to have to get used to that lower temperature, and we will save hundreds of thousands of barrels of oil critically needed during this year as a result of the energy crisis that has been hypoed by what has happened in the Mideast.

Let's talk just a minute about driving. Now, I don't drive a car. As a matter of fact, I haven't driven a car since I became President. The Secret Service doesn't trust my driving. They say they have got to drive. I don't trust their driving, but that is all right. In any event, they drive the car, I sit in the back seat, and I must admit that sometimes we have gone well over 50. In California, on the freeways—and there are some Californians here; Paul, you know California—it is 70 miles an hour, right?—and most people go 80. So under the circumstances—well, 5 or 10 above the speed limit; shall we say 75?

But now I have called upon all of the American people to drive their cars at 50 miles per hour. Now, what is that going to mean? It means it is going to take a little longer to get where you are going to go, a little longer to get to work, a little longer to get to the ball game, a little

longer to get to church, maybe a little longer to make the trip to see your mother-in-law—maybe that wasn't a good idea; you wouldn't mind taking a little longer.

But on the other hand, in terms of what it means in other respects, let's look at the plus side. Going at 50 miles an hour means that you are going to be much safer, because all of the studies that have been made by those that are interested in traffic safety indicate that if you reduce the speed limit by 5 miles an hour or 10 miles an hour, the chance for accidents goes down by almost geometrical proportions.

Second, it means, of course, that we are going to save hundreds of thousands of barrels of oil, because if you go at 50 rather than at 70, it means that we are going to operate in a more efficient way.

We can speak, of course, of the other things that I requested the American people to join in on a voluntary basis, and once we get legislation it will be necessary to make some of these things compulsory, but as we think of driving 50 miles an hour, as we think of bringing the thermostats down to 68 degrees, as we think, for example, of not having our ornamental lights on outside, I don't know that that is going to hurt anybody. It is not going to be as pretty. If you come home a little late, around 2 or 3 in the morning, you may get in the wrong door, but who knows, there might be somebody interesting behind that door. [*Laughter*] So under the circumstances, to have the ornamental lights cut down across this country, except, of course, where they are used to designate a place of business, I don't think is going to cost us much in terms of suffering, and it is going to mean a great deal in terms of seeing to it that people in New England,

where the real, the greatest part of the crisis is, are not going to be cold this winter. It will mean that all over this country we are going to have the chance to live perhaps in cooler rooms, drive a little slower, not so many ornamental lights, and frankly, perhaps live a little better, even though it is a little different than what we have lived previously.

Now, of course, having mentioned these things, I know that to many in this audience—and I can tell from looking at you that many of you served, as I did, in World War II—think back to World War II, rationing, all that we went through, and say, “What are we going to do? Are we going to go back to the days when America didn’t have enough of anything, not enough gasoline, not enough meat, not enough of this and that and the other thing?” And the answer is, our goal is not to go back; our goal is to go forward.

But we have a temporary problem, a problem that is going to exist for this year, perhaps somewhat longer—we trust, not much longer, depending upon what happens in the international scene—and therefore, we have got to deal with that problem. But long-term, let me tell you the goal, and here we get back to what I said at the outset of my remarks.

You believe in independence. You live independence. That is why you want an American merchant marine. That is why you say that we want some of our products carried in American bottoms, and certainly we want enough of them carried so that we will always have a substantial, strong American merchant marine which meant so much to us during World War II.

Paul has been very kind in referring to the fact that for the first time in 12 years, America is at peace with all nations in the

world, that all of our prisoners of war are home, that no more at this particular time do we find casualties running 100, 200, 300 a week, and that is, of course, an achievement. And we are trying to build a structure of peace in the world by dealing with some people that particularly the Seafarers have some strong ideological convictions against, as I do—the Communist nations. We are trying to deal with them, not because we like their system, because we would rather talk with those that lead their system rather than fight with those that lead their system.

That is what our policy is about, and that policy, we think, can work if we are sure that we deal with them in a pragmatic, effective way. But as we look at that situation, nevertheless, apart from war, there is always the possibility of that area of conflict which is just below a war that involves the United States.

I am referring to the crisis in the Middle East. There are other crises that could develop—in Latin America, other parts of the world—and the point that I make is that it is essential in terms of independence that the United States be, as a nation, independent of any other nation in every area that it counts, and let me put it first in terms of your area.

I am for a strong American merchant marine because if the United States, wherever there is a crisis, is going to be dependent on some other country, no matter how friendly it may appear to be at the moment, as our lifeline, then we had better watch out. Let’s always be dependent on the United States of America whenever we have that kind of a crisis.

Now, energy is not so easy to understand. Oh, you all can understand it, but to the average person, he can understand that ship, perhaps, and he can say, “Well,

it is going to be our ship carrying our flag, or it is going to be another ship carrying another flag, so let's have the American flag wherever we can, or at least enough of those American flags so if we have a crisis, we don't have to depend on anybody else."

But let's think of what is in that ship—oil. What does that oil do? It provides the energy which makes our jobs. It provides the energy which heats our homes. It provides the energy which lights this room. I am even for television lights, believe it or not, and it provides the energy for that. It provides the energy that moves us from place to place, that transports us, and therefore, we have to have that energy.

And so, I would say that there is no group in America that understands independence more and believes in it more than the Seafarers Union. You believe in it because you realize that the United States should never have a situation where we are dependent upon any other country for our lifeline, in effect. The same is true of energy.

The problem is: How can the United States get into the position where we are self-sufficient in energy? Because you all know, we import oil; we import other products which help us meet our energy needs, because there are only 7 percent of the people of the world living in the United States, and we use 30 percent of all the energy, in the United States. That isn't bad; that is good. That means that we are the richest, strongest people in the world and that we have the highest standard of living in the world. That is why we need so much energy, and may it always be that way.

But as we consider that fact, let us re-

member that we should set as a goal—and this is the goal that I set 3 weeks ago and repeated again last night—independence and self-sufficiency for the United States in energy.

Let me tell you what it is. By the year 1980, if we go forward in the development of our coal resources, of our shale oil resources, of our nuclear power resources, of our natural gas resources, and of course, of our available oil resources in Alaska and in the continental United States, if we go forward as we can and should go forward, by the year 1980, then the United States, if it wishes and if it becomes necessary, can provide all the energy we need to provide our jobs, to heat our homes, to light our homes, and to provide our transportation. Project Independence 1980, that is what I ask the Americans in this audience who believe so much in independence for your particular group, and for what you are doing, to enlist in today.

Let me say that on that particular project, it can be very exciting, because there will be a fallout from it. As we develop our nuclear power and our new uses for coal and all the rest, we are going to find that it is going to provide more jobs; it is going to provide more opportunities; it is going to provide breakthroughs in science that we had never thought were possible before, just as was the case when we made the breakthrough in terms of the Manhattan Project, when we made the breakthrough in space.

Let me put it quite bluntly: Going to the Moon was a great project, the Manhattan Project was a great project, becoming self-sufficient in energy is a great project. It is a great goal. It can be achieved, and with your help—with your

help we can achieve it. And it is that goal that I spoke to last night, and that I speak to you again about today. And I speak to it in the language that this audience, I would say as much as any audience in America, believes in. You believe in independence. You believe in a strong, self-sufficient America. Now let me just put this in perspective for one moment.

After I had made my talk last night, I had a conversation with one individual who said, "You know, what you said sounded a little isolationist. We are going to be self-sufficient in energy, so you are going to be self-sufficient in other areas as well, and that means we are not going to deal with other parts of the world." And of course, if that is what we are talking about, that is not good news for Paul Hall, that is not good news for you, because, of course, your business is moving the cargoes around the world.

I don't mean that at all. The United States will always continue to play its part in the world, but the United States will never be dependent on any other part of the world whenever there is a crisis. That is all there is to it. So, we are going to play our part in the world. It will mean we will continue, as times go on, to trade with other nations and that will expand. We will continue to use their energy sources whenever they are at the right price and so forth, and that will expand. But we want to be in a position so that nobody can cut our lifeline. That is what we are talking about. Nobody can cut America's lifeline.

And now, President Hall, if I could close on one personal note. After my remarks here, in our talk in the Oval Office, people said, "Why didn't you become a sailor?" Because I love to—my best sub-

ject in grammar school, high school, was what we called then geography. I think they call it social studies or something like that today. And I was pretty good at it.

I loved the world, and I loved to think of places far away. Madagascar, that is the only place I haven't been. But I saw that island off the coast of Africa, and I said, "Some day I want to go to Madagascar," and I wrote a paper in grammar school about Madagascar.

What I am simply saying is this: that I have an interest, as you have an interest, in seeing the great world that we live in, and as a matter of fact, if I were much younger, I would be a volunteer to go to Mars or some of those other places. I must say, they won't take me, but I would go if they would allow it. I have already applied. They have already turned me down.

Why, then, didn't I become a sailor? And now I have a confession to make. I get seasick. Or I should say, I did get seasick, and I asked Paul one day, I said, "Do sailors get seasick?" He said, "Almost all of them do sometimes if the weather is rough enough."

I can't believe that, because I have seen these motion pictures, you know, the old sailing rigs rocking and the man standing on the deck and he is standing there, somebody is leaning over the side, but the captain is standing there, sort of grinning at him, so apparently captains never can get seasick.

I wondered, however, why it was that in later years—and I have done a little traveling by boat, not in very heavy seas, but sometimes when there has been a pretty good storm off the coasts of Florida and California—I have wondered why I have never been seasick or airsick for the

last 15 years—I think it goes back about that far—and that allows me to tell you a little story.

The last time that I had an extended conversation with Winston Churchill was in the year 1958 when I visited him in London. And he loved to talk about the sea. He loved the sea. When he went to Marrakech and other places that he liked to go, rather than flying, he would usually take a ship if he could. And I said, “Mr. Prime Minister”—of course he was not Prime Minister then, but once a Prime Minister, he, of course, is always called that—and I said, “Mr. Prime Minister, don’t you ever get seasick?” He said, “No,” and I said, “Well, the reason I don’t ever go by ship is that I found that when I was in the Navy 30 years ago that I got very seasick, and I decided from then on I would try some other method of travel.”

He said, “Young man”—at that time I was 45—but he said, “Young man, let me tell you something. As you get older, you will outgrow it.”

And he was right. As I become older, however rough the seas are, I don’t get seasick, however rough they are.

And in any event, as Paul Hall has already indicated, or at least implied, it is the captain’s job to bring that ship into port, and I can assure you that you don’t need to worry about my getting seasick or jumping ship. I am going to stay at that helm until we bring it into port.

Thank you.

[At this point, Paul Hall, president of the Seafarers International Union of North America, introduced several of the Administration officials present at the convention, including Peter J. Brennan, Secretary of Labor, Frederick B. Dent, Secretary of Commerce, and Robert J. Blackwell, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Maritime Affairs. Noting the presence of Helen Delich Bentley, Chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission, the President resumed speaking.]

Well, Paul, just before I leave I want to repeat to you something I said the other day about Helen Bentley. I know that for this group of, shall we say, stout-hearted men, and strong men, and the rest, you wonder why did this fellow appoint a woman as head of the Maritime Commission, the first woman ever to be the head of one of these Federal administrative bodies.

And as a matter of fact, one Senator who was pushing some other, not woman, but fellow—I think he was a fellow—but anyway, came up to me and said, “You can’t appoint Helen Bentley, you know she swears like a man.” And my response to him was this: I said, “You are wrong, Senator, she swears like a lady, and that is a lot stronger.”

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:40 a.m. in the Congressional Room at the Statler-Hilton Hotel.

Prior to the President’s remarks, Union President Hall presented him with a model of the TT *Brooklyn*, the largest merchant ship built in the United States up to that time.

341 Statement Following a Meeting on Drug Abuse Prevention Programs. *November 27, 1973*

IN meeting today with members of the two Cabinet-level groups responsible for shaping the Nation’s antidrug policies

both here and abroad—the Domestic Council Committee on Drug Abuse and the Cabinet Committee on International

Narcotics Control—I have reaffirmed this Administration's total commitment to meet the threat which drug abuse poses to the health and well-being of millions of our people and, ultimately, to the fiber of our society.

Evidence has continued to build up during 1973 indicating that we are now on the way to winning the battle against this grave problem. International sources of heroin supply are being pinched off, narcotics prices are up while the quality of illicit narcotic supplies is down, and the capabilities for drug enforcement and treatment have been upgraded at all levels of government. The result is that our heroin addict population has begun to decline and the rate of new addiction is down sharply.

Now our concern must be to press on and finish the task. As with any effort that has begun to succeed, we are finding that our preliminary successes in the anti-drug campaign have been uncovering further problems to be solved. My discussions with top officials today focused on three such areas where more must be done if we are to build effectively on the gains already made.

First, I have directed that efforts be stepped up to enroll in treatment programs those heroin addicts who have not voluntarily sought treatment thus far. The "easy half" of our addict population, those who want to break out of drug bondage,

have largely been reached. The next step will be to work intensively through education, persuasion, and incentives, applied within the criminal justice system, to bring into treatment the remaining addicts, those who may even think they enjoy their condition and whose proselytizing is the main cause of new addiction.

Second, as treatment programs continue to cut down the numbers of persons who need heroin treatment, we will continue to encourage seriously dependent, nonopiate drug abusers to utilize any excess capacity which may develop in our existing treatment facilities.

Third, increased attention must and will be given to adapting our international narcotics control efforts to deal with the new patterns for smuggling drugs that will inevitably emerge as existing smuggling routes into this country are cut off. I have directed our ambassadors abroad to move vigorously on this front.

I have often described the menace of drug abuse as America's "public enemy number one." We can be grateful that this problem is finally beginning to come under control. But we must also be determined never to let up in our offensive until the conquest of this enemy is complete.

NOTE: The meeting was held in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on drug abuse law enforcement, treatment, and rehabilitation programs.

342 Message to the Congress Proposing Establishment of New Wilderness Areas. *November 28, 1973*

To the Congress of the United States:

At a time when our Nation is seriously concerned with conserving our energy resources, it is also important that we pro-

tect another treasured national resource—our wilderness areas and the many varieties of plant and animal life which thrive uniquely in wilderness environments.

With this goal in mind, and pursuant to the Wilderness Act of 1964, I am today proposing twelve additions to the National Wilderness Preservation System. These additions would cover a total of over 1 million primeval acres of American terrain which still exist today in much the same condition as they existed centuries before the first European set foot in the New World.

Briefly described, they are:

(1) The Joshua Tree National Monument, California—372,700 acres located in the great California Desert. The varied desert terrain included in this tract harbors widely differing plants and animals.

(2) Point Reyes National Seashore, California—10,600 acres on a long narrow peninsula characterized by fine beaches and steep, forested slopes.

(3) Big Bend National Park, Texas—533,900 acres. Encompassing both the lofty Chisos Mountains and large tracts of desert, this area is host to several wildlife habitats and an unusual diversity of plant and animal life.

(4) Imperial National Wildlife Refuge, Arizona and California—14,470 acres along the Lower Colorado River. The desert uplands which this proposal would set aside provide a home for wild waterfowl, serving in particular as the wintering habitat of Canada geese of the Great Basin flock.

(5) Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado—8,100 acres. The two portions of the park which would be added to the wilderness system are an eastern section with wildlife including mule deer, cougar, bighorn sheep, wild turkey, and many smaller animals, and a northern area which contains the rugged brow of the Mesa Verde Plateau itself.

(6) Mingo National Wildlife Refuge,

Missouri—1,700 acres in a former channel of the Mississippi River. The proposed area contains lowland forest vegetation and a natural swamp environment.

(7) Oregon Islands National Wildlife Refuge, Oregon—346 acres located on 26 islands. Nesting ground for thousands of seabirds, these islands, plus two existing wilderness areas with which they will be consolidated, lie along the beautiful Oregon coast.

(8) White River National Wildlife Refuge, Arkansas—975 acres. Located in an area known as the Scrub Grass Bayou Research Area, the recommended acreage comprises bottomland hardwood forest.

(9) Saguaro National Monument, Arizona—42,400 acres. This proposal would set aside splendid stands of the giant saguaro cactus and other desert resources, as well as rugged mountainous areas with regional vegetation and wildlife.

(10) Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico—21,110 acres. The monument was once the home of prehistoric Pueblo Indians. The proposal encompasses many archeological sites and a great deal of rugged terrain providing habitat for deer, bear, mountain lion and other large mammals.

(11) Valentine National Wildlife Refuge, Nebraska—16,317 acres characterized by the sandhill range, an unusual geological formation in need of preservation. The refuge is populated by several threatened bird species and a variety of other wildlife.

(12) Crescent Lake National Wildlife Refuge, Nebraska—24,502 acres which provide a pristine sandhill habitat for mule deer, antelope, and such rare bird species as the bald eagle and golden eagle.

After a review of roadless areas of 5,000

acres or more, the Secretary of the Interior has concluded that two areas are not suitable for preservation as part of the National Wilderness Preservation System. These are the Salt Plains National Wildlife Refuge, Oklahoma, and the Klamath Forest National Wildlife Refuge, Oregon.

In addition to this message, I am transmitting to the Congress today letters and reports from the Secretary of the Interior regarding all of these wilderness proposals. I concur with the recommendation of the Secretary in each case.

I would draw to the attention of the Congress once again the eastern wilderness legislation which we recently submitted. This proposal—which is now embodied in legislation labeled S. 2487 and H.R. 10469—would amend the Wilderness Act to designate 16 acres in eastern

national forest lands as wilderness on an immediate basis and would subject 37 other areas to study for possible addition to the wilderness system. I urge the Congress to give early and favorable consideration to this proposal, as well as the wilderness proposals accompanying this message.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

November 28, 1973.

NOTE: The White House also issued the Secretary of the Interior's letters and Interior Department reports on the 14 wilderness proposals.

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the President's message. Participants in the news briefing were Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary, E. U. Curtis Bohlen, Deputy Assistant Secretary, and Stanley W. Hulett, Associate Director of Legislation, National Park Service, Department of the Interior.

343 Remarks at a Ball Benefiting Six Drought-Stricken West African Nations. *November 30, 1973*

Mr. Ambassador, Mrs. Willoughby, all of the distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

This is an occasion in which my wife is the special sponsor, as I understand, but where I have the opportunity to join with the Ambassador and the other Ambassadors, to join with their wives on this occasion, and I simply wanted to have the opportunity to say that to bring the Ambassadors from the six countries that are affected by this terrible natural catastrophe, to bring them together, and also to bring together the people in the Washington area—and I hope from around the country as well—in this good cause, is something that we think is most worthwhile.

We hope it may not have to happen again, but we think the fact that we do meet together on such an occasion as this tells us something very special about Africa, it tells us something very special about America, and it tells us something particularly special about those who are the wives of our Ambassadors, and also the wives of the political people here in the room.

I have traveled often to Africa. I am proud to have been there as Vice President, and also when I was out of office. And my wife has traveled to Africa, as well, since I have been in office as President. It is my desire to travel to Africa again, as President, at some time over these next 3 years.

At this time, however, we all join together in a salute to those who are pouring out not only their money but, more important, their hearts to those who are suffering from the drought in the six countries that are affected.

I know that in the world we live in today, where we read of a recent war in the Mideast, where we hear of the troubles that we have in the world, and particularly our problems at home in such areas as energy, that the problems of the countries involved here seem so very, very small, and we do not think of them. But I had the opportunity to talk to one of the Presidents of one of the nations involved, and also to talk to some of the ambassadors from these nations, and the heartrending stories of what happens to the children, what happens to the families in these areas where, after living in an area which was poor before, becomes almost unbearable because of the drought that they have suffered, the lack of water which has killed the cattle, which has deprived them of the very necessities of life. All of this has brought home to me, as I am sure it has brought home to all of our special guests tonight, this truth:

Sometimes we think we are deprived of this or that. We have to drive a little slower, we have to turn down our thermostats, perhaps we don't have the ornamental lighting that we would like to have, because we don't have the energy sources that we expected to have in this particular year. That is in America. It is also, in a greater extent, in Europe and in other countries in the world. But in the six countries involved here, we have more than that.

It is not simply sacrifice, it is real suffering. And it is suffering that touches

every family in those countries, and it touches, particularly, the children of those countries. That is why it is significant that the sponsors of this ball are not the ambassadors, but their wives, not the President, but his wife, because the women of America, of Africa, of the whole world, their hearts, particularly, are touched by such a tragedy.

And I simply want to say that I think it is a great tribute to all of those who are the sponsors of this Desert Ball that they have drawn on the resources of this Nation's Capital and of this whole country, have drawn on those resources to contribute some money. Yes, I understand that it is \$50 a plate, and probably the meal isn't worth that much, even with the inflation, but on the other hand, with the entertainment that you have, this splendid orchestra, the entertainment that will follow, perhaps it gets pretty close to the \$50, but that isn't really the point.

What this event shows, far more than money, is that the heart of America goes out to those who suffer every place in the world, but particularly to those who suffer in this part of the world, perhaps the greatest suffering of any people at any time in our time in the world. And it is the heart that really matters far more than the money. America is a rich country, America is a strong country, but when it counts, America has a very big heart, and tonight we all prove it. And I thank you on behalf of all the American people by demonstrating to the people of these countries that they are not forgotten. Even with our problems, which seem to be so very large, we realize that our hearts go out to those whose problems are infinitely greater. We wish we could do more. We help with our money, but most of all, we

help with our hearts, and we will do more, we can assure you, Mr. Ambassador and all your colleagues.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:14 p.m. in the Sheraton Hall of the Sheraton-Park Hotel.

In his opening words, he referred to Ambas-

sador Samuel Edward Peal of Liberia, dean of the African diplomatic corps. Mrs. Ann Wiloughby was the general chairman of the SOS [Six of Sahara] Desert Ball.

The proceeds from the ball were donated to the six drought-stricken West African nations of Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, and Upper Volta.

344 Statement on the Death of David Ben-Gurion. *December 1, 1973*

IT WAS with the deepest sorrow that I learned of the death of David Ben-Gurion.

With courage, love, and determination, David Ben-Gurion worked to establish the modern State of Israel. As we move forward in the struggle for justice and peace, we take from the example of his life increased conviction that cause will triumph.

The people of America join with the

people of Israel in mourning the passing of a gallant man. As we shared his ideals and hopes, not only for Israel but for all mankind, so we share in their loss.

NOTE: Mr. Ben-Gurion, 87, died in Tel Aviv, Israel.

He was the first Prime Minister of the modern State of Israel, serving from 1948 to 1953 and from 1955 to 1963.

Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz represented the President at the funeral services in Jerusalem on Monday, December 3, 1973.

345 Remarks at a Promotion Ceremony for Admiral Hyman G. Rickover. *December 3, 1973*

Ladies and gentlemen:

As you all know, we are gathered here for the purpose of conferring the four-star rank on Admiral Rickover.

There are so many things that have been said and written about him that there is little that I can add except that from a personal sense, I value my getting to know him well during my trip to the Soviet Union in 1959 and, on our return, our visit to Poland, which he remembers, as I do, as a very special occasion.

He, of course, will be remembered not just for this ceremony—we have lots of four-star Admirals, haven't we, Admi-

ral [Thomas H.] Moorer, Admiral [Elmo R.] Zumwalt—but he will be remembered because he leaves as a monument not only the fact that there are now more ships and a stronger Navy, but that superb breakthrough in technology—Polaris, Poseidon, Trident. No one can ever speak of these breakthroughs without thinking of Admiral Rickover.

I don't mean to suggest by that that he is a man who is without controversy. He speaks his mind. Sometimes he has rivals who disagree with him; sometimes they are right, and he is the first to admit that sometimes he might be wrong. But the

greatness of the American military service, and particularly the greatness of the Navy, is symbolized in this ceremony today, because this man, who is controversial, this man, who comes up with unorthodox ideas, did not become submerged by the bureaucracy, because once genius is submerged by bureaucracy, a nation is doomed to mediocrity.

Thanks to Admiral Rickover, as far as our Navy is concerned, apart from the number of ships, but from the standpoint of technology, it is the first in the world and will continue to be, because his genius was not submerged by the huge bureaucracy that could so often have exactly that effect.

So, I congratulate you, Admiral, and now we will have the ceremony.

[At this point, Secretary of the Navy John W. Warner read the commission of appointment. The President then resumed speaking.]

Now I have to sign it.

Here is the certificate for the wall, and there is the pen. It is not a very good pen, but you will probably develop a better one.

The Admiral has something he would like to say.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:10 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

Admiral Rickover's remarks, released with the President's remarks, are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 1385).

346 Remarks of Welcome to President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania. *December 4, 1973*

Mr. President, Mrs. Ceaușescu, and all of our distinguished guests:

Mr. President, it was over 3 years ago that I had the honor of being the first American President to visit your country and when I had the honor to receive you here in Washington as the first President of Romania to visit our Nation's Capital.

In these past 3 years, we have seen a very great improvement in the relations between our two countries, improvement that is indicated by the amount of trade that we have between our countries, the amount of exchange, and in other areas which we think are particularly important in the economic and political areas.

What is also very significant, however, is that in those 3 years we have seen a great change in the world in which we live, a change that you and I first discussed in 1967 when I visited your capital, Bucharest, as a private citizen. It was then

that we talked of the necessity for a bridge between East and West. And since these past 3 years, we have seen not only the visits I have referred to but a visit to the People's Republic of China, to the Soviet Union, and the development of new relationships between the United States and nations in the Socialist part of the world, but new relationships between Romania and nations in the non-Socialist part of the world.

It is as we look at the world today that we recognize how those relationships came about, how two countries so very far apart geographically—one much larger than the other in terms of population, but each with a proud history—how two countries with different philosophies of government, nevertheless in the field of foreign policy had common objectives, and that was to seek good relations with all nations, regardless of what their phil-

osophical ideas were. A policy of respecting the independence and sovereignty of every nation, large and small, in the world, and a policy of always recognizing that unless each nation has independence, and that that independence is not infringed upon and not threatened by other nations, there cannot be real peace, lasting peace, in the world.

This is the goal of our nation; it is the goal of your nation. It is one that we have discussed on several occasions before, and it is one that, in addition to the bipartisan matters we will be discussing, I am sure, we shall discuss at length in our 2-day visit on this occasion.

We are happy that you and your wife will be able to visit not only Washington but a number of other cities in our country, and we know that you will receive here the same warmhearted welcome that made such an enormous impression on Mrs. Nixon and me and all the members of our party when we had the honor of visiting your country, Romania.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:45 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where President Ceaușescu was given a formal welcome with full military honors.

President Ceaușescu spoke in Romanian. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen:

It is an occasion of particular pleasure for me, for my wife, and for my colleagues here to find ourselves again in the United States to meet you again, Mr. President, and to continue the dialog we started in 1967, and which has proved to be so fruitful both for the relations between our two nations and also for the development of cooperation and peace in the world.

It is true that after the visit you officially paid to Romania as the first President of the United States to be in my country, the visit

you made together with Mrs. Nixon in 1969, the relations between our two countries have seen a continual progress. We have achieved significant developments in our economic cooperation. At the same time, our relations in the field of science, culture, exchanges of people in various fields, have developed also. Our peoples have started to know each other better and to cooperate together in the interest of general progress, of cooperation and peace in the world.

Likewise, the visit I paid to the United States in 1970, the talks I had at that time with you, with other political, economic personalities, with the representatives of the business community in the United States, have given a new impetus to the cooperation between our two countries. It is true since 1967, and then since your first official visit to my country in 1969, a number of years have passed. And in these years, many things have changed in the world, and these changes continue to take place and to become more accentuated, leading in the direction of a better cooperation among all peoples, in the direction of the assertion of each nation's independence, of the right for free economic and social development in conditions of observing each people's right to organize its life as it wishes and deems fit without any outside interference.

One can really say that the visit you paid to Romania was really a good start, and it marked favorable developments in the relations of your country with the Socialist countries, followed by the visit to the People's Republic of China and your visit to the Soviet Union. It opened the course toward developing cooperation with other Socialist countries as well. This is certainly an important moment in the developments of the world today and in the general course to insure a lasting peace in this world of ours.

In its policy, Romania starts from the premise that in the settlement of the great international problems, all states have a part to play, and they all should cooperate on an equal basis. No doubt the greater countries have greater responsibilities and a greater role to play, but life itself has demonstrated that the big international issues can only be settled with the participation and direct contribution of all states in international affairs.

It is only on that basis that we can build a better world, a world with more justice. We are convinced that the peoples of the world will march ever more firmly in this direction.

I am happy to be able to state that the relations between Romania and the United States are based precisely on these principles and that this has been confirmed in the years that have passed. I am persuaded that our visit to the

United States and the talks with you, Mr. President, will establish an even more lasting basis to the cooperation between our two countries in the interest of a better and brighter world.

It is with these thoughts, Mr. President, that I address to you and to the people of America the feelings of friendship on behalf of the entire Romanian people. May I wish you and the American people progress and peace.

347 Remarks Announcing Establishment of the Federal Energy Office. *December 4, 1973*

Ladies and gentlemen:

I have an announcement with regard to the energy crisis that I will now make, and at the conclusion of my announcement, Mr. Simon will have a brief statement with regard to his acceptance of the position that I am appointing him to, and then will take questions on the new office that we are setting up and new actions that we are taking to meet the energy crisis.

As you recall, in my report to the Nation on November 25, I said that I would be reporting from time to time on the energy crisis and on the steps that I would personally be taking to meet it.

Last June, I asked Governor Love to join my staff in order to develop the necessary policies to meet what was then essentially a long-term problem which had important short-term consequences. Governor Love has provided me with a broad range of recommendations and policy considerations for achieving independence with regard to energy by the year 1980. The work which Governor Love and his staff have done in the last 6 months constitutes an invaluable and lasting contribution to this Nation's efforts to meet a challenge of formidable dimensions.

While the process of policy formula-

tion was going forward, the world—the United States and all the rest of the world as well—was confronted with a new and far more critical situation arising from the Middle East oil embargo.

I have discussed in recent weeks those steps which we would take to meet this new situation. Such steps will involve the Federal Government directly in operational matters, in addition to its policy-making role in resolving the energy crisis. In order to administer the necessary voluntary and mandatory actions, some of which have been announced, some of which are still under consideration, we must now strengthen our ability to make and implement our energy program.

The planning for this step has been in process for several weeks. I have been in consultation with my senior advisers on the development of an operational structure to carry out our energy policies. And we also have been in contact with major Congressional leaders who are interested in this particular problem and have responsibilities in the Congress for the problem.

As a result of these consultations, I have decided to bring together in one agency the major energy resource management functions of the Federal Government to provide the centralized authority

we must have for dealing with the energy crisis.

I am personally assuming the Chairmanship of the Energy Emergency Action Group which will continue to oversee all major policy issues relating to energy. And Mr. William E. Simon, who is currently Deputy Secretary of the Treasury, will serve as Executive Director of this group. I expect, Mr. Simon, that this will take almost all of your time.

Concurrently, I am asking the Congress to create a Federal Energy Administration and, in the Executive Office of the President, a Federal Energy Office to carry out all energy-related functions.

In anticipation of Congressional action on my request, I am today establishing by Executive order [11748] the Federal Energy Office, which will begin to perform these functions while we await the necessary statutory authority which we hope to get from the Congress.

The Federal Energy Office will also be headed by Mr. Simon. I am gratified by the rapid action which the Congress is taking on many of the proposals for dealing with the energy crisis. The emergency legislation which we must have is being considered in an expeditious manner, as is my request for legislation establishing an Energy Research and Development Administration. And I am confident, too, that my proposal for a Federal Energy Administration will be dealt with in a similar manner by the Congress.

As these steps are being taken, I want to emphasize once again that the work of the Government agencies involved in meeting the energy crisis cannot be fully successful without the total commitment of every American citizen to see our Nation through this situation.

The American people recognize the challenge facing us, and they are already responding to it in a way that speaks well for the future. Every day reports flow into the White House of families who are driving more slowly, turning down their thermostats in their homes, and seeking other ways to conserve fuel. Each of these families has my personal gratitude and has also the gratitude of the entire Nation.

As we see the spirit of sacrifice which has distinguished this response, we approach the days ahead with the strongest confidence that we will weather this present difficulty as we have others in our history and that the ultimate accomplishment of independence with regard to energy can and will be a fitting tribute to America's strength and perseverance in this time.

And now, Mr. Simon, who will have such great responsibilities to carry out these policies in this new office, will have a statement and then will take your questions.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:05 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

On the same day, the White House released a transcript of Mr. Simon's news briefing on energy policy and organization, a fact sheet on Federal energy organization and biographical data on Mr. Simon and John C. Sawhill, Deputy Director of the Federal Energy Office. Mr. Simon's opening remarks at the news briefing are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 1389).

On December 3, 1973, the President accepted the resignations of John A. Love as Assistant to the President and Director of the Energy Policy Office and of Charles J. DiBona as Special Consultant to the President and Deputy Director of the Energy Policy Office. Excerpts from his letters to Mr. Love and Mr. DiBona are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 1448).

348 Toasts of the President and President Ceausescu of Romania. *December 4, 1973*

President and Mrs. Ceaușescu, and all of our very distinguished and honored guests:

As I sit here at this head table in the State Dining Room with the President of Romania, I can imagine that many here in this dining room wonder what we talk about. Now, of course, I cannot disclose all of the conversation, but I thought that it would be of interest to all of you and those who can hear us through this recording—[*laughter*—how the President and I first came to meet and how two of us from, in some ways, very similar backgrounds and in other ways very different backgrounds, have each tried to make a contribution to a cause everybody in this room, in both of our countries and, we believe, in the whole world, believes in.

In 1967, when I was not in office and had no prospects of being in office, I visited Romania, and the President was kind enough to receive me. And I was reminded of the subjects we discussed in 1967, just 6 years ago: the war in Vietnam, which then seemed endless; the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, which then were, at best, at arms' length, certainly not in terms of the communication that we have today; the relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China, which at that time were virtually non-existent in terms of communication.

We talked of many other things, of course: of Romania, the United States, and what this country, our country, owes to those of Romanian background who have come here and contributed so much to the diversity of our whole society.

Since then, in 1969, when I had the honor of being the first American President ever to visit a Socialist country on a state visit, and then again in 1970 when, on two occasions, the President was here, one on a state visit and then again today, 1973, I think, as you must think, of how much has happened in those 6 years.

That war, terribly difficult, costly for the American people and, of course, even more so for the Vietnamese people on both sides who were involved, is ended. The United States has begun a new relationship with the People's Republic of China, one which began just a year ago and which continues to develop. The United States, in addition, has had two summit meetings with the leaders of the Soviet Union and, of course, meetings with other governments in Europe, in Africa, Latin America, around the world.

Now, while these meetings, of course, have caught a great deal of attention from the press, particularly those involving the major powers, sometimes what is overlooked is the vitally important role that is played by leaders from proud countries, but not the biggest countries, a leader like our distinguished guest tonight, because he, speaking with his candor for which he is very famous, spoke to me about, then, the relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China, Europe, and of course, Vietnam.

We did not agree about many of those subjects, but we both saw the profound need for new departures, for breakthroughs, for change, or otherwise the world would be frozen into a whole struc-

ture of confrontation which would inevitably lead to a conflagration which could destroy the civilization as we know it.

I am not suggesting that because the President and I met in 1967 and had such a full and frank discussion, and met again on three other occasions in which these discussions were renewed, that those discussions were the reasons for the progress that has been made. What I do say, however, is this: that our distinguished guest tonight, of the world's statesmen, has played one of the most profound roles of any world statesman in seeing the whole problems that we confront in the world, and not just those involving his own country and another country with whose leader he might be talking at a certain time. He has shown wisdom and understanding and has contributed enormously to the opening of dialogs that might otherwise have forever been closed.

And so, tonight, when we cannot, unfortunately, say that we have peace that will last forever—because it may not be possible ever for that to be said for sure by anyone—while it cannot be said that because the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States have met at two summit meetings, that that means that the differences those two great powers have are ended, because they have not ended and they will not because our interests are different, something the President recognizes, something we recognize. And it does not mean that the People's Republic of China, with 800 million people, because of a visit by the President of the United States and other diplomatic visits which followed, has so changed the relationship that those two nations and those two peoples will forever find them-

selves as friends, not just as individuals, but as nations, but being the pragmatists that we are, the President and I, we both agree it means this:

Something very profound and something very positive has happened in these past 6 years. The world has changed, and it has changed for the better. A war in which the United States was engaged, a very costly one, is over. A new relationship has been developed between the two most powerful nations, and also a new relationship between the United States and the world's most populous nation. And all of this means that the chance that we can avoid a world struggle is greatly increased.

But the point I particularly want to make tonight is this: that as the eyes of the world inevitably turn to the meetings at the summit involving the leaders of great powers, that as far as this Nation is concerned, never at one of these meetings in the past, at least on the occasions of our participation in them since I have been in this office, and never in the future, as long as our present policies are continued, will the United States, in developing better relations with great powers, do so at the expense of the independence and the sovereignties of proud, fine people like our friends in Romania.

I say that because there is a tendency sometimes for us to believe that all the world's problems would be so easily soluble if only those with great power would use their power to impose those solutions around the world. Now, the great powers have special responsibilities, but as far as the United States of America is concerned, we have a special feeling also in our hearts for people from a country like Romania, a proud people

with a great background, who gave to Mrs. Nixon and me, I think, one of the warmest and most heartfelt welcomes we ever received in all of our travels abroad. And we believe that every nation, large and small, has the right to its independence, the right to choose its own way, and the right not to have that independence to be imposed upon, to be infringed upon by any other power.

That is what U.S. foreign policy is really about. It is about, of course, first, peace in the world, and that means negotiations with great powers, and between them, those who have the power to affect the peace, but it also means having respect always for the rights of those nations, whether they be large or small, whether they be powerful or weak, who, except for our recognition of their right to independence, would be in very great jeopardy.

The President of Romania has been a spokesman for what he calls the countries that are not the super powers. He has been courageous, he has been candid, sometimes critical of our policy, sometimes critical of policies of other countries, but always standing up for his own, and that is a quality we in America admire.

We admire him. We admire his people because of their belief in their independence and their sovereignty and their willingness to defend it.

And so, tonight, in proposing the toast to the President, I do so not simply because he is here again as a state guest but also because he has made a major contribution to this profound change in the relations between nations that has occurred over these past 5 years, and also because he stands for a principle that we Americans believe in so deeply, the right

of every nation, large or small, to its independence, to its freedom.

And so, I know all of you will want to join me in not only drinking to the health of our distinguished guest, to the friendship between our two peoples, but particularly to the leader of a great and friendly nation, President Ceaușescu.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:20 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

On the following evening, the President and Mrs. Nixon attended a reception in honor of President and Mrs. Ceaușescu hosted by Romanian Ambassador to the United States Corneliu Bogdan at the Romanian Embassy.

President Ceaușescu responded to the President's toast in Romanian. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

Mr. President, Madam, ladies and gentlemen:

I should also like to refer briefly to some of the problems pertaining to the relations between our two nations and also to international affairs today.

We truly live in an era of great transformation, both on a national and international level. Men who have obtained important success in the development of economy, science, culture, men who reached out into the outer space, are still preoccupied with a great many problems here on Earth.

There is still much inequality in the world. There are people and there are peoples who still live in underdevelopment. And there is a concern to establish relations between people and peoples on a better basis, on more justice, both on a national and on an international level.

No doubt there are many different opinions as to the various ways leading to this better world, to this world with more justice we are dreaming about. But today, more and more statesmen understand, as the peoples understand themselves, that a better world, a world with more justice, should necessarily come about.

You talk, Mr. President, about our discussions in 1967. At that time I was not President of the State Council myself. I was just the Secretary General of the party at that time. Therefore, it was not a discussion between two Presi-

dents at that time; it was a discussion between two statesmen who could talk frankly and openly.

It appears that sometimes, from time to time, it may be necessary and useful, too, that people should talk not only in their official capacities, not only as political people, but as people, just as people.

You have subsequently visited Romania as the first President of the United States to visit that country, and you were welcomed there as the Romanian people know how to welcome their friends, those who wish and do respect their independence and their right to a free life.

We met again in 1970 in the United States, at the White House, and now again in '73 in the United States here at the White House again.

We have, indeed, talked about many questions, including some, so to say, more philosophical. Mostly, we talked, however, about the problems which were a source of concern to mankind at that time.

It was then that we talked about the development of cooperation between our two countries, about the peace in Vietnam and in the Middle East, and about establishing relations among states on a new basis. We are able to note today with great satisfaction that quite a number of problems have found a solution.

In Vietnam a peace agreement has been arrived at, although still more efforts will have to be made in order to secure a lasting peace in that area.

Direct contacts and relations have been established between the People's Republic of China and the United States as a result of the visit you, Mr. President, paid to China.

A number of agreements have been concluded with the Soviet Union as a result of your visit, sir, to the Soviet Union, and of the visit paid by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Brezhnev, to the United States.

No doubt all this has had, and is still having, an important role on the entire development of international affairs. But the picture will not be complete if we fail to talk about the fact that other changes have also occurred in the world.

An ever-increasing number of nations is asserting more powerfully their words in international affairs and their desire to independent

development, and they are playing an ever more active role in international life. Of course, the big countries, as the United States is, and other big countries as well, have an important part to play in international affairs, but I will have to say on this occasion again, in all frankness, that these countries alone are not in a position to totally insure a new course towards détente and a new course towards a better world and a world with more justice.

The establishment of a new policy in the world, a policy based on equal rights and mutual respect, can only be the result of the united action of all states and of all nations. This is like on a national level in which a real policy of social justice can only be the result of the united effort of the entire people.

You have mentioned, Mr. President, the desire of the United States to act towards building new relations. No doubt, in everything that has been done to settle a great number of problems we have mentioned before, the United States has made its contribution. There is no secret to anyone today that it is precisely due to the fact that the President of the United States, you, sir, has taken action in this particular direction and made possible these results.

But still more problems await a settlement, and without doubt more efforts, and sustained efforts too, will have to be made in this particular direction, having in mind the need to insure cooperation among nations based on equal rights, equal rights irrespective of size or of social system.

During our talks today, we have reached a whole area of understanding, and some agreements for the further cooperation between our two countries have been signed today.

We would like to see the relations between Romania and the United States, between two countries having different social systems, two countries which are different in size, as one can easily see, we wish that these relations should really become an example of the way in which two countries can cooperate, based on the principle of equal rights and mutual respect.

We would like to be able to enable history to say that under difficult conditions two nations, a big one and a small one, were able to cooperate in such a way as to contribute towards establishing international relations on a better basis, on a basis of more justice.

I think—and I shall not be to blame if I shall anticipate a little the declaration we are going to sign tomorrow—it is going to be a document of historical importance in its own way, by the mere fact that it expands the relations and the principles that govern relations between countries which are different in many ways, but which are united in their desire to cooperate in building friendship between them and in building a world of cooperation and peace.

Since our talks in 1967, Mr. President, we have covered a long way to reach such a declaration which puts down fundamental principles of international relations. This no doubt speaks for itself, and it also shows and illustrates the changes that have taken place in the world. And it shows how the peoples of our two countries, how the leaders of our two countries, have been able to act in order to enforce mutual

cooperation and international cooperation for the sake of peace and better cooperation.

Taking as a starting point these changes that have worked their way in the world, we are able now to look upon the future with confidence. Notwithstanding the difficult problems that are still to be solved in the world, they are to be solved if all the peoples will act in unity to build a lasting peace based on equal rights and mutual respect.

May I ask you to join me in this toast: To the President of the United States, who all through these years has an important role to play in the development of international life along this path, for the friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the United States and Romania, for lasting peace and cooperation in the world. To your health, ladies and gentlemen.

349 Exchange of Remarks With President Ceausescu of Romania on Signing a Joint Statement of Principles. *December 5, 1973*

Mr. President and ladies and gentlemen:

As you know, we have had statements of principles that we have signed with major nations—with the Soviet Union, with the People's Republic of China. In this case we sign a statement of principles with Romania—Romania, which in the scale of size of population, is a smaller country. But on the other hand, the fact that this statement of principles is signed between Romania and the United States has a very deep significance, and that significance is that while the United States considers its relations with major powers to be of enormous importance in terms of building a structure of peace in the world, we also consider it a cornerstone of our foreign policy that any agreements that we make must never be at the expense of the sovereignty and of the independence of smaller nations.

Our relations with Romania have been particularly close during this Administration, due to the personal relationship that I have enjoyed with President Ceausescu, and we have seen growth in our economic communications as well as in a number of other areas, as demonstrated by the agreements that were signed yesterday. But today, as we complete the signing of this document, we are, in effect, saying to the whole world that as far as the United States is concerned, we believe that the survival of nations, no matter how small, no matter how weak they might be militarily, the survival of nations, proud of their sovereignty, proud of their independence, is essential to building a structure of peace in the world, one that we can be proud of. And so, for that reason, we thought that having the ceremony here in the Cabinet Room with the

members of our Cabinet and the members of the President's official party here was particularly appropriate.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:19 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

President Ceaușescu spoke in Romanian. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:

The signing of the joint declaration between the United States and Romania marks a new stage in the relations between our two countries.

It is true that in the last few years, and in particular after the visit paid by President Nixon to Romania, the relations between Romania and the United States have seen a strong development in all fields of activity. These very days we have signed several documents and agreements on our economic cooperation and we adopted a statement on the principles of our economic cooperation. Today we sign this declaration which places at the basis of the cooperation between Romania and the United States the principles which are asserting themselves ever more strongly in international affairs. As such, they are the only principles apt to insure a lasting and just peace in the world, such as equal rights, respect for the sovereignty and independence of each nation, noninterference in the internal affairs,

mutual advantage and renunciation of force and of any threat with force in the settlement of international issues.

The signing of this declaration between our two countries—countries having different social systems, and which are different in size—is an important event which at the same time confirms the deep, growing changes which now occur in the world and which are accelerated today.

We should like to see the significance of this document expand in the world and demonstrate that in the world today, it is indeed possible for all countries, big, medium size, or small, to work together in full equality and to have the right of each nation asserted for its development according to its own wishes so that a better world, a world with more justice, will be built for all.

There is no doubt that the happily existing relations between the United States and Romania have reached the present stage also due to the fact that President Nixon and myself have established good relations of cooperation and friendship, and that the President of the United States, himself, has taken action in trying to apply these principles in the mutual relations with Romania.

We dearly wish that the declaration we have signed today should form the lasting basis for the friendship between our two nations and should contribute at the same time to international peace and cooperation.

350 Joint Statement of Principles Following Discussions With President Ceausescu of Romania.

December 5, 1973

THE President of the United States of America, Richard Nixon, and the President of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu.

—having met in a cordial, constructive and friendly atmosphere, which provided the opportunity for a useful and comprehensive exchange of views,
—having discussed United States-

Romanian relations, the principles underlying those relations, and the principal international problems of current concern in a spirit of full and mutual respect reflecting the interests of the American and Romanian peoples in closer contacts,
agreed on the following statement.

They expressed the conviction that all nations, whatever their size, political,

economic or social systems or level of development, should contribute to a durable world peace, founded on freedom, equality, justice and respect for human rights.

The two Presidents noted with satisfaction the favorable development of relations and the good results achieved following President Nixon's state visit to Romania in 1969 and his subsequent meeting with President Nicolae Ceaușescu in Washington in 1970. They agreed on the desirability of expanding and further developing relations between their two countries on a solid and lasting basis for the mutual benefit of the American and Romanian peoples.

I

The two Presidents solemnly reaffirmed that the bilateral relations between the United States of America and the Socialist Republic of Romania are founded on the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, and, consistent with these, especially on the following closely interrelated principles:

the right of each state to existence, independence, and sovereignty;

the juridical equality of all states irrespective of their size, level of development, and political, economic and social systems;

the right of each state freely to choose and develop its political, social, economic, and cultural systems;

refraining from the threat or use of force in violation of the United Nations Charter, respect for territorial integrity, and inviolability of frontiers;

non-intervention, direct or indirect, for any reason whatever, in the internal affairs of any other state;

the duty of states to settle their international disputes by peaceful means;

cooperation in various fields of international relations in order to promote international peace and security and economic and social progress.

II

The two Presidents expressed their determination to develop the relations of the two countries in a spirit of esteem, respect and mutual advantage. They agreed to take measures as appropriate to encourage the expansion of trade as well as industrial, scientific and technical cooperation, in particular, such forms of collaboration as joint ventures and joint research between enterprises and institutions of the two countries. They also agreed to take appropriate measures to develop friendly relations between the two peoples, by creating conditions for better mutual knowledge of their spiritual and material values, by expanding and deepening contacts and exchanges in such fields as science, technology, culture, arts, education, information, and tourism by relations between institutions, organizations, associations, and enterprises, as well as by contacts between the citizens of the two countries. They will contribute to the solution of humanitarian problems on the basis of mutual confidence and good will.

III

The two Presidents expressed their determination to act for the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the

maintenance and consolidation of international peace, the development of cooperation among all nations, and the promotion of the norms of international law in relations among states.

They stressed the importance of achieving effective measures of disarmament conducive to the strengthening of international peace and security.

They agreed to continue their support for the achievement of security and cooperation in Europe, noting that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the negotiations on Mutual Reduction of Forces and Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe should contribute to this end. They agreed that the process of building European security would produce closer relations among the participants and make a positive contribution to world peace. They further agreed that the development of good neighborly relations among Balkan countries will contribute to cooperation, security, and relaxation of tensions in Europe.

Noting that international relations are in a period of intense change, the two Presidents welcomed the continuing progress toward relaxation of tensions and toward an era of negotiation rather than confrontation. They welcomed the new opportunities for increasing participation by all interested states in the resolution, by negotiation, of controversial problems for the further improvement of international relations.

They expressed their satisfaction with the agreement concerning the reestablishment of peace in Vietnam and their hope

that it will be implemented to contribute to peace and stability in Indochina.

They expressed their concern with the recent outbreak of the conflict in the Middle East and emphasized the importance they attach to current efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace. They expressed themselves in favor of the settlement of the conflict by peaceful means in the spirit and on the basis of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967. They stressed the need to proceed without delay to the negotiations called for by the Security Council Resolution of October 22, 1973 and to the convocation of the peace conference.

IV

The two Presidents expressed their conviction that the continued development of friendly relations between the United States of America and the Socialist Republic of Romania, based on equality, mutual respect and due consideration for their respective interests, serves the cause of international peace and cooperation.

Stressing the value of personal contacts, they reaffirmed their commitment to deepen and expand relations between the two countries by consultations at various levels as well as through normal diplomatic channels.

Washington, December 5, 1973

RICHARD NIXON,

President of the United States of America

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU,

President of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania

351 Joint Statement on Economic, Industrial, and Technological Cooperation Between the United States and Romania. *December 5, 1973*

ON the occasion of his official visit in the United States of America the President of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu held talks with the President of the United States of America, Richard Nixon, on December 4 and 5, 1973, with regard to the development of economic relations between Romania and the United States.

Henry Kissinger, the Secretary of State, George Shultz, the Secretary of the Treasury, Frederick Dent, the Secretary of Commerce and other officials on the American side; and Manea Mănescu, Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Planning Committee, George Macovescu, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vasile Pungan, Counsellor to the President and other Romanian officials also participated in discussions.

The two Presidents have emphasized the favorable development of economic relations between their two countries and they expressed their determination to promote and expand economic, industrial and technological cooperation on the basis of respect for sovereignty, independence, non-interference in domestic affairs, juridical equality, mutual advantage, and refraining from the threat or use of force.

President Nixon and President Ceaușescu expressed their satisfaction with the remarkable rate of growth in United States-Romanian trade, which has increased more than fourfold since President Nixon's visit to Bucharest in 1969.

Both Presidents noted particularly the

rapid growth in Romania's exports to the United States, due to the major efforts that Romania has made to promote its exports to the United States.

It was anticipated that the trade will continue to grow at the same pace or better during 1974 and the following years. The two Presidents stressed that the two countries have taken several actions to encourage and facilitate this growth in trade.

The two Presidents noted the importance of the meetings and talks to be held by President Ceaușescu with American business leaders aimed at finalizing agreements and understandings and generating new interest in doing business with Romania.

The Presidents noted that, in recognition of Romania's status as a developing country the United States Overseas Private Investment Corporation is now prepared to assist in insuring and financing United States investments in Romania.

The two Presidents noted, that, since November 1971, when President Nixon determined that United States exports to Romania should be eligible for United States Export-Import Bank credits and guarantees, these credits and guarantees have effectively contributed to the expansion of trade. Private United States banks have also facilitated this expansion.

The two Presidents have noted the importance of both countries' participation in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the importance of the provisions and principles of this Agreement for

their respective economic policies.

President Nixon reaffirmed his commitment to seek authority to provide most-favored-nation tariff treatment for Romania in recognition of the importance of this reciprocal principle as a factor in international relations and in the development and diversification of economic relations between the two countries.

The two Presidents further noted that Romania's accession to the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade, and to membership in the International Monetary Fund and to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development were positive steps in broadening its world-wide economic and financial relations, and have created favorable conditions for collaboration between representatives of both countries within the framework of these international organizations, with a view to developing their economic cooperation.

The two Presidents welcomed the conclusion on the occasion of the visit of the Agreement between the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and the Socialist Republic of Romania Chamber of Commerce on setting up the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council, the Convention with Respect to Taxes on Income and Property, the Agreement relating to Civil Air Transport and the Agreement regarding Fisheries in the Western Region of the Middle Atlantic Ocean as well as specific conventions and understandings among Romanian enterprises and economic organizations and American firms with regard to economic, industrial and technological collaboration and cooperation in the fields of machine-building, electronics, chemicals and petrochemicals and other fields of mutual interest.

They also noted that discussions re-

garding American bondholder claims have been resumed.

In order to further the development of economic relations between the United States and Romania, the two Presidents approved the following guidelines:

1. The two Governments will facilitate, as appropriate, cooperation between interested firms, companies and economic organizations of the two countries with a view to the realization of joint projects, including joint manufacturing and marketing ventures, in the fields of industry, commerce, agriculture and natural resources, and other fields of mutual interest.

Areas of particular interest for such cooperation include machine-building, electronic and electrical industries, energy, metallurgy, mining and petroleum, chemicals and petrochemicals, light industry, foods, telecommunications, building materials, agriculture, and tourism.

2. Commercial and economic cooperation transactions will be effected on the basis of contractual arrangements between firms, companies and economic organizations of the two countries, and in accordance with the laws and regulations in force in both countries. Such contracts will generally be concluded on terms customary in international practice.

Such contracts and arrangements may encompass such matters as:

- construction of new industrial facilities, as well as the expansion and modernization of existing facilities;
- joint manufacturing and marketing by means of joint ventures or otherwise;
- licensing or patents and exchanges of economic and technical information on products, designs and technology, subject to the laws and regulations in

effect in the two countries, including laws relating to transshipment and reexportation;

- training and exchange of specialists and trainees;
- establishment of banks and banking agencies in the two countries;
- joint cooperative projects in third countries.

Such contracts may provide for sharing and transfer of benefits, rights of participation in the management of the joint enterprises, procedures for dissolution of the joint enterprise, and return and repatriation of capital on mutually agreeable terms.

3. In their economic relations and in applying their policies within the framework of their laws and regulations, the two countries will take full account of the respective level of their economic development as well as the characteristics of the two economies. In this respect, it is noted that Romania, as a developing country, could be eligible for treatment accorded to developing countries.

4. Currency payments between firms, companies and economic organizations of the two countries will be made in United States dollars or any other freely convertible currency mutually agreed upon; other forms of payment may be agreed upon.

5. Except for a public purpose, assets belonging to nationals, companies and economic organizations of one of the two countries will not be expropriated by the other country, nor will they be expropriated without the payment of prompt, adequate and effective compensation.

6. To the extent permitted by the laws and international obligations of the two countries, equipment and materials imported temporarily into a country for

purposes of contracts concluded between firms, companies and economic organizations of the two countries, will be exempt from customs duties, other taxes and any restrictions pertaining to importation. With a view to the development of economic cooperation, both sides will examine ways and means for the application of further customs and fiscal facilitation for goods assigned to, and resulting from cooperation projects within the provisions of customs legislation in force in the two countries.

7. Each country will provide nationals, firms, companies and economic organizations of the other country protection of inventions, trademarks and trade names in accordance with the provisions of international agreements in the field to which the two countries are parties.

8. Each country will accord firms, companies and economic organizations of the other nondiscriminatory treatment as regards payment, remittances and transfers of funds or financial instruments, in accordance with arrangements to be worked out between the two countries.

9. Each country will facilitate the entry and travel of official representatives, experts, advisors and technicians of the other country, employed in connection with commercial and economic cooperation transactions between their firms, companies and economic organizations, and of members of their immediate families.

10. Each country will facilitate participation of their nationals, companies and economic organizations in fairs and exhibitions, organized in the other country.

11. Both countries will facilitate the exchange of economic, commercial and technical information in fields of mutual interest, including information concern-

ing trade in major agricultural commodities, among institutions, enterprises and economic organizations.

12. Both countries reaffirm their desire promptly and equitably to settle on an amicable basis commercial disputes which may arise. Commercial contracts should include provisions concerning arbitration of disputes resulting from commercial transactions.

Such understandings will stipulate that the arbitration be effected in accordance with the regulations of the International Chamber of Commerce in Paris and will designate as place for arbitration a city in a country other than the United States or Romania which is a party to the 1958 Convention on recognition and application of foreign arbitration decisions, or any other modality agreed upon in the terms of the contract.

13. With the view of broadening and supporting economic relations between the two countries, it was agreed to establish a joint Romanian-American Economic Commission which will meet annually, alternatively in Bucharest and Washington.

The Commission will consider questions and problems relating to the reciprocal establishment of business facilities to promote economic cooperation, as well as any other matters arising in the course of their economic, industrial and technological cooperation.

The Commission will also facilitate as appropriate the establishment of joint consultative groups between representatives of firms, companies and economic organizations of the two countries on matters of particular interest.

352 Statement on Signing a Veterans Disability and Death Pension Bill. *December 6, 1973*

FOUR times in this century, America has sent her finest men into military combat, and four times the country has been well served. In equal measure, all of us now have a continuing duty to serve those who have returned to our shores and the families of those who have been lost.

This Administration has actively supported legislation which would expand benefits for veterans, including greater educational benefits, greater medical benefits, and larger pensions for older veterans.

Today I am pleased to sign into law H.R. 9474, which will provide increased pensions and related benefits for over 2 million veterans, veterans' widows, and

surviving children and parents. In this legislation the Administration and the Congress have recognized that these beneficiaries need greater assistance in their struggle to match limited incomes to the rising cost of living.

While this bill is a step in the right direction, more can be done—and should be done. As I mentioned in my message to the Congress on national legislative goals on September 10, 1973, full reform of the Veterans Administration pension program is necessary. The program is currently fraught with inconsistencies, inequities, and anomalies which cannot be corrected unless the entire framework of the program is restructured.

This Administration regards the following principles as vital to a realistic and equitable VA pension program:

—VA pensioners should have some regularized way of receiving cost-of-living adjustments in VA pension payments tied to the automatic increases now available to social security recipients.

—The VA pension program should be structured to assure that additional income flows to the neediest pensioners. This objective would involve raising VA payments to those pensioners who receive less total income than adult welfare recipients under recent amendments to the Social Security Act. In addition, a family's total income should be considered in

determining the amount of pension needed.

—Veterans and widows should be treated equally with regard to income and pension payments.

I am pleased that these concepts have received a sympathetic hearing by the Veterans' Affairs Committees of the Congress. Now it is important that we move on together in the development of specific proposals so that full pension reform can be enacted early in the next session of the Congress.

NOTE: The President signed the bill in a ceremony in the Oval Office at the White House.

As enacted, H.R. 9474 is Public Law 93-177 (87 Stat. 694).

353 Joint Communique Following Discussions With President Ceausescu of Romania. *December 7, 1973*

AT the invitation of President Richard Nixon and Mrs. Nixon, the President of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania Nicolae Ceaușescu and Mrs. Ceaușescu paid an official visit to the United States of America, between December 4-7, 1973. They also visited Wilmington, N.C., Cleveland, Hartford, and New York.

During his stay in Washington, President Ceausescu conducted talks with President Nixon on the development of U.S.-Romanian relations as well as a number of international issues. The talks proceeded in a cordial atmosphere of mutual esteem and respect.

Noting with deep satisfaction the fact that the relations between the United States and the Socialist Republic of Romania have been developing positively in many fields in the past years, the two Presidents concurrently expressed their in-

terest in further expanding and diversifying U.S.-Romanian cooperation.

With the view to deepening and further developing the relations between the United States and Romania and strengthening their contributions to the cause of peace and international security, President Nixon and President Ceaușescu signed the Joint Statement of December 5, 1973 containing the principles on which the relations between their two nations are based.¹

The two Presidents also agreed that concrete steps would be taken in order to give a new impetus to economic cooperation. For this purpose, they adopted a Joint Statement on Economic, Industrial and Technological Cooperation.²

On the occasion of the visit, the follow-

¹ See Item 350.

² See Item 351.

ing bilateral agreements were signed: a Convention with Respect to Taxes on Income and Property, a Civil Air Transport Agreement, and an Agreement Regarding Fisheries in the Western Region of the Middle Atlantic Ocean. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Romanian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, at the same time, agreed to establish a Joint U.S.-Romanian Economic Council to consider problems of business facilitation in an effort to broaden and support economic relations between the two countries.

The two Presidents welcomed the continuing expansion of cultural and scientific relations between the two countries.

Their talks included useful and cordial exchanges of view on international issues including those relating to Europe, the

Middle East, South East Asia and cooperation in the United Nations.

The two Presidents expressed satisfaction with the results of their talks and agreed to continue the bilateral dialogue both through the usual diplomatic channels and by meetings at all levels.

President and Mrs. Ceaușescu expressed their cordial thanks to President and Mrs. Nixon for the friendly reception and hospitality extended to them during the visit, regarding it as an expression of the friendship and mutual esteem existing between the Romanian and American peoples.

President Ceaușescu invited President and Mrs. Nixon for an official visit to Romania. The invitation was accepted with pleasure. The visit will take place at a mutually agreeable future date.

354 Statement About Financial Affairs During Tenure as President. *December 8, 1973*

WITH the documents and papers released today, I am making a full disclosure of my financial affairs as President of the United States. No previous President, to my knowledge, has ever made so comprehensive and exhaustive a disclosure as I am making today, with regard to assets and liabilities, expenses and income, during his tenure of office.

The purpose of my release of these papers is to answer questions that have arisen, to remove doubts that have been raised, and to correct misinformation that currently exists about what I have earned and what I own.

To the openminded, the papers and documents provided today, the facts they contain and the figures they reveal, will lay to rest such false rumors as that cam-

paign contributions were converted to my personal use, that campaign funds were used in the purchase of my home in San Clemente, that I have hidden away a secret \$1 million investment portfolio, that I sheltered the income on which my daughter Tricia should have paid taxes, and that \$10 million in Federal funds was spent on my homes in Key Biscayne and San Clemente.

In conducting my private affairs in public office, I have proceeded in a manner I thought both prudent and in the best interests of my family. And even though both American law and tradition protect the privacy of the papers I am releasing today, these documents are being made public—because the confidentiality of my private finances is far less

important to me than the confidence of the American people in the integrity of the President.

Questions and controversies may continue as a consequence of these disclosures. Even the men who have advised me in these matters and who have prepared my financial records, statements, and tax returns have disagreements of professional opinion among themselves. But most of the questions outstanding in the public mind today should be put to rest with the publication of these documents.

With regard to my tax returns—the contents of which will be made public today—the accountants who prepared them listed all of the deductions to which they believed I was entitled, and only those deductions—as any accountant would and should do on behalf of his client.

The following are among the papers being released today:

—The figures from the Federal income tax returns which my wife and I filed for the years 1969, 1970, 1971, and 1972.

—An independent audit of my private financial affairs, since January 1, 1969, conducted by one of the Nation's largest and most respected accounting firms, Coopers & Lybrand of New York City.

—The significant documents relating to the major financial transactions since my first inauguration, including the purchase of my home in San Clemente and the sale of stock and real estate owned at the time I became President.

TAX REVIEW BY CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

Even with these disclosures, there may continue to be public questions about the tax consequences of two of the transac-

tions shown. One is the gift of my papers to the United States Government in 1969. As permitted by the Internal Revenue Code, I have taken tax deductions for the value of that gift, but some have asked whether the procedures used to make the donation met the technical requirements of the gift law. The second transaction was the sale in 1970 of a large portion of the beneficial interest my wife and I held in our property at San Clemente. No capital gain was declared on that sale for tax purposes, and there has been speculation in the press that the transaction was inaccurately reported.

The tax lawyers and accountants who assisted me in the preparation of my Federal income tax returns advised me that both of these items were correctly reported to the Internal Revenue Service. My tax attorneys today are giving me similar advice. Furthermore, when it conducted an examination of my tax returns for 1971 and 1972, the Internal Revenue Service reviewed both items and advised me that they were correctly reported.

Nevertheless, questions will continue on these matters, and because they are complex transactions, it will not be easy to resolve public doubts without an independent review. For that reason, I have asked the members of the Joint Congressional Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation to examine the procedures relating to both matters and to decide whether, in their judgment, my tax returns should have shown different results. I will abide by the committee's judgment.

GOVERNMENT SPENDING AT SAN CLEMENTE

Another concern of mine has been the degree of public misunderstanding about

Government expenditures at my home in San Clemente.

The perception is now widespread that the Government spent anywhere from \$6 million to \$10 million on improvements at my home. One myth breeds another, so many observers also believe that the Government improvements have vastly enriched me personally.

Those views are grossly inaccurate. More than 20,000 man-hours have now been expended by the General Services Administration to track down every penny of spending. Their findings establish three points:

—Total GSA spending on my San Clemente home was \$68,000. That money was spent almost entirely on fire and smoke detection systems, interior electrical systems for protection and security, and the installation of an electric heating system that the Secret Service thought necessary for safety purposes.

—The GSA spent approximately \$635,000 on the grounds surrounding my home. That work consisted largely of the installation of lighting and alarm systems for security purposes, construction of walls and guard posts, and extensive re-landscaping to restore areas torn up when the protective devices were installed.

—By comparison, almost \$6 million has been spent by the military services to construct and maintain the Western White House Office complex. That complex is not on my property, but on Government property, and when it is not in use for the White House Staff, it is frequently employed as a conference center for public and civic groups.

Unfortunately, the American people have been misled into believing that the

funds for the office complex were spent on my home. The fact that the total spent on my home was \$68,000 has been ignored; the fact that my wife and I spent, ourselves, three times as much as that, \$187,977 out of our own funds, for real improvements to our homes, has been lost altogether. I trust that with the release of these documents the impressions can be erased and the truth of this matter firmly established.

FUTURE OF THE WESTERN WHITE HOUSE

As public misunderstandings over San Clemente expenditures pass away in the future, we should recognize that the Western White House complex will continue to be a valuable asset for the Nation.

I have always been concerned that over the course of a single man's 8 years in office, the country probably will not derive from that complex benefits proportional to the Government investment there. The office facility would, of course, remain available for public use after my term ends, but the usefulness of San Clemente as a conference center, guest facility for visiting foreign dignitaries, and working base for future Presidents would be far greater in the coming decades if what is now my private residence, La Casa Pacifica, could also be part of that complex.

Accordingly, at the time of my death or that of my wife, whichever is later, we intend to make a gift to the people of the United States of my home at San Clemente.

I have directed my attorneys to take the necessary steps to accomplish this, so that future administrations and future generations can take advantage of this beau-

tiful western setting to help maintain a truly national perspective for the Presidency.

NOTE: The papers referred to in the statement and other pertinent documents are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, pp. 1413-1447).

355 Letter to the Chairman of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation Requesting Examination of the President's Tax Returns. *December 8, 1973*

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Recently there have been many questions in the press about my personal finances during my tenure as President.

In order to answer these questions and to dispel public doubts, I am today making public a full accounting of my financial transactions since I assumed this office. This accounting includes copies of the income tax returns that Mrs. Nixon and I have filed for the years 1969-72; a full, certified audit of our finances; a full, certified report on the real and personal property we own; an analysis of our financial transactions, including taxes, from January 1, 1969 through May 31, 1973, and other pertinent documents.

While these disclosures are the most exhaustive ever made by an American President, to the best of my knowledge, I recognize that two tax-related items may continue to be a subject of continuing public questioning. Both items are highly complex and, in the present environment, cannot easily be resolved to the public's satisfaction even with full disclosure of information.

The first transaction is the gift of certain pre-Presidential papers and other memorabilia which my wife and I claimed as a tax deduction of \$576,000 on our 1969 return and have carried forward, in part, in each subsequent year. The second item in question is the transfer by us,

through the Title Insurance and Trust Co., to the B&C Investment Co. of the beneficial interest in 23 acres of land in San Clemente, California in 1970. I have been consistently advised by counsel that this transaction was correctly reported to the Internal Revenue Service. The IRS has also reviewed these items and has advised me that they were correctly reported.

In order to resolve these issues to the full satisfaction of the American people, I hereby request the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation to examine both of these transactions and to inform me whether, in its judgment, the items have been correctly reported to the Internal Revenue Service. In the event that the committee determines that the items were incorrectly reported, I will pay whatever tax may be due. I also want to assure you that the committee will have full access to all relevant documents pertaining to these matters and will have the full cooperation of my office.

I recognize that this request may pose an unusual challenge for the committee, but I believe your assistance on this matter would be a significant public service.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[The Honorable Wilbur D. Mills, Chairman,
Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxa-

tion, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515]

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the President's personal financial transactions. Par-

ticipants in the news briefing were Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President; Kenneth W. Gemmill, White House Counsel's Office; and Arthur Blech, the President's tax accountant.

356 Remarks on Signing a Bill Establishing the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration.

December 11, 1973

I WANT to express my appreciation to the Members of the House and the Members of the Senate who have worked so very effectively in getting this legislation passed, and also my appreciation to the members of the Commission, which of course will now be replaced by this Administration and by an Administrator who will head the Administration that I will be soon appointing.

It is hard to realize that this piece of legislation will not come into fulfillment or culmination until the year 1976, but when we think of what a tremendously momentous event that is, our planning, which has already begun, has to be very far-reaching, and it has to be begun early. As a matter of fact, I would say now that at this point we have to put certainly more emphasis than we have in the past on having some progress in developing our plans, because 1976 is going to be here very, very soon.

Nineteen seventy-six normally would be of interest in any event, because it is a Presidential election year, but being the 200th anniversary of the United States of America, in terms of our Declaration of Independence, it seems to me that it will have the greatest significance of any celebration of this type that this country has ever had. And all of you helped, it seems to me, and this you can be remembered for, as well as many other things you have done for your country.

You have helped by giving us the legislation which will then create a monument, we trust, that the whole Nation can see, a monument of what America has meant for its first 200 years and what it can mean for the next 200 years.

So thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:13 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

As enacted, the bill (H.R. 7446) is Public Law 93-179 (87 Stat. 697).

357 Remarks About the Nation's Energy Shortage.

December 13, 1973

Ladies and gentlemen:

This is the first of a number of periodic reports that will be made on energy by Director Simon [William E. Simon, Administrator of the Federal Energy Office].

As you know, yesterday there was a meeting of the Energy Emergency Action Group, meetings that will be attended by the President and the Vice President, or both, as they occur, usually on a weekly

basis. As far as that group is concerned, I can say first that the entire Federal establishment, in terms of the Administration, the bureaucracy, so-called, the Cabinet officers, and all of the administrative bodies, is cooperating fully and totally with Director Simon.

I have given instructions—quite harshly, I should say—to all of those there, not that they needed a harsh statement, but I felt it is very important that there not be any infighting, there not be any competition, there not be any struggle for power because of our setting up this new office, and that particularly that everyone, whatever his special constituency is, whatever it may be, must put the conservation of energy first.

Director Simon has my total support as he works with the various Cabinet officers and with the various department heads in carrying out that policy.

With regard to the Congress, as you know, this is somewhat D-day in terms of our legislation. We are having a few problems in working out the language of the legislation and working around some amendments that we think would be very detrimental, not only in terms of energy but particularly in terms of the economy generally.

I am going to be watching that situation during the day, and we may have a report later in the day or possibly tomorrow as to what the Congressional action will be. But we generally are confident that we will get from the Congress a satisfactory piece of legislation that I can sign before the Congress leaves for its recess next week.

With regard to the Governors, we are meeting later today with them, a group of Governors, because cooperation by the

Governors of all the States is required. And at their request, and also with our enthusiastic acceptance, they are coming here, a group of them to meet with us in the Cabinet Room.

You will be allowed, of course, to cover that, at least briefly at the outset of the meeting.

I want to say finally, before Director Simon goes into an analysis of what has happened in the 3 weeks that we have had our program in effect, I want to emphasize particularly a segment of this whole country that deserves perhaps the most credit. Industry is cooperating, the Governors are cooperating, the Federal establishment is cooperating, and each should cooperate because that is their responsibility, because of their public positions and their public responsibilities in this area.

As far as the American people are concerned, it is solely a matter of their cooperating in a voluntary way. Whether an individual slows down to 50 miles an hour, we don't have the ability to compel him to do so. There may be in some States, of course, speed limits that have been changed, but generally speaking, it is a voluntary action on the part of the individual. Lowering the thermostat is a voluntary action on the part of the individual.

And to me what is the most exciting and encouraging part of the energy report we received yesterday—and Mr. Simon will capsule it for you today—is that that cooperation of millions of Americans has begun to pay off in saving energy.

For example, the demand for gasoline last week was 15 percent less than we had anticipated, and a great part of the reduction in that demand is due to the

cooperation that we have received, the voluntary cooperation from individual Americans all across this country.

If that cooperation continues, it means that, together with the Government actions that we will be taking, the cooperation of industry and labor, the other institutions that I have mentioned, that we are going to be able to deal with this problem in a way that is effective, one in which everyone will sacrifice something, but in which no one will be required to suffer as a result of the energy crisis.

Mr. Simon has some other statistics that will bear out the statements that I have made, and, Bill, if you would now take over and answer the questions, I would appreciate it.

MR. SIMON. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Incidentally, because the room is so crowded, I was going to suggest that perhaps next week we might set this meeting over in the conference room in the EOB. Then we could all sit down. I can see that there are only about eight

chairs in here. So we will set it over in the EOB after this—have your weekly briefing over there, because there you can seat about 200 people. Because I am sure they will want to do a lot of writing.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:17 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

On the same day, the White House released a transcript of the news briefing on national energy policies and actions taken by the Federal Energy Office, which followed the President's remarks. Participants in the news briefing were William E. Simon, Administrator, and John C. Sawhill, Deputy Administrator, William A. Johnson, Director of Policy Analysis, and Eric R. Zausner and John A. Hill, Assistant Administrators, all of the Federal Energy Office; and Russell E. Train, Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

Also released was the transcript of a news briefing on Federal-State cooperation on solutions to the energy crisis by Mr. Simon and Governors Stanley K. Hathaway of Wyoming, Daniel J. Evans of Washington, and Wendell H. Ford of Kentucky.

Later in the day, the President joined a meeting in the Cabinet Room with 18 Governors who were conferring with Administration officials on the energy situation.

358 Remarks at the Lighting of the Nation's Christmas Tree. December 14, 1973

Mr. Dixon, Mr. Secretary, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, all of the ladies and gentlemen, all of the children here in the audience, and our television and radio audience across this land:

I think one of the greatest privileges that a President of the United States has is to light the Christmas tree, the Nation's Christmas tree, because it belongs to all the Nation, here in the Nation's Capital.

This year, as the Secretary has already indicated, the tree is different. This year, Christmas will be different in terms of lights, perhaps, all across America. In-

stead of having many lights on the tree, as you will see over there in a few moments, there will be only one on it, the star at the top, and the other lights you see will simply be the glitter from the ground lights which are around the tree.

And in a way, I suppose one could say with only one light on the tree, this will be a very dreary Christmas, but we know that isn't true, because the spirit of Christmas is not measured by the number of lights on a tree. The spirit of Christmas is measured by the love that each of us has in his heart for his family, for his friends,

for his fellow Americans, and for people all over the world. And this year, while we have a problem, a problem the Secretary has alluded to, the problem of energy, I think that what we can all be thankful for is that it is a problem of peace and not a problem of war. That is what Americans can be thankful for.

This year we will drive a little slower. This year the thermostats will be a little lower. This year every American perhaps will sacrifice a little, but no one will suffer. But we will do it for a great goal, the goal, first, of seeing to it that in a year when our energy supplies are not as high as we need, we can prepare for the future, and also a year in which America will make a great stride forward toward a new, great goal, and that is, by the year 1980 this Nation, which will celebrate its 200th anniversary of independence in 1976—by 1980 will celebrate Project Independence, when we are independent of any other country in the world where our energy supply is concerned. That we can do.

As we consider these problems of peace, I think also we must be thankful, as the Secretary has already indicated, for the fact that this is the first Christmas in 12 years that a President has stood here at a time when America was at peace with every nation in the world.

It is the first Christmas in 8 years when no American prisoner of war is away from home at Christmas. And to all of these young people, and particularly to our very distinguished young people who participated in this program, it is also a Christmas for the first time in 20 years when no young American is being drafted for the armed services. That is what peace means to America.

It would be well, of course, for us to stand simply on that achievement, but we know that there will always be threats to the peace of the world, and that is where we come in, and where each American comes in, looking to the future. Because as we look at the chances not just of getting peace, which we have now achieved, but of keeping peace, which we have not been able to do for a full generation, for a century, then what happens in America will decide it, whether America has the strength not just of its arms but more, of its spirit to provide the leadership that the world needs to keep the trouble spots in the world from blowing up into war and to build that permanent structure of peace that we all want.

It is that to which we dedicate ourselves as we light the Nation's Christmas tree tonight. Let the year 1974 be one in which we make great progress toward the goal of a lasting peace, peace not only for America but for all nations, peace between peoples who have different forms of government, but who nevertheless can be friends.

A moment ago when the flowers were presented to Mrs. Nixon by Tyna, I remembered an occasion in 1959 when a little girl presented flowers to her in the Ural Mountains in Russia. We were driving through the mountains, and a group of schoolchildren stopped the cavalcade for a few moments and they presented flowers to Mrs. Nixon. And when they did so in this year 1959, when the cold war was still going on, they shouted out "Friendship, friendship" in English. When we got back into the car, our guide, Mr. Zhukov, said to me that the first word that a Russian child who learns English

and studies English in a Russian school learns is the word "friendship." That is the first English word the Russian child learns.

Now, I do not mean to suggest by that that because a Russian child is taught, when he first studies English, the word "friendship" that it is inevitable that the Russian people and the American people are not going to have differences as far as their governments are concerned, but I do know this: We have had the great privilege, Mrs. Nixon and I, of traveling to most of the nations of the world, to the nations of Africa, to the nations of Asia, to China, to Russia, and I can tell you that the people of the world want peace, the people of the world want friendship, and every American, I know, wants his country and his Government to take the lead in building a world of peace.

As this Christmas season begins, let us just remember we do have some problems which we will overcome, but they are the problems of peace. And we also have a great challenge, the challenge of helping to build a structure of peace that all the 3 billion people in this world can enjoy. What a wonderful achievement that can be.

There are times, of course, when we tire of the challenge. There are times when we would not like to accept that position of leadership, but let us remember that unless America, at this time in history, accepts the responsibility to lead for peace, we may not have it in the world.

I think we can meet the challenge. I am sure we will. And on this particular day, in this year 1973, as we look at the beginning of the year 1974, let us so conduct ourselves as a people, let us so conduct ourselves as a nation in our leadership toward peace that in the years to come, people, not only in America but all over the world, will look back at what we have done, will look back and say "God bless America."

Thank you.

MR. JOHN W. DIXON (president, 1973 Christmas Pageant of Peace Committee). Thank you, Mr. President, and thank you, Mrs. Nixon, for being here.

Mr. President, on behalf of the American people, I would like to ask you to do us the honor of lighting the National Community Christmas Tree.

THE PRESIDENT. Now I would like to suggest that this honor should be shared, and who better to share it with but young Americans, so if Tyna and Warren would join me here, we will press this button together and light the tree.

There! We got it.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:45 p.m. at the 1973 Christmas Pageant of Peace ceremonies on the Ellipse near the White House. His remarks were broadcast live on radio and television.

The National Community Christmas Tree was lighted with the help of Tyna A. Lee of the Camp Fire Girls of America and Warren P. Tilghman of the Boy Scouts of America.

In his opening words, the President referred to Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton.

359 Statement on Signing the Emergency Daylight Saving Time Energy Conservation Act of 1973.

December 15, 1973

I AM pleased to sign today H.R. 11324, placing the United States on daylight saving time for a period of approximately 2 years, beginning at 2 a.m., Sunday, January 6, 1974.

We have taken a number of actions to meet the energy crisis, and more will have to be taken. Many require inconvenience and sacrifice. But daylight saving time on a year-round basis, which will result in the conservation during the winter months of an estimated equivalent of 150,000 barrels of oil a day, will mean only a minimum of inconvenience and will involve equal participation by all. Unlike many of our other initiatives to deal with the energy crisis and to accomplish the goal of self-sufficiency in energy through Project Independence, these savings will not require research, new technology,

diplomacy, or exploration.

I am delighted that the Congress has moved expeditiously in providing this method of helping to meet the energy shortage, and I am hopeful that we might see equally expeditious action on the more complex and far-reaching legislation which we must have to deal with this problem.

I call upon the Congress to complete action before the recess on responsible bills to provide the energy emergency authorities we need to deal with the problem and to give a statutory base to the Federal Energy Administration to provide the necessary focused leadership.

NOTE: The President signed the bill in a ceremony in the Oval Office at the White House.

As enacted, H.R. 11324 is Public Law 93-182 (87 Stat. 707).

360 Statement About Signing the United Nations Environment Program Participation Act of 1973.

December 17, 1973

I AM pleased to have signed into law a bill authorizing a \$40 million voluntary contribution by the United States to the United Nations Environment Fund over the next 5 years. As I first proposed such a contribution early last year, and it has since been supported by both Democrats and Republicans, this bill reflects broad agreement on the need for international action to halt the continuing degradation of the global environment.

The indiscriminate depletion of natural resources, the pollution of our environ-

ment, and the problems of sustaining the quality of life in urbanizing societies throughout the world require that we act as a community of nations. The United Nations Environment Fund, established by the United Nations General Assembly, will be used to coordinate and to fill gaps in existing international activities concerned with improving the world environment. A good beginning has already been made. Since the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment took place in 1972, the United States has been

most active in developing this new environmental program and drafting several international treaties concerning the conservation of the natural and cultural heritage of mankind, protection of endangered species of plants and animals, and prevention of the contamination of the oceans from shipping and offshore disposal of wastes.

But we need to do much more. We need additional knowledge about what the serious global problems are and how to cope with them; we need to monitor conditions and trends of pollutants in the oceans, in the atmosphere, and in terrestrial environments; and we need to manage our natural resources more effectively.

These are the kinds of activities that will be supported by the United Nations Environment Fund.

We hold the Earth—its environment and its resources—in trust for future generations. We must not violate that trust, nor our obligation to the future, by permitting the increasing degradation of the environment. I call upon all nations to support the U.N. Environment Program and to work cooperatively to conserve and enhance the world environment so that others may enjoy and benefit from it as we have.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 6768), approved December 15, 1973, is Public Law 93-188 (87 Stat. 713).

361 Statement About a Bill Conferring Jurisdiction Upon the United States District Court in Civil Actions Brought by the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities. *December 17, 1973*

FEW consequences arising out of the Watergate crimes and improprieties surrounding the Presidential election of 1972 are more grievous than the disposition to inflict further harm on our political system through the passage of ill-advised laws. Such a bill is now on my desk. S. 2641 provides the United States District Court for the District of Columbia original jurisdiction over civil action brought by the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities. The intent of this legislation is to circumvent the established judicial processes by making the court a vehicle for Congressional actions not envisaged in the Constitution.

The reason for the appointment of a Special Prosecutor within the executive

branch to deal with issues arising out of the campaign of 1972 was precisely to avoid the constitutional anomaly which S. 2641 now creates. The White House is cooperating with the Special Prosecutor, and the matters falling within his jurisdiction are being adjudicated in the courts. The control of litigation is the proper function of the executive branch, relinquished only in limited and specific circumstances. The legislation now before me gives to the Congress a broad general grant of that authority which properly resides exclusively in the executive branch, and provides a precedent for the further arrogation of authority.

I strongly disagree with this legislation. S. 2641 is an implicit denial of faith in the

American judicial process and a measure which cannot fail to weaken that system. Nevertheless, I recognize that the Congress and the public would place an interpretation upon a veto which would be entirely contrary to my reasons for vetoing it. Therefore, I cannot give the sanc-

tion of the executive branch to this bad legislation by signing it into law; neither, in the present circumstances, will I veto it.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 2641, which became law without the President's signature on December 18, 1973, is Public Law 93-190 (87 Stat. 736).

362 Statement About an Arab Terrorist Attack at Leonardo da Vinci Airport, Fiumicino, Italy. *December 18, 1973*

THE Government and people of the United States are appalled by the tragedy which began yesterday with the heavy loss of innocent lives at the Rome airport, a tragedy which is not yet ended. Our deep regrets and condolences go to the families of the victims of all nationalities.

This new outrage only underlines the urgent necessity to accelerate improvements in international civil aviation security measures and to find international agreement on prosecution of offenders such as those who committed this vicious crime. Terrorists must be made to understand that senseless violence against innocent bystanders, including helpless women and children in this instance, will not be tolerated by people and governments who wish to live in peace and within the law. Governments must resist terrorists' demands since appeasement will not put an end to this international

scourge. The United States Government will continue to provide leadership and all possible assistance in this humanitarian endeavor.

The United States Government deplores incidents such as this at any time and particularly when a peaceful settlement of the Middle East question is being sought by many peace-loving governments and individuals. The perpetrators of such atrocities can only delay the day when peace and justice may return to the Middle East.

NOTE: On Monday, December 17, 1973, five Arab terrorists attacked a Pan American World Airways plane at the airport, killing 32 persons. The terrorists then hijacked a Lufthansa German Airlines plane, forcing it to fly to Athens, Greece, where they released the body of a slain hostage. On Tuesday, December 18, the plane flew to Damascus, Syria, and then on to Kuwait, where the remaining hostages were released and the hijackers surrendered.

363 Letter Accepting the Resignation of Melvin R. Laird as Counsellor to the President for Domestic Affairs. *December 19, 1973*

Dear Mel:

It is with deepest personal regret that I accept your resignation as Counsellor for

Domestic Affairs, effective February 1, 1974. At the same time, I greatly appreciate the fact that you have agreed to

postpone your departure for a month until February 1 in order to assist in the work related to next month's State of the Union and Budget Messages to the Congress. When you agreed to return to public service seven months ago, I knew of your desire that it be temporary, and I certainly understand the special personal considerations for your decision now. But because our association over the years has meant such a great deal to me personally, as well as officially, I wanted you to know how much you will be missed.

Since the beginning of our Administration nearly five years ago, no one has served our Nation more capably and conscientiously than you. The impressive record you built as Secretary of Defense and in your present position is without parallel—not only for its high distinction, but also as measured by your selfless devotion to the well-being of your countrymen and women. Goals which we set in 1969 are today achievements to which we can point with justifiable pride, knowing they have and will continue to benefit the American people and other peoples of the world.

In converting to an all-volunteer service and shifting the balance of our Federal budget from defense to human resources, your contributions have been invaluable. Above all, we have ended American involvement in our longest war and embarked on a promising course of negotiations aimed at building a durable structure of peace throughout the world. That we have accomplished this while always maintaining the preparedness of our national defense and the quality of our Armed Forces is the surest tribute to your brilliant leadership. You have properly earned the gratitude of all Americans, and

I am confident I speak for them in expressing heartfelt thanks.

As we both know, these past months have been particularly challenging, and it has been heartening to me that I have always been able to look to your sound judgment and wise counsel when it was needed most. More than anything else, I have valued your loyal friendship during this difficult period. It has been a constant source of reassurance to me and words cannot adequately convey how much I have appreciated your steadfastness.

As you once again return to private life to assume a prestigious position in the field of national and international publication, Pat joins me in sending Barbara and you our warmest good wishes for every future success and happiness. No one is more richly deserving.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[The Honorable Melvin R. Laird, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Mr. Laird on his resignation.

The text of Mr. Laird's letter of resignation, dated December 17, 1973, read as follows:

Dear Mr. President:

Following our conversation earlier today concerning my future plans, which I outlined to you in previous discussions and in an earlier letter of December 6, I will be pleased to postpone my departure from the White House staff for thirty days in order to help in the final development of your State of the Union and Budget messages to the Congress. As we agreed, Vice President Ford is eminently qualified to serve you most effectively in a broad range of areas including those to which you have looked to me since I joined the White House staff last June 6. Vice President Ford is in a unique position statutorily and personally to assume the responsibilities you asked me to perform as Counsellor to the President for Domestic

Affairs and as a member of the National Security Council.

Following my previous conversations with you, I have discussed my intentions with Jerry and have communicated to him my willingness to help you and him during the transition period.

Much has been accomplished under your leadership these past five years in moving toward peace and an improving quality of life. I have considered it a high honor to have been a part of these efforts both as Secretary of Defense and as Counsellor to the President for Domestic Affairs.

Mr. President, I appreciate the opportunity you afforded me once again to serve you, the Presidency, and the country during these past seven months. I will of course be available, subject to your wishes, for future consultations in national security and domestic affairs.

With best wishes and kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

MELVIN R. LAIRD
*Counsellor to the President
for Domestic Affairs*

[The President, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

364 Statement Proposing Enactment of an Emergency Windfall Profits Tax. *December 19, 1973*

ONE of the central facts underlying the national energy crisis is that we have a shortage in the production of domestic crude oil. This shortage has been further aggravated by the embargo of oil by the Arab nations. It is one of the ironies in the present situation, as well as one of the sources of confidence that we can solve the energy shortage, that the United States is an energy-rich nation. In addition to our superabundance of coal, oil shale, natural gas, and other resources, both natural and technological, we also possess extensive supplies of oil. In the past we have drawn on proven supplies in the most economical manner, and this practice, coupled with heretofore cheap imports, has provided us with sufficient petroleum and, more importantly, petroleum at very low prices.

It has not previously been commercially feasible to develop our oil shale resources or to extract all of the crude oil which exists in developed fields and in unproven reserves. Now we must become self-suffi-

cient in energy, and in order to do so, we must be prepared to pay the attendant costs.

In order to increase our production of crude petroleum, new reservoirs must be discovered and drilled, often to deeper and more costly depths. Expensive new technology must be applied to existing wells to bring up more of the 60 percent of the crude oil which present drilling processes leave in the ground. Very large expenditures are also needed to produce oil from oil shale, a resource which alone could supply our needs for years to come.

Today, prices of crude oil in the world market are rising, and it is inevitable that they will come to rest at levels higher than we historically have enjoyed. Nevertheless, after a short-run adjustment period, the long-run price required to supply our needs should not be unreasonably high.

In the meantime, because of the abrupt nature of the present shortage, prices could temporarily exceed the price levels

required to increase supply, and oil producers could reap unanticipated "windfall" profits.

EMERGENCY WINDFALL PROFITS TAX

I want to assure all Americans that there will be no windfall profits at their expense. When the Congress reconvenes in January, I will ask it to enact an emergency windfall profits tax. The specific details of this proposal will be provided today by the Treasury Department. Over the holidays, the Treasury Department will continue to work with Congressional staffs so that this proposal and related materials will be ready for consideration by the Congress after the holiday recess.

The emergency windfall profits tax I will propose would apply at rates graduated up to 85 percent on the sale by any domestic producer of crude oil at prices higher than the ceiling price of the Cost of Living Council on December 1.

This special emergency tax will prevent future windfalls to producers and will make up, in some degree, for those which may have already occurred.

At the same time, the tax is carefully designed to avoid completely depriving producers of a legitimate return on the major investments they will have to make in order to produce the additional supply we need. It would be self-defeating to tax away the oil producers' incentive and ability to help meet our energy shortage.

The emergency windfall profits tax must be a temporary tax. This is an essential part of my recommendation to the Congress. The tax is intended only to serve the immediate objective of preventing windfall profits to oil producers while

other economic factors are at work to increase supply and eliminate the shortage in crude oil. As prices return to the long-run supply level and as the potential for windfall profits disappears, a continuation of the tax would result in higher prices for consumers, with no concomitant increase in oil supplies.

I am not today making any recommendation to the Congress for using revenues derived from the emergency windfall profits tax. That will naturally be a part of the Congress' deliberations. There are a number of possibilities for use of these revenues. One would be to place those revenues in an Energy Development Trust Fund which would act as a bank for the financing of a wide range of energy development and conservation projects which might not otherwise be feasible. Another possibility would be to refund all or part of the tax to the oil producer if he invests his profits in additional energy-producing efforts.

These and all other possibilities for increasing our energy production at a faster pace, as well as for minimizing any inequities resulting from the present shortage, are being given the most careful study. The steps which I am announcing today are not the entire answer to our energy needs, but they will contribute significantly to the overall solution.

We must be more creative in conserving our vital natural resources, and we must do more to develop those resources. As we take these steps, every American must be assured that others will not profit at his expense. My recommendation to the Congress for an emergency windfall profits tax is designed to give that assurance.

365 Remarks About the Proposed Windfall Profits Tax.
December 19, 1973

Ladies and gentlemen:

As you know, we have asked all of the American people to cooperate in attempting to meet our energy shortage. As the meetings we have been having on this subject have indicated over the past few weeks, the cooperation of the American people has really been splendid. And one of the results of that cooperation is that the shortfall that we have expected has been considerably less than anticipated.

However, in asking all of the American people to make some sacrifice in terms of their use of energy, it is unfair for some to profit as a result of the sacrifice of others.

For some time now we have been considering, within the Administration, a tax measure which would provide for dealing with what we would call windfall profits which might accrue as a result of the energy shortage. It just isn't fair, for example, for millions of Americans to make sacrifices in order to deal with the crisis we confront and for a few to make excess profits or what we would call windfall profits.

We think we have here a proposal that is fair—fair to the great majority of Americans who are cooperating with this program and fair also to those who might be the recipients of windfall profits. At the same time, it is a tax measure that will not discourage the new production that is essential if we are to deal with the energy crisis, not only in the short term but in the long term.

Secretary Shultz will answer questions with regard to the tax aspects of this proposal, and Mr. Simon will answer any questions that deal with the energy items in case you want to go into those as well.

The meeting of the emergency energy group will be going on at the present time in the Cabinet Room, and I will return to that meeting.

In the meantime, Secretary Shultz and Director Simon will be glad to answer your questions.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:05 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

On the same day, the White House released a transcript of the news briefing on the proposed windfall profits tax by Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz.

366 Memorandum Establishing the President's Interagency
Committee on Export Expansion. *December 20, 1973*

Memorandum for:

*The Secretary of Agriculture
The Secretary of Commerce
The Secretary of Labor
The Secretary of Transportation
Under Secretary of State for Economic
Affairs
Deputy Secretary of the Treasury*

*Deputy Secretary of Defense
Assistant Attorney General, Antitrust
Division
President, Export-Import Bank of the
United States
Chairman, Federal Maritime Commis-
sion*

Special Representative for Trade Negotiations

Director, Office of Management and Budget

Executive Director, Council on International Economic Policy

This memorandum establishes the President's Interagency Committee on Export Expansion, which will report to the President through the Council on International Economic Policy. The Secretary of Commerce will serve as Chairman with the other addressees as members. The President's Interagency Committee on Export Expansion will ensure that programs and policies that affect the United States export performance are coordinated and operate effectively to achieve common objectives.

The Committee will identify, evaluate and make recommendations concerning

impediments to U.S. exports, especially those which are under Federal control. It will also consider analysis of other aspects of the U.S. export performance such as the ongoing interagency evaluation of U.S. export promotion programs chaired by OMB.

The Committee will submit within 90 days its first report on recommendations concerning impediments to U.S. exports.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: On the same day, the President signed Executive Order 11753, establishing the President's Export Council to "serve as a national advisory body to the President on export expansion activities."

The White House also released an announcement of the appointment of 22 members to the Council. The announcement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 1475).

367 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on Occupational Safety and Health. December 20, 1973

To the Congress of the United States:

It was just three years ago that I signed into law the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970. Since that time, we have made significant progress toward our goal of a safe and healthy workplace for every worker in America.

Today, I am submitting the second President's Report on Occupational Safety and Health, outlining the activities which have taken place under that new Act in calendar year 1972. The achievements of that year indicate that the goals of the Act are becoming realities.

For example, many States have developed or are now in the process of developing their own occupational safety and health plans in accordance with the

Act. As these plans are approved and carried out, enforcement will begin to shift from the Federal Government to the States with no loss in effectiveness.

Because public cooperation is vital to the success of the program, I am gratified by the support which has been extended to this program by the news media, by the professions, and by the general public. I am particularly pleased to note the cooperation and support which industry and labor organizations have given to these efforts.

The breadth and complexity of the Occupational Safety and Health Act have inevitably made it the focal point for controversy and criticism. I believe, however, that such criticism can be helpful as we

work to improve our programs and as we modify and update its standards and regulations.

This year's report includes preliminary data from the first occupational injury and illness survey conducted under the new record-keeping procedures required by the Act. This data will be helpful in providing a basis upon which to judge the effectiveness of our efforts to reduce work-related injuries, illnesses and fatalities.

This report also reflects the added emphasis which has been placed on occupational health during the past year. Research in this area has increased in response to a growing awareness of the tragic toll taken by employee exposure to toxic substances and unhealthful physical environments.

Also included is the first report of the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission, a wholly independent agency

created by the Act to adjudicate citations and proposed penalties issued by the Department of Labor when they are contested by employers and employees.

This detailed account provides a useful overall view of the program and its accomplishments in 1972. It offers, too, a glimpse of what lies ahead as we work to assure safe and healthful working conditions for all of our country's working men and women.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,

December 20, 1973.

NOTE: The message is printed in the report entitled "The President's Report on Occupational Safety and Health—Including Reports on Occupational Safety and Health by the United States Department of Labor, the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission, and the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare" (Government Printing Office, 161 pp.).

368 Statement About the Failure of Congress To Enact Emergency Energy Legislation. *December 22, 1973*

FROM my own service in the Senate and House of Representatives I know how difficult it is, in the closing hours of a session, to obtain agreement on controversial, complex legislation. Therefore, I can understand the strain and frustration which marked the unsuccessful Congressional efforts to enact an emergency energy act in acceptable form before adjournment.

Nevertheless, I do regret very much that during this critical period just ahead we will not have the emergency powers I requested to meet the energy crisis, so that we could proceed more effectively to get the job done right—and on time.

The great majority of Americans, however, have already responded in a way that makes me confident we can get on with the job even without having the legislation in place at this time. It will be harder without the legislation, but it can be done. We will continue pressing for maximum voluntary cooperation in conserving energy, continue our efforts to assure fairness in distribution of available stocks of fuel, and continue doing all we can, using existing authorities, to expand production of fuel.

When Congress returns in January, I hope and trust that we can move promptly toward passage of new legislation that

will be fair and effective—and that we can work toward this in a spirit of constructive cooperation between the political parties and between the executive and legislative branches. In short, I trust we

can work toward it as concerned Americans meeting a challenge that we face together and are determined to meet together.

369 Statement on Signing the Menominee Restoration Act. *December 22, 1973*

THE SIGNING of H.R. 10717 represents an important turning point in the history of the American Indian people. By restoring the Menominee Indian Tribe to Federal trust status, the United States has at last made a clear reversal of a policy which was wrong, the policy of forcibly terminating Indian tribal status.

I indicated my strong opposition to such termination in my message to the Congress of July 8, 1970. I continue to believe that the Congress should rescind the outmoded House Concurrent Resolution 108 of 1953 in which this ill-advised termination policy was first set forth.

The case of the Menominees is a clear example of the unwisdom and unworkability of forced termination. Restoration is a particularly apt course to adopt in this instance because of two characteristics of the Menominees' situation. First, it can be argued that the Menominees did not willingly enter into termination. Secondly, unlike many other terminated tribes, the Menominees have remained a remarkably cohesive Indian group with their own government and have maintained a strong attachment to their former reservation land by preserving their land base virtually intact.

I am also very pleased that H.R. 10717

incorporates one of the most important features of my legislative agenda for Indian people—authority to make grants to Indian tribal governments, upon their request, to carry out Indian programs administered by the Secretary of the Interior. I believe that the Menominees' experience with self-government indicates that this granting procedure could be a most useful one for them to have in dealing with the Federal Government.

I join the national Indian organizations, the Congress, and the public in expressing my pleasure and satisfaction at seeing this bill enacted. I especially salute the Menominee people and their leaders for their persuasiveness and perseverance in using the tools of the political process to bring about peaceful change.

The legislative agenda in the area of Indian affairs is still a long and significant one. Many of the items on that agenda are recommendations which I made fully 3½ years ago. I am confident that the Congress will continue to move ahead with these tasks in the same constructive and bipartisan spirit which characterized the enactment of H.R. 10717.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 10717 is Public Law 93-197 (87 Stat. 770).

370 Statement on Signing the District of Columbia
Self-Government and Governmental Reorganization
Act. *December 24, 1973*

AS a longtime supporter of self-government for the District of Columbia, I am pleased to sign into law a measure which is of historic significance for the citizens of our Nation's Capital. I first voted for home rule as a Member of the House of Representatives in 1948, and I have endorsed the enactment of home rule legislation during both my terms as President.

One of the major goals of this Administration is to place responsibility for local functions under local control and to provide local governments with the authority and resources they need to serve their communities effectively. The measure I sign today represents a significant step in achieving this goal in the city of Washington. It will give the people of the District of Columbia the right to elect their own city officials and to govern themselves in local affairs. As the Nation approaches the 200th anniversary of its founding, it is particularly appropriate to assure those persons who live in our Capital City rights and privileges which have long been enjoyed by most of their countrymen.

But the measure I sign today does more than create machinery for the election of local officials. It also broadens and strengthens the structure of the city government to enable it to deal more effectively with its responsibilities. For example, this legislation transfers to the city government control over certain quasi-Federal agencies: the Redevelopment Land Agency, the District of Columbia Manpower Administration, the National Capital Housing Authority, and the local

planning functions of the National Capital Planning Commission. These steps are in accord with the recommendations of the Commission on the Organization of the Government of the District of Columbia, known also as the Nelsen Commission. By making such transfers, the bill will end the fragmentation of authority over the city's physical planning, housing, community development, and manpower programs, steps which are essential to the development of the city's neighborhoods, to the health of its economy, to the effective coordination of its public services, and to the overall success of self-government.

Under this legislation, the increased authority for local government will be vested in an elected mayor and a 13-member council, headed by an elected chairman. The measure also contains a provision to assure minority political party representation on the council.

In addition, the bill also provides broad revenue raising authority for the city, enabling the people through their elected representatives to determine how to pay for the services they require. At the same time, final Congressional review of the District's appropriation process is retained under this measure.

It is also important for the city to receive a predictable Federal payment. Only then can it plan its finances in a rational manner. The bill, therefore, provides for an increasing multiyear authorization for Federal payments to the city, giving greater predictability to the Federal payment than has previously existed.

As the principal employer in Washington, D.C., the Federal Government recognizes its responsibility to pay its fair share of the operations of the District government.

The measure I sign today also empowers the city to issue its own obligations, while providing financially sound limitations to its borrowing authority comparable to those which exist in most other municipalities in the United States.

The District of Columbia is a unique combination of Federal and local concerns, each of which must be satisfied. All

in all, I believe this legislation skillfully balances the local interest and the national interest in the way the District of Columbia is governed. I am pleased that the bill has enjoyed bipartisan support throughout the Congressional deliberations, and I am proud to join the Congress in pledging the full support of my Administration to make self-government a success in the District of Columbia.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 1435) is Public Law 93-198 (87 Stat. 774).

371 Letter of Sympathy About the Death of Harold B. Lee. *December 27, 1973*

Dear President Kimball:

Mrs. Nixon and I were deeply saddened to learn of the sudden death of Harold B. Lee. All Americans mourn the loss of this dedicated President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and we send our heartfelt sympathy to the members of the Church and to President Lee's family.

As President of the Church, and as an educator, missionary, businessman, and public official, President Lee's influence for good has been deeply felt. The Church's successful welfare program that began in the 1930's gives just one example of how President Lee's administrative and organizational skills combined with his faith and courage to bring hope and inspiration to millions in our Nation and in our world.

For my own part, I knew him as a warm and generous friend whose counsel and prayers I have valued greatly. While we will miss his presence among us, the greatest tribute we can pay to his life will be to

carry on his mission of concern and compassion for mankind. Mrs. Nixon and I know the sadness that you and the members of the Church must feel at this time, but we also feel a warmth and pride in the life that President Lee has shared with us, and the knowledge that his good work will surely live on.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[President Spencer W. Kimball, The Council of the Twelve, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah 84111]

NOTE: Mr. Lee, 74, died in Salt Lake City, Utah, on December 26, 1973.

The text of the letter was released at San Clemente, Calif.

Senator Wallace F. Bennett of Utah, James C. Fletcher, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and J. Willard Marriott were designated to represent President Nixon at the funeral services for Mr. Lee which were held in Salt Lake City on December 29.

372 Statement on Signing the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973. *December 28, 1973*

I AM signing into law today the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973. I do so with great pleasure, as it is one of the finest pieces of legislation to come to my desk this year. This act makes Federal monies available to State and local governments for their use in providing a wide array of manpower services to their citizens, thereby putting an end to the patchwork system of individual, rigid, categorical manpower programs which began in the early 1960's.

Manpower services which State and local governments can provide under this legislation include: employment counseling, supportive services, classroom education and occupational skills training, training on the job, work experience, and transitional public service employment. These services are not new ones. What is new, however, is the fact that funds to provide these services will, for the first time, be made available to State and local governments without any Federal strings as to what kind of services or how much of those services should be provided. From now on, State and local governments will be the decisionmakers concerning the mix of manpower services which they make available.

The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973 represents a significant shift in intergovernmental responsibilities. The first legislation to incorporate the essential principles of special revenue sharing, this bill represents an important companion piece to the general revenue sharing legislation I signed last year. It also marks the culmination of

almost 5 years of manpower reform efforts which began with my proposal for a new Manpower Training Act of 1969.

The Federal manpower program is a vital part of our national effort to conserve and develop our human resources and to help individuals adjust productively to changing economic conditions—including whatever temporary dislocations may ensue from the current energy shortage.

One important feature of this new act provides an extra share of money for communities in which unemployment is high. Such added funds can be used by State and local governments to provide transitional public service jobs or any of the other useful manpower services authorized in the legislation. In order to carry out this feature of the act forthwith, I will include in my budget to be transmitted when the Congress reconvenes, an amendment requesting \$250 million for the current fiscal year.

In my State of the Union Message 3 years ago, I urged the Congress to join in the enactment of new and more creative approaches to government. As I phrased it then, "... let us put the money where the needs are. And let us put the power to spend it where the people are." This long-overdue shift in intergovernmental responsibilities is now a reality in one key area of government domestic programs—manpower.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 1559) is Public Law 93-203 (87 Stat. 839).

The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973. Participants in the Washington news briefing were Melvin R. Laird, Coun-

sellor to the President for Domestic Affairs; and Peter J. Brennan, Secretary, and William H. Kolberg, Assistant Secretary for Manpower, Department of Labor.

373 Statement on Signing a Bill Establishing the Lyndon Baines Johnson Memorial Grove on the Potomac. *December 28, 1973*

I AM pleased to sign House Joint Resolution 858 authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to cooperate with the Committee for a Lyndon Baines Johnson Memorial Grove on the Potomac and the Society for a More Beautiful National Capital in developing a living memorial to President Lyndon Johnson.

This memorial will be in the form of a grove of trees located at Lady Bird Johnson Park.

Lyndon Johnson's long public career was devoted to providing a better life for his fellow man. His accomplishments were vibrant and vital and not capable of being conveyed through the hard and definitive constraints of marble or bronze. It is fitting that his memorial in the Nation's Capital

should reflect this fact and that he should be remembered in a manner that reflects the concern he felt for the quality of the world in which we live.

It is especially appropriate that this memorial should complement the great work of Mrs. Johnson, who has done so much to make Americans more aware of their natural heritage. She shared with him the public tasks to which he set himself, and in this memorial, their achievements will be remembered together.

NOTE: As enacted, H.J. Res. 858 is Public Law 93-211 (87 Stat. 909).

The President telephoned Mrs. Lyndon Johnson to inform her that he had signed the bill.

The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

374 Statement on Signing the Endangered Species Act of 1973. *December 28, 1973*

I HAVE today signed S. 1983, the Endangered Species Act of 1973. At a time when Americans are more concerned than ever with conserving our natural resources, this legislation provides the Federal Government with needed authority to protect an irreplaceable part of our national heritage—threatened wildlife.

This important measure grants the Government both the authority to make

early identification of endangered species and the means to act quickly and thoroughly to save them from extinction. It also puts into effect the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora signed in Washington on March 3, 1973.

Nothing is more priceless and more worthy of preservation than the rich array of animal life with which our country has

been blessed. It is a many-faceted treasure, of value to scholars, scientists, and nature lovers alike, and it forms a vital part of the heritage we all share as Americans. I congratulate the 93d Congress for taking this important step toward protecting a heritage which we hold in trust to countless future generations of our fellow citizens. Their lives will be richer, and

America will be more beautiful in the years ahead, thanks to the measure that I have the pleasure of signing into law today.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 1983 is Public Law 93-205 (87 Stat. 884).

The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

375 Statement on Signing a Bill Authorizing Insured Loans To Provide Nursing Home Fire Safety Equipment. *December 28, 1973*

S. 513, which I sign into law today, will enable the Federal Government to insure mortgage insurance for fire safety equipment in nursing homes and intermediate care facilities not now eligible for such assistance.

This legislation represents another important step in our efforts to improve the lives of elderly Americans. It builds on our comprehensive program of nursing home reform which was launched in 1971. It also represents a crucial new step in a national effort to enhance our fire protection practice.

Because of their physical dependence, elderly men and women confined to nursing homes and other long-term care facilities are especially threatened by outbreaks of fire. Often this threat can be significantly diminished by modest investments in fire safety equipment. In a recent nursing home fire in Wayne County, Pa., it was found that a \$200 smoke-warning device could have saved 7 of the 11 lives that were lost.

A recent study of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare shows that many nursing homes participating in the Medicare or Medicaid program have

not met all of the requirements of the Life Safety Code. Automatic sprinklers, for example, have yet to be installed in a number of homes that have been identified as needing them.

We intend to see that such deficiencies are corrected. But as we enforce the Life Safety Code, we must also assist nursing home owners in raising the capital needed for essential fire safety modifications.

It was to this end that my Administration endorsed the enactment of S. 513. But our efforts to improve the Nation's fire safety practices must not stop here.

That is why this Administration has proposed other comprehensive amendments to the National Housing Act which would enable the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to insure supplemental loans to a broad range of health facilities and multifamily housing units for increased fire protection. Even as I sign S. 513, I urge early and favorable consideration of these additional amendments.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 513 is Public Law 93-204 (87 Stat. 883).

The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

376 Statement on Signing the Health Maintenance Organization Act of 1973. *December 29, 1973*

IT IS with great pleasure that I today sign into law S. 14, the Health Maintenance Organization Act of 1973. This legislation will enable the Federal Government to help demonstrate the feasibility of the HMO concept over the next 5 years.

Expanding the geographic distribution of health maintenance organizations is an integral part of the National Health Strategy that I first proposed nearly 3 years ago. S. 14 is somewhat broader than the Administration's proposal, but it nevertheless contains the essential concepts and principles that I support. It will provide initial Federal development assistance for a limited number of demonstration projects, with the intention that they become self-sufficient within fixed periods.

The national health insurance bill that I will be submitting to the next session of this Congress will allow patients to use such insurance to join HMO's. For that reason, it is particularly important that this demonstration effort get underway immediately and build upon the momentum which has already been achieved in this field.

Health maintenance organizations provide health care to their members on a prepaid basis with emphasis on essential preventive services. The establishment of HMO's will allow people to select for themselves either a prepaid system for obtaining health services or the more traditional approach which has served the American people so well over the years.

The Health Maintenance Organization Act makes Federal demonstration assistance available both to organized group

practices and to medical foundations which provide prepaid care, further encouraging a diversified medical care system. HMO's which receive assistance under this act would agree to provide a comprehensive package of basic benefits, including essential preventive services, along with a list of supplemental benefits for which the enrollee could make an extra payment.

Under S. 14, the Government would provide financial assistance to help various groups determine the feasibility of developing an HMO in their area, as well as assistance for planning and initial development. HMO's would be required to operate competitively without Federal subsidies at the end of an initial period of Federal support.

S. 14 represents one response to the challenge of finding new and better ways to improve health care for the people of this country. It will build on the partnership that exists between the Federal and private sector by allowing both the provider and the consumer of health services to exercise the widest possible freedom of choice.

The signing of this act marks another milestone in this Administration's national health strategy. The major task of providing financial access to health services should be addressed in the next session of this Congress with the enactment of an appropriate and responsive national health insurance act.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 14 is Public Law 93-222 (87 Stat. 914).

The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

The White House also released a fact sheet

and the transcript of a news briefing on the Health Maintenance Organization Act of 1973 by Caspar W. Weinberger, Secretary, and

Charles C. Edwards, Assistant Secretary for Health, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

377 Statement on Signing the Flood Disaster Protection Act of 1973. *December 31, 1973*

IN MY message to the Congress on national legislative goals this past September, I expressed my strong conviction that we can do a better job in preparing for disasters and in providing assistance to those who are hardest hit.

The measure that I am signing today, the Flood Disaster Protection Act of 1973 (H.R. 8449), will help us to do that better job.

More than 90 percent of all property damage caused by natural disasters results from floods. This legislation, which expands and improves the National Flood Insurance Program, will permit us to prepare more adequately against this threat. It will help motivate communities with special flood hazards to look ahead, recognize their vulnerability, and participate in the National Flood Insurance Program.

Under the act, homeowners, businessmen, and others will be able to purchase significantly increased amounts of flood insurance at reduced rates. For example, homeowners will be able to purchase up to \$35,000 of insurance at rates of only 25 cents per \$100 of coverage. The owner of a \$20,000 home can thus buy full coverage for only \$50 a year. Small businessmen and others can avail themselves of up to \$200,000 of coverage.

The Flood Disaster Protection Act of 1973 will call upon owners of property in flood-prone areas to purchase flood insurance if they are to benefit from financial assistance for their property from the Fed-

eral Government or from any federally insured, regulated, or supervised lending institution. It will also encourage forward-looking local officials to adopt and to enforce adequate and appropriate land use and other control measures to reduce the probability of losses resulting from floods.

This new law will also permit us to improve our postdisaster assistance programs by substituting insurance indemnification—speedy, direct, and with minimal redtape—for the current system of disaster loans, a system which often adds to the financial burdens for distressed disaster victims rather than alleviating them.

This new law recognizes that a complete resolution of the problems of floods and flood-related losses cannot be achieved overnight. Thus, it extends the present emergency flood insurance program for an additional 2 years, while rate studies are being completed. Under the act, all Federal agencies must cooperate in the accelerated identification of flood-prone areas; a definite method is provided for local communities to give information and advice to the Federal officials responsible for the identification of those areas.

We cannot determine whether or when natural disasters will strike our country, but we can take reasonable steps to prepare for them in ways which will minimize their impact and speed our recovery from their effects. H.R. 8449 represents an important forward step in this effort, and it

is with pleasure and satisfaction that I sign it into law.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 8449 is Public Law 93-234 (87 Stat. 975).

The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

On the same day, the White House released

a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the Flood Disaster Protection Act of 1973 by James T. Lynn, Secretary, and George K. Bernstein, Federal Insurance Administrator, Department of Housing and Urban Development.

378 Statement About Signing Six Bills Authorizing Disposal of National Stockpile Materials. *December 31, 1973*

I HAVE signed six bills (S. 2413, S. 2316, S. 2498, S. 2551, S. 2493, and S. 2166), which will give the General Services Administration the authority to sell approximately \$900 million of aluminum, copper, zinc, molybdenum, silicon carbide, and opium which are currently stockpiled by the Federal Government but which are no longer needed for national defense purposes.

The Congress, and particularly the Armed Services Committees, deserve appreciation and commendation for their constructive review of the supply and demand factors which make these disposals possible without detriment to our national security interests.

In order to facilitate a timely review of other unneeded materials which have been proposed for disposal, I am requesting the General Services Administration to provide the Congress with data on them comparable to the information presented

in connection with the disposal bills I have signed into law.

NOTE: The bills, approved on December 28, 1973, were:

S. 2413, disposal of stockpiles of aluminum—Public Law 93-220 (87 Stat. 913)

S. 2316, disposal of stockpiles of copper—Public Law 93-214 (87 Stat. 910)

S. 2498, disposal of stockpiles of zinc—Public Law 93-212 (87 Stat. 909)

S. 2551, disposal of stockpiles of molybdenum—Public Law 93-219 (87 Stat. 912)

S. 2493, disposal of stockpiles of silicon carbide—Public Law 93-216 (87 Stat. 911)

S. 2166, disposal of stockpiles of opium—Public Law 93-218 (87 Stat. 912)

The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

On the same day, the White House released a statement and the transcript of a news briefing on the stockpile disposal bills by Frederic V. Malek, Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

Appendix A—Additional White House Releases

NOTE: This appendix lists those releases which are neither printed as items in this volume nor listed in subsequent appendixes. If the text of a release is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, the page number is indicated below. Page references are to volumes 9 and 10 of the Compilation. Texts of other documents, not in release form but issued by the White House, are also printed in the Compilation.

<i>January</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>January</i>	<i>page</i>
3 News briefing: on their meeting with the President to discuss a proposed Committee for a Roberto Clemente Memorial Fund for Nicaraguan Earthquake Victims—by Dan Galbreath, president of the Pittsburgh Pirates, and pitchers David Giusti and Steve Blass . . .	...	8 Nomination: U. Alexis Johnson to be Ambassador at Large . . . . .	...
4 Appointment: 16 members of the Advisory Committee on the Economic Role of Women	3	8 Announcement: eligibility of the Wilson Shoe Company to apply for adjustment assistance under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 . . . . .	...
4 Citation: Defense Distinguished Service Medal awarded to Maj. Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr., USA	4	9 Biographical data: Ezra Solomon, member of the Council of Economic Advisers . . . . .	...
4 Biographical data: Maj. Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr., USA, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs . . . . .	...	9 Biographical data: Marina von N. Whitman, member of the Council of Economic Advisers . . . . .	...
4 Nomination: Clayton Yeutter to be an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture . .	4	9 News briefing: on his meeting with the President to report on the efforts to assist the Nicaraguan people following the earthquake in Managua—by Maurice J. Williams, Deputy Administrator of the Agency for International Development, and the President's Special Coordinator for Emergency Relief to Nicaragua . . . . .	...
4 Nomination: William W. Erwin to be an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture .	4	10 Appointment: Frederic V. Malek as Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget . . . . .	...
4 Nomination: John A. Knebel to be General Counsel of the Department of Agriculture	5	10 Nomination: Robert G. Dixon, Jr., to be an Assistant Attorney General. . .	15
4 Biographical data: James C. Fletcher, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration . .	...	10 Nomination: James D. McKeivitt to be an Assistant Attorney General	15
4 Biographical data: George M. Low, Deputy Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration .	...	10 Biographical data: Helen Delich Bentley, Chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission . . . . .	...
5 News briefing: on plans for redirecting executive branch management—by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs . . . .	...	10 Biographical data: Nancy Hanks, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts . . . . .	...

Appendix A

<i>January</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>January</i>	<i>page</i>
10 Biographical data: Patricia Reilly Hitt, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for Community and Field Services . . . . .	...	23 Advance text: address to the Nation on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam . . . . .	...
11 Appointment: John T. Dunlop as Director of the Cost of Living Council	21	24 Agreement: on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam	45
11 Appointment: 10 members of the Labor-Management Advisory Committee	21	24 Fact sheet: basic elements of the Vietnam agreement . . . . .	...
11 Draft bill: to extend and amend the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970 . . . . .	...	24 Protocol to agreement: concerning the return of captured military personnel and foreign civilians and captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel.	51
11 Fact sheet: Phase III of the economic stabilization program	22	24 Protocol to agreement: concerning the International Commission of Control and Supervision	54
11 Fact sheet: history of the economic stabilization program . . . . .	...	24 Fact sheet: International Commission of Control and Supervision. . . . .	...
11 News briefing: on programs under Phase III of the economic stabilization program—by George P. Shultz, Secretary of the Treasury and Chairman of the Cost of Living Council. . . . .	...	24 Protocol to agreement: concerning the cease-fire in South Vietnam and the joint military commissions	58
13 Nomination: Thomas F. McCormick to be Public Printer	26	24 Fact sheet: Four-Party Joint Military Commission . . . . .	...
13 Nomination: J. Stanley Pottinger to be an Assistant Attorney General	26	24 Protocol to agreement: concerning the removal, permanent deactivation, or destruction of mines in the territorial waters, ports, harbors, and waterways of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam	63
19 Nomination: Lewis A. Engman to be a Federal Trade Commissioner; and designation as Chairman	31	24 News briefing: on the agreement to end the war and restore peace in Vietnam—by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs	64
20 Advance text: second Inaugural Address . . . . .	...	26 Text: Reorganization Plan 1 of 1973, restructuring the Executive Office of the President	78
20 Remarks: at inaugural balls held in the Grand Foyer and Multi-Purpose Room of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, the Pension Building, and the Sheraton-Park Hotel (four releases) . . . . .	...	26 Fact sheet: Reorganization Plan 1 of 1973 . . . . .	...
21 Remarks: at inaugural balls held on January 20 at the National Museum of Natural History and the National Museum of History and Technology (two releases) . . . . .	...	26 News briefing: on Reorganization Plan 1 of 1973—by Roy L. Ash, Director of the Office of Management and Budget . . . . .	...
21 Remarks: Inaugural Worship Service at the White House. . . . .	...	27 Appointment: Donald S. Perkins as a member of the Food Industry Advisory Committee; and designation as Chairman	83

Appendix A

<i>January</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>February</i>	<i>page</i>
30 Appointment: 15 members of the National Advisory Council on Equality of Educational Opportunity; and designation of Chairman	100	5 Appointment: David N. Parker as Special Assistant to the President. . . . .	...
30 News briefing: on the Economic Report of the President for 1973—by Herbert Stein, Chairman, and Marina von N. Whitman and Ezra Solomon, members, Council of Economic Advisers. . . . .	...	5 Appointment: Raymond K. Price, Jr., as Special Consultant to the President. . . . .	...
<i>February</i>		5 Appointment: Stanley S. Scott as Special Assistant to the President. . . . .	...
1 News briefing: on the President's meeting with the Executive Committee of the Republican Governors Conference—by Governors Linwood Holton of Virginia, Winfield Dunn of Tennessee, Robert D. Ray of Iowa, Francis W. Sargent of Massachusetts, Arch A. Moore, Jr., of West Virginia, and John A. Love of Colorado . . . . .	...	6 Nomination: Jack O. Horton to be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior	125
5 News briefing: on the President's meeting with members and Executive Directors of the Pay Board and the Price Commission—by Donald Rumsfeld, Director of the Cost of Living Council; George H. Boldt, Chairman of the Pay Board; and C. Jackson Grayson, Jr., Chairman of the Price Commission . . . . .	...	6 Nomination: John Henry Kyl to be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior	125
5 Appointment: Patrick J. Buchanan as Special Consultant to the President . . . . .	...	6 Biographical data: Stephen Kurzman, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for Legislation. . . . .	...
5 Appointment: Stephen B. Bull as Special Assistant to the President . . . . .	...	6 Biographical data: Nathaniel P. Reed, Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Fish and Wildlife and Parks. . . . .	...
5 Appointment: David R. Gergen as Special Assistant to the President . . . . .	...	6 Designation: Dixy Lee Ray as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission . . . . .	...
5 Appointment: Lawrence M. Higby as Deputy Assistant to the President . . . . .	...	6 News briefing: on the Republican Congressional leadership meeting with the President—by Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford . . . . .	...
5 Appointment: W. Richard Howard as Special Assistant to the President . . . . .	...	7 Nomination: Willard Deason to be an Interstate Commerce Commissioner	129
5 Appointment: Lee W. Huebner as Special Assistant to the President. . . . .	...	7 Nomination: Alfred Thomas MacFarland to be an Interstate Commerce Commissioner	130
5 Appointment: Jerry H. Jones as Special Assistant to the President . . . . .	...	8 Announcement: disaster assistance for California.	133
5 Appointment: Bruce A. Kehrli as Special Assistant to the President. . . . .	...	8 News briefing: on matters relating to domestic policy—by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs . . . . .	...
		8 Fact sheet: the new aircraft for Presidential missions (Aircraft 27000, <i>The Spirit of '76</i>) . . . . .	...
		8 Fact sheet: the principal backup aircraft for Presidential missions (Aircraft 26000) . . . . .	...
		9 Nomination: William L. Springer to be a member of the Federal Power Commission	133

Appendix A

<i>February</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>February</i>	<i>page</i>
12 Appointment: 22 members and 3 ex officio members of the 1973 Annual Assay Commission	138	17 Nomination: John R. Evans to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission	158
14 Joint communique: United States-Democratic Republic of Vietnam, following meetings between North Vietnamese leaders and Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs	141	19 Appointment: Frank Stanton as a member of the Board of Governors of the American National Red Cross; and designation as Principal Officer. . .	160
14 Advance text: radio address about the State of the Union Message on natural resources and the environment. . . . .	...	19 Appointment: 15 members of the Food Industry Advisory Committee	161
15 Fact sheet: programs related to the State of the Union Message on natural resources and the environment. . . . .	...	20 Nomination: Robert W. Long to be an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture. . .	167
15 News briefing: on the State of the Union Message on natural resources and the environment—by Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary of the Interior; J. Phil Campbell, Under Secretary of Agriculture; Russell E. Train, Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality; and William D. Ruckelshaus, Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency . . . . .	...	22 Joint communique: United States-People's Republic of China, following meetings between Chinese leaders and Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs . .	169
15 Nomination: Eugene Paul Kopp to be Deputy Director of the United States Information Agency	154	22 News briefing: on the United States-People's Republic of China joint communique and his trip to Southeast Asia, the People's Republic of China, and Japan—by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs	170
15 Nomination: Willie J. Usery, Jr., to be Federal Mediation and Conciliation Director	154	22 News briefing: on the State of the Union Message on the economy—by Ezra Solomon, member of the Council of Economic Advisers . . . . .	...
15 Nomination: Henry B. Turner to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce	155	23 Appointment: Charles J. DiBona as Special Consultant to the President. . .	186
17 Nomination: Louis Patrick Gray III to be Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation . . . . .	...	26 Statement: on wage and price stabilization—by George P. Shultz, Secretary of the Treasury and Chairman of the Cost of Living Council . .	191
17 Nomination: G. Bradford Cook to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission; and designation as Chairman	157	26 News briefing: on economic stabilization measures—by George P. Shultz, Secretary of the Treasury and Chairman of the Cost of Living Council, and John T. Dunlop, Director of the Cost of Living Council . . . . .	...
17 Nomination: Philip A. Loomis, Jr., to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission	158	26 Designation: Robert D. Timm as Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board	192
		26 Appointment: six members of the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education; and designation of Chairman and Vice Chairman	193

Appendix A

<i>February</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>March</i>	<i>page</i>
27 Nomination: Marshall Green to be United States Ambassador to Australia.	194	6 Nomination: Robert Thomas Monagan, Jr., to be an Assistant Secretary of Transportation	228
27 Nomination: William B. Macomber, Jr., to be United States Ambassador to Turkey	194	6 Nomination: John R. Ottina to be Commissioner of Education	228
27 Nomination: Ruth Lewis Farkas to be United States Ambassador to Luxembourg	194	6 Announcement: establishment of the East-West Trade Policy Committee; and designation of George P. Shultz as Chairman	229
27 Nomination: V. John Krehbiel to be United States Ambassador to Finland .	195	6 News briefing: on his meeting with the President—by Jerry V. Wilson, Chief of the Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D.C. . . . .	...
27 Nomination: Byron V. Pepitone to be Director of Selective Service	195	6 News briefing: on a White House meeting on Federal-city relations—by Mayor Roman S. Gribbs of Detroit, Mich., president, and Allen E. Pritchard, Jr., executive vice president, National League of Cities; and John J. Gunther, executive director, U.S. Conference of Mayors . . . . .	...
<i>March</i>		6 News briefing: on the Republican Congressional leadership meeting with the President—by Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford. . . . .	...
1 News briefing: on the State of the Union Message on human resources—by Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Caspar W. Weinberger . . . . .	...	7 Nomination: Floyd H. Hyde to be Under Secretary of Housing and Urban Development	231
1 Nomination: Michael P. Balzano, Jr., to be Director of ACTION	212	7 Nomination: H. R. Crawford to be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development	232
2 Fact sheet: Administration actions in the field of heart research . . . . .	...	7 Nomination: Michael H. Moskow to be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development	232
2 Nomination: A. Daniel O'Neal, Jr., to be an Interstate Commerce Commissioner	221	7 Nomination: Sol Mosher to be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development	232
2 Appointment: James W. McLane as Deputy Director of the Cost of Living Council	221	7 Nomination: James L. Mitchell to be General Counsel of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. .	233
5 Nomination: Stephen Alan Wakefield to be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior	227	7 Designation: seven members of the United States Delegation to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks	233
5 Nomination: C. Langhorne Washburn to be Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Tourism	227		
5 News briefing: on their meeting with the President to discuss revenue sharing and urban development—by Mayors Pete Wilson of San Diego, Calif.; John Driggs of Phoenix, Ariz.; Ben R. Boo of Duluth, Minn.; Stephen May of Rochester, N.Y.; George Sullivan of Anchorage, Alaska; and Carlos Romero Barcelo of San Juan, P.R. . . . .	...	

Appendix A

<i>March</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>March</i>	<i>page</i>
7 Appointment: three members of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.	234	13 Nomination: Charles C. Edwards to be an Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare	255
8 Fact sheet: programs related to the State of the Union Message on community development . . . . .	...	13 News briefing: on the Republican Congressional leadership meeting with the President—by Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford. . . . .	...
8 News briefing: on the State of the Union Message on community development—by James T. Lynn, Secretary, and Floyd H. Hyde, Assistant Secretary for Community Development, Department of Housing and Urban Development; and Theodore C. Lutz, Deputy Under Secretary of Transportation for Budget and Program Review . . . . .	...	13 Fact sheet: Administration goals in aiding the mentally retarded . . . . .	...
8 Appointment: Lyndon K. Allin as Special Assistant to the President.	243	14 Fact sheet: Joseph Auguste Ricord narcotics smuggling case. . . . .	...
8 Biographical data: Donald F. Rodgers, Consultant to the President for Labor. . . . .	...	14 Fact sheet: programs related to the State of the Union Message on law enforcement and drug abuse prevention . . . . .	...
9 Appointment: Robert M. White as United States Commissioner on the International Whaling Commission.	244	14 News briefing: on the State of the Union Message on law enforcement and drug abuse prevention—by Myles Ambrose, Special Assistant Attorney General, Office for Drug Abuse Law Enforcement, and Henry E. Petersen, Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, Department of Justice . . . . .	...
9 Appointment: Fred F. Fielding as Deputy Counsel to the President.	244	14 Nomination: Betsy Ancker-Johnson to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce.	270
9 Appointment: four members of the Commission on the Organization of Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy	245	15 Appointment: David K. E. Bruce as Chief of the United States Liaison Office in the People's Republic of China, and Alfred le S. Jenkins and John H. Holdridge as Deputy Chiefs.	278
9 Announcement: release of American prisoners held in the People's Republic of China—by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler.	245	15 Biographical data: David K. E. Bruce, Chief of the United States Liaison Office in the People's Republic of China . . . . .	...
9 News briefing: on matters relating to domestic policy—by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs. . . . .	...	15 Biographical data: Alfred le S. Jenkins, a Deputy Chief of the United States Liaison Office in the People's Republic of China . . . . .	...
12 Nomination: John H. Stender to be an Assistant Secretary of Labor.	251	15 Biographical data: John H. Holdridge, a Deputy Chief of the United States Liaison Office in the People's Republic of China . . . . .	...
12 Nomination: Lee R. West to be a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board	251		
12 Announcement: disaster assistance for Texas	255		

Appendix A

<i>March</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>March</i>	<i>page</i>
15 Appointment: five members of the National Study Commission created by the Federal Water Pollution Control Amendments of 1972.	278	21 Nomination: Wallace H. Johnson, Jr., to be an Assistant Attorney General . .	289
16 Nomination: Jack B. Kubisch to be an Assistant Secretary of State.	279	21 Nomination: Dale Kent Frizzell to be Solicitor of the Department of the Interior	289
16 Nomination: Hadlai A. Hull to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army.	279	21 Announcement: disaster assistance for New York	290
16 Nomination: Carl S. Wallace to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army . .	280	21 Announcement: disaster assistance for Tennessee.	290
16 Nomination: William W. Woodruff to be an Assistant Secretary of the Air Force	280	22 News briefing: on the International Economic Report of the President—by Peter M. Flanigan, Assistant to the President and Executive Director of the Council on International Economic Policy . . . . .	...
16 Nomination: G. McMurtrie Godley to be an Assistant Secretary of State . .	281	22 News briefing: on economic statistics for the month of February—by Herbert Stein, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers . . . . .	...
16 News briefing: on food prices and consumer shopping—by Virginia H. Knauer, Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, and Roseanne Speelman, associate specialist in behavioral sciences, Rutgers University . . . . .	...	23 Nomination: Paul J. Fasser, Jr., to be an Assistant Secretary of Labor.	293
19 Nomination: Donald C. Alexander to be Commissioner of Internal Revenue .	285	23 Nomination: William Jeffery Kilberg to be Solicitor of the Department of Labor	293
19 Nomination: Donald E. Santarelli to be Administrator of Law Enforcement Assistance.	285	23 Nomination: Philip V. Sanchez to be United States Ambassador to Honduras	294
19 Nomination: William H. Kolberg to be an Assistant Secretary of Labor . .	285	24 Nomination: 15 members of the National Council on Educational Research; and designation of Chairman .	301
19 Nomination: James S. Dwight, Jr., to be Administrator of the Social and Rehabilitation Service	286	27 Fact sheet: Administration's vocational rehabilitation program . . . . .	...
20 Nomination: Laurence E. Lynn, Jr., to be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior	287	27 News briefing: on the President's veto of the vocational rehabilitation bill—by Roy L. Ash, Director of the Office of Management and Budget . . . . .	...
20 News briefing: on the Republican Congressional leadership meeting with the President—by Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Leslie C. Arends .	...	27 Announcement: disaster assistance for Alabama	303
21 News briefing: on summer job and recreation programs for youth—by Kenneth R. Cole, Jr., Executive Director of the Domestic Council. . .	...	27 Announcement: disaster assistance for Mississippi	303
		28 Text: Reorganization Plan 2 of 1973, establishing the Drug Enforcement Administration	309

Appendix A

<i>March</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>April</i>	<i>page</i>
28 Fact sheet: Reorganization Plan 2 of 1973 . . . . .	...	5 Fact sheet: rural water and sewer grant program . . . . .	...
28 News briefing: on Reorganization Plan 2 of 1973—by Myles Ambrose, Special Assistant Attorney General, Office for Drug Abuse Law Enforcement, Department of Justice . . . . .	...	5 News briefing: on the President's veto of the rural water and sewer grant bill—by Roy L. Ash, Director of the Office of Management and Budget . . . . .	...
29 Nomination: Marshall Wright to be an Assistant Secretary of State	311	5 Nomination: Thomas R. Bomar to be a member of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board; and designation as Chairman	334
29 Advance text: address to the Nation about Vietnam and domestic problems . . . . .	...	5 Appointment: six members of the Boards of Visitors to the Service Academies	335
29 Statement: on mandatory controls to restrain the rising prices of meat—by George P. Shultz, Secretary of the Treasury and Chairman of the Cost of Living Council	316	5 Fact sheet: comparisons of proposed trans-Alaska and trans-Canada oil pipelines . . . . .	...
29 Fact sheet: history of the economic stabilization program . . . . .	...	5 News briefing: following his meeting with the President to discuss the trans-Alaska oil pipeline and pending legislation concerning its construction—by Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton . . . . .	...
29 News briefing: on meat price controls—by Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz, and Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz . . . . .	...	6 Appointment: Charles A. Cooper as Deputy Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs . . . . .	...
30 Nomination: Graham A. Martin to be United States Ambassador to the Republic of Vietnam	317	6 Appointment: Lawrence S. Eagleburger as Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Council Operations . . . . .	...
30 Nomination: Carlos C. Villarreal to be a Commissioner of the Postal Rate Commission	317	6 Appointment: Richard T. Kennedy as Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Council Planning . . . . .	...
31 Citation: Presidential Medal of Freedom awarded to John Ford . . . . .	...	6 Biographical data: Philip A. Odeen, Director of Program Analysis, National Security Council . . . . .	...
31 Fact sheet: Presidential Medal of Freedom . . . . .	...	6 Appointment: Brig. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, USAF, as Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs . . . . .	...
<i>April</i>		6 Nomination: Helmut Sonnenfeldt to be Under Secretary of the Treasury	339
4 Nomination: four Commissioners of the Consumer Product Safety Commission	331	6 Nomination: Fred Charles Ikle to be Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency	340
4 Appointment: 11 members of the Commission for Industrial Peace; and designation of Chairman	332		
4 Announcement: disaster assistance for Georgia	333		

Appendix A

<i>April</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>April</i>	<i>page</i>
6 Nomination: Richard F. Schubert to be Under Secretary of Labor.	340	11 News briefing: on food prices—by Virginia H. Knauer, Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs; Dr. Jean Mayer, professor of nutrition, Harvard University; and Mimi Johnson, home economist, Department of Agriculture . . . . .	...
6 Appointment: four members of the Commission on Revision of the Federal Court Appellate System.	341	12 Nomination: William H. Sullivan to be United States Ambassador to the Philippines	366
6 Nomination: six members of the Board of Regents of the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences	341	12 Nomination: Robert J. McCloskey to be United States Ambassador to the Republic of Cyprus.	367
9 Nomination: Benjamin F. Holman to be Director of the Community Relations Service	342	12 Nomination: David H. Popper to be an Assistant Secretary of State	367
9 Announcement: transfer of 17 parcels of Federal land to State and local governments under the Legacy of Parks program	342	12 Nomination: William E. Kriegsman to be a member of the Atomic Energy Commission	368
9 News briefing: on his announcement concerning the availability of Federal loans for rural sewer facilities and other domestic matters—by Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz . . . . .	...	12 Fact sheet: provisions of proposed job security assistance legislation . . . . .	...
10 Fact sheet: provisions of proposed trade reform legislation . . . . .	...	12 News briefing: on the President's message on job security assistance legislation—by Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz . . . . .	...
10 News briefing: on the President's message on trade reform legislation—by George P. Shultz, Secretary of the Treasury, and Peter M. Flanagan, Assistant to the President and Executive Director of the Council on International Economic Policy . . . . .	...	12 Announcement: disaster assistance for Michigan	373
10 Nomination: Jerry W. Friedheim to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense . .	355	13 Nomination: Norbert T. Tiemann to be Administrator of the Federal Highway Administration	373
10 Nomination: Bernard E. DeLury to be an Assistant Secretary of Labor. . . .	355	13 Nomination: Vincent R. Barabba to be Director of the Census	373
11 Fact sheet: proposed pension reform program . . . . .	...	13 Nomination: John M. Porges to be Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank	373
11 News briefing: on the President's message on pension reform—by Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz .	...	16 Fact sheet: proposed stockpile disposal legislation . . . . .	...
11 Nomination: Arthur S. Flemming to be Commissioner on Aging	364	16 News briefing: on the President's message on stockpile disposal legislation—by Herbert Stein, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers; William P. Clements, Jr., Deputy Secretary of Defense; and Thomas M. Thawley, Commissioner of Property Management and Disposal, General Services Administration . . . . .	...
11 Nomination: John O. Marsh, Jr., to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense. . .	365		
11 Nomination: Timothy J. Murphy to be a member of the National Transportation Safety Board	365		

Appendix A

<i>April</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>April</i>	<i>page</i>
17 Appointment: eight members of the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation . .	386	27 Announcement: disaster assistance for Louisiana	424
18 Fact sheet: summary outline of the President's energy message . . . . .	...	27 Announcement: disaster assistance for Ohio	426
18 News briefing: on the President's energy message—by Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz . . . . .	...	27 Announcement: disaster assistance for Wisconsin	427
18 News briefing: on oil import policy—by William E. Simon, Deputy Secretary, and William A. Johnson, Energy Adviser to the Deputy Secretary, Department of the Treasury; and Charles J. DiBona, Special Consultant to the President on energy matters . . . . .	...	27 News briefing: on his designation as Acting Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation—by William D. Ruckelshaus, and Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler	427
19 Fact sheet: proposed better communities legislation . . . . .	...	<i>May</i>	
19 News briefing: on the better communities legislation—by James T. Lynn, Secretary, and James L. Mitchell, General Counsel, Department of Housing and Urban Development	413	1 Nomination: Robert C. Hill to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense	440
19 Announcement: disaster assistance for Missouri	413	1 Nomination: Robert L. DuPont to be Deputy Director of the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention . .	440
23 Nomination: James T. Clarke to be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior . .	418	1 Nomination: Amrom H. Katz and Robert M. Behr to be Assistant Directors of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency	441
23 News briefing: on the state of the Nation's economy—by Herbert Stein, Chairman, and Marina von N. Whitman, member, Council of Economic Advisers . . . . .	...	2 Nomination: William A. Morrill to be an Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare	443
24 Memorandum: for the President from the Interagency Classification Review Committee, reporting on classification and declassification of Government documents relating to national security	419	2 Announcement: disaster assistance for Kansas	443
24 Designation: James B. Rhoads as Acting Chairman of the Interagency Classification Review Committee . .	420	2 Nomination: Howard H. Callaway to be Secretary of the Army	444
26 Announcement: disaster assistance for Illinois	422	2 News briefing: on the economic stabilization program—by George P. Schultz, Secretary of the Treasury; Herbert Stein, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers; and John T. Dunlop, Director of the Cost of Living Council . . . . .	...
27 Announcement: disaster assistance for Arkansas	423	3 News briefing: on the fourth annual foreign policy report—by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (briefing held on May 2) . . . . .	...
		3 News briefing: on the fourth annual foreign policy report—by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs . . . . .	...

Appendix A

<i>May</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>May</i>	<i>page</i>
4 Nomination: Edward C. Schmults to be General Counsel for the Department of the Treasury	451	10 Biographical data: John B. Connally, appointed as Special Advisor to the President . . . . .	...
4 Nomination: Lewis M. Helm to be an Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.	451	10 Biographical data: J. Fred Buzhardt, appointed as Special Counsel to the President . . . . .	...
5 Appointment: 15 members of the National Advisory Council on Indian Education	654	11 Nomination: David H. Stowe to be a member of the National Mediation Board	665
7 Nomination: Gloria E. A. Toote to be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development	655	11 Announcement: disaster assistance for Kentucky	666
8 Nomination: Charles S. Whitehouse to be United States Ambassador to the Kingdom of Laos	655	11 Announcement: disaster assistance for New Mexico	666
8 Fact sheet: proposed disaster preparedness and assistance legislation . . . . .	...	11 Announcement: disaster assistance for Tennessee.	667
8 News briefing: on disaster preparedness and relief legislation—by Darrell M. Trent, Acting Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness, and Floyd H. Hyde, Under Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development . . . . .	...	11 Fact sheet: rural electrification and telephone direct loan program and major provisions of S. 394 . . . . .	...
8 Appointment: 11 members of the National Highway Safety Advisory Committee	656	12 News briefing: on his trip to the Soviet Union to meet with Soviet leaders—by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs . . . . .	...
8 Announcement: disaster assistance for Colorado	657	14 Fact sheet: Presidential Citizens Medal awarded to Roberto Clemente, and approval of bill providing for striking of commemorative medals . . . . .	...
9 Nomination: Carmen R. Maymi to be Director of the Women's Bureau, Department of Labor.	657	14 Nomination: Kenneth B. Keating to be United States Ambassador to Israel	672
9 Nomination: Gerald F. Tape to be the United States Representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency.	658	14 Appointment: three members of the Marine Mammal Commission.	672
9 Nomination: Mayo J. Thompson to be a Federal Trade Commissioner.	659	14 News briefing: following their meeting with the President to discuss the establishment of the National Commission on the Future of America in Its Third Century—by Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York, chairman of the commission, and former Gov. Russell W. Peterson of Delaware . . . . .	...
10 Biographical data: James R. Schlesinger, nominated to be Secretary of Defense. . . . .	...	16 News briefing: on the President's message proposing a nonpartisan commission on electoral reform—by Leonard Garment, Special Consultant and Acting Counsel to the President . . . . .	...
10 Biographical data: William E. Colby, nominated to be Director of Central Intelligence. . . . .	...	

Appendix A

<i>May</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>May</i>	<i>page</i>
16 Nomination: Gilbert G. Stamm to be Commissioner of the Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior . . .	677	23 Nomination: Tilton H. Dobbin to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce . . .	698
16 Nomination: Robert C. Holland to be a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. . . .	677	23 Nomination: Kenneth A. Guenther to be Alternate Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank . .	698
16 Appointment: five members of the Board of Directors of the Federal National Mortgage Association. . . .	678	23 Nomination: three members of the Board of Regents of the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences	698
16 Appointment: four members of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships; and designation of Chairman	678	23 Announcement: disaster assistance for Iowa	698
16 Announcement: disaster assistance for Hawaii	679	23 Announcement: disaster assistance for Maine	699
17 Nomination: Paul Rex Beach to be United States Director of the Asian Development Bank	679	23 Announcement: disaster assistance for Colorado	699
19 Advance text: remarks at Armed Forces Day ceremonies, Norfolk Naval Base, Va . . . . .	...	23 News briefing: on the economic statistics for the month of April—by Herbert Stein, Chairman, and Marina von N. Whitman, member, Council of Economic Advisers . . . . .	...
21 Appointment: 18 White House Fellows for 1973-74	690	23 News briefing: on the Republican Congressional leadership meeting with the President—by Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford . .	...
21 Nomination: Matthew J. Harvey to be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development . .	690	24 Promotion: five members of the Domestic Council to Associate Directors .	701
22 Nomination: Grady Perry, Jr., to be a member of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board	691	24 List: revised membership of the Domestic Council	701
22 Nomination: Terence E. McClary to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense . .	691	24 Biographical data: James H. Cavanaugh, Associate Director of the Domestic Council . . . . .	...
22 Nomination: Jack L. Bowers to be an Assistant Secretary of the Navy . . .	691	24 Biographical data: Richard M. Fairbanks, Associate Director of the Domestic Council . . . . .	...
22 Nomination: Arthur F. Sampson to be Administrator of General Services . .	692	24 Biographical data: James H. Falk, Associate Director of the Domestic Council . . . . .	...
22 News briefing: on the President's statements on the Watergate investigation—by Leonard Garment, Special Consultant and Acting Counsel to the President, and J. Fred Buzhardt, Special Counsel to the President . . .	...	24 Biographical data: Dana G. Mead, Associate Director of the Domestic Council . . . . .	...
22 Fact sheet: POW dinner at the White House . . . . .	...	24 Biographical data: Geoffrey C. Shepard, Associate Director of the Domestic Council . . . . .	...

Appendix A

<i>May</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>May</i>	<i>page</i>
24 Nomination: James E. Smith to be Comptroller of the Currency	702	29 Nomination: Charles O. Sethness to be United States Executive Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development	718
24 Fact sheet: POW dinner at the White House . . . . .	...	29 Nomination: Robert E. Hampton to be a Civil Service Commissioner; and redesignation as Chairman	718
25 Summary: financing of the President's residence in San Clemente, Calif	710	29 Announcement: disaster assistance for Alabama	718
26 Nomination: four members of the permanent United States Delegation to the United Nations	715	29 Announcement: disaster assistance for Arkansas	719
26 Nomination: W. Tapley Bennett, Jr., to be Deputy United States Repre- sentative to the United Nations . . . . .	...	29 Appointment: five members of the Advisory Commission on Intergovern- mental Relations	719
26 Nomination: Barbara M. White to be Alternate United States Representa- tive for Special Political Affairs in the United Nations . . . . .	...	29 News briefing: on his meeting with the President to discuss the Middle East situation—by John A. Scali, United States Representative to the United Nations . . . . .	...
26 Nomination: William E. Schaufele, Jr., to be Deputy United States Repre- sentative in the Security Council of the United Nations . . . . .	...	29 News briefing: on the President's meet- ings with President Georges Pompidou of France in Reykjavik, Iceland, and other matters of foreign policy—by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs . . . . .	...
26 Nomination: Clarence Clyde Fergu- son, Jr., to be United States Representa- tive on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations . . . . .	...	31 News briefing: on the President's meetings with President Georges Pompi- dou of France in Reykjavik—by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs	719
26 Designation: S. Paul Ehrlich, Jr., as Alternate Representative of the United States on the Executive Board of the World Health Organization	715	31 Advance text: toast by the President at a dinner in Reykjavik, Iceland . . . . .	...
28 Nomination: John R. Evans to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission	716		
29 Appointment: Robert S. Stone as Director of the National Institutes of Health	716	<i>June</i>	
29 Nomination: John W. Barnum to be Under Secretary of Transportation.	717	4 Nomination: Gary L. Seevers to be a member of the Council of Economic Advisers	729
29 Nomination: John K. Tabor to be Under Secretary of Commerce	717	4 News briefing: on the nomination of Gary L. Seevers to be a member of the Council of Economic Advisers—by Herbert Stein, Chairman, Marina von N. Whitman, member, and Dr. Seevers, member-designate, Council of Eco- nomic Advisers . . . . .	...
29 Nomination: William B. Dale to be United States Executive Director, and Charles R. Harley to be United States Alternate Executive Director, Inter- national Monetary Fund	717		

Appendix A

<i>June</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>June</i>	<i>page</i>
4 Nomination: Robert L. DuPont to be Director of the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention	729	6 Appointments: Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr., USA, as Assistant to the President; Melvin R. Laird as Counsellor to the President for Domestic Affairs; and Ronald L. Ziegler as Assistant to the President . . . . .	...
4 Nomination: Arthur I. Mendolia to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense. . .	730	6 Biographical data: Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr., Assistant to the President . .	...
4 Announcement: disaster assistance for Ohio	730	6 Biographical data: Melvin R. Laird, Counsellor to the President for Domestic Affairs . . . . .	...
4 Announcement: disaster assistance for Missouri	730	6 Biographical data: Ronald L. Ziegler, Assistant to the President . . . . .	...
4 Announcement: selection of 121 high school seniors chosen as 1973 Presidential Scholars	731	7 Nomination: Clarence M. Kelley to be Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation	744
5 Appointment: Max L. Friedersdorf as Deputy Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs	735	7 News briefing: on the nomination of Clarence M. Kelley to be Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation—by Attorney General Elliot L. Richardson, and Mr. Kelley	745
5 Appointment: James M. Sparling, Jr., as Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs	735	7 Nomination: Sheldon B. Lubar to be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development	746
5 Appointment: Wilburn Eugene Ainsworth, Jr., as Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs . . .	735	7 Nomination: George M. Moore to be a member of the United States Tariff Commission	746
5 Appointment: Frederick L. Webber as Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs	736	7 Nomination: Mitchell Kobelinski to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Export-Import Bank of the United States	747
5 Nomination: Malcolm R. Currie to be Director of Defense Research and Engineering	736	11 Appointment: four members of the National Commission on Productivity; and designation of Chairman	755
5 Nomination: three members of the District of Columbia Council	736	11 Announcement: disaster assistance for Georgia	756
5 Nomination: Timothy F. Cleary to be a member of the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission . . .	737	12 Nomination: Julius Shiskin to be Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor	756
5 News briefing: on the Republican Congressional leadership meeting with the President—by Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford. .	...	12 Nomination: Sidney L. Jones to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce . . .	757
6 News briefing: on changes in the White House Staff—by Gerald L. Warren, Deputy Press Secretary to the President, and Melvin R. Laird, Counsellor to the President for Domestic Affairs	740		

Appendix A

<i>June</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>June</i>	<i>page</i>
13 Nomination: John Hugh Crimmins to be United States Ambassador to Brazil	757	18 Appointment: Emerson Elliott as Deputy Director of the National Institute of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare . . .	789
13 Nomination: Ernest V. Siracusa to be United States Ambassador to Uruguay	757	18 Advance text: toasts of the President and General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev at a dinner at the White House . . .	...
13 Announcement: disaster assistance for Oklahoma	758	18 News briefing: on meetings between United States and Soviet officials—by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President, and L. M. Zamyatin, Director General of TASS . . . . .	...
13 Joint communique: United States-Democratic Republic of Vietnam, implementing the Paris agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam	758	19 Nomination: Burton W. Silcock to be a member of the Joint Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission for Alaska	802
13 News briefing: on the United States-Democratic Republic of Vietnam joint communique—by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs	762	20 News briefing: on his role as Special Advisor to the President and on the Nation's economy—by John B. Connally, Special Advisor to the President . . . . .	...
13 Advance text: address to the Nation on the economy . . . . .	...	20 News briefing: on meetings between United States and Soviet officials—by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President, and L. M. Zamyatin, Director General of TASS . . . . .	...
13 Fact sheet: provisions of the Administration's economic program of price controls . . . . .	...	21 Agreement: on scientific and technical cooperation in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	810
13 News briefing: on provisions of the Administration's program of price controls—by Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz . . . . .	...	21 Fact sheet: U.S.-Soviet agreement on cooperation in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy . . . . .	...
14 Biographical data: Rose Mary Woods, appointed as Executive Assistant to the President . . . . .	...	21 News briefing: on U.S.-Soviet agreement on cooperation in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy—by Dixy Lee Ray, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission . . . . .	...
14 Appointment: John Charles Bennett as Deputy Assistant to the President . . . . .	...	21 Basic principles of negotiations: United States-Soviet Union, on the further limitation of strategic offensive weapons	812
14 Biographical data: Bryce N. Harlow, Counsellor to the President . . . . .	...	21 Fact sheet: statement of basic principles of negotiations on the further limitation of strategic offensive arms . . . . .	...
14 News briefing: on plans for the U.S.-Soviet summit meeting and the agreement on Vietnam—by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs	771		
15 Advance text: remarks at cornerstone unveiling ceremonies at the Everett McKinley Dirksen Congressional Leadership Research Center, Pekin, Ill . . . . .	...	

Appendix A

<i>June</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>June</i>	<i>page</i>
21 News briefing: on the statement of basic principles of strategic offensive arms limitation negotiations and the U.S.-Soviet agreement on cooperation in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy—by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs . . .	813	25 Nomination: William D. Brewer to be United States Ambassador to the Democratic Republic of the Sudan . .	856
22 Agreement: on the prevention of nuclear war between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	822	25 Appointment: John W. Larson as Counsellor to the Chairman of the Cost of Living Council	856
22 Fact sheet: U.S.-Soviet agreement on the prevention of nuclear war . . . .	...	25 Appointment: J. Welles Henderson as Commissioner General of the 1974 Spokane International Exposition on the Environment	857
22 News briefing: on U.S.-Soviet agreement on the prevention of nuclear war—by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs	823	25 Announcement: establishment of the Federal Property Council; and appointment of Anne L. Armstrong as Chairman	858
22 Nomination: Philip K. Crowe to be United States Ambassador to Denmark	828	25 Fact sheet: the President's property review program . . . . .	...
23 Protocol: on questions relating to the expansion of air services between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	831	25 Announcement: transfer of 36 parcels of Federal land to State and local governments under the Legacy of Parks program	859
23 Fact sheet: U.S.-Soviet agreement to expand air services . . . . .	...	25 Announcement: disaster assistance for North Carolina	859
23 News briefing: on meetings between the President and General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev—by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President, and L. M. Zamyatin, Director General of TASS . . . . .	...	25 Announcement: disaster assistance for Texas	860
24 Text: address to the Nation by L. I. Brezhnev	836	25 News briefing: on the economic statistics for the month of May—by Herbert Stein, Chairman, and Marina von N. Whitman and Gary L. Seevers, members, Council of Economic Advisers . . . . .	...
25 News briefing: on the U.S.-Soviet joint communique and the summit meetings of the President and General Secretary Brezhnev—by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs	848	26 Nomination: Alvin J. Arnett to be Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity	860
25 Nomination: Richard F. Pedersen to be United States Ambassador to Hungary	856	26 Nomination: Alberto Faustino Trevino, Jr., to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Community Development Corporation	860
		27 Nomination: George A. LeMaistre to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation	864
		28 Nomination: William I. Cargo to be United States Ambassador to the Kingdom of Nepal	864

Appendix A

<i>June</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>July</i>	<i>page</i>
28 Nomination: Robert A. Hurwitch to be United States Ambassador to the Dominican Republic	864	2 Appointment: 16 members of the Health Industry Advisory Committee; and designation of Chairman	882
28 Nomination: Robert C. Brewster to be United States Ambassador to Ecuador	865	3 Nomination: Ronald I. Spiers to be United States Ambassador to the Commonwealth of the Bahamas	883
28 Nomination: Jack R. Miller to be an Associate Judge of the United States Court of Customs and Patent Appeals	865	3 Nomination: William Perry Stedman, Jr., to be United States Ambassador to Bolivia	883
28 Appointment: Executive Secretary and four members of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board	865	3 Nomination: Alvin L. Alm to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency	883
28 Announcement: disaster assistance for Tennessee	867	3 Nomination: Hal F. Reynolds to be United States Alternate Executive Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development	884
29 Fact sheet: summary outline of the President's statement on energy . . . . .	...	3 Nomination: John L. McLucas to be Secretary of the Air Force	884
29 News briefing: following his meeting with the President to discuss the President's statement on energy policy and his appointment of Gov. John A. Love of Colorado as Director of the Energy Policy Office—by Governor Love. . . . .	...	3 Nomination: Gen. George S. Brown to be Chief of Staff, United States Air Force	884
29 Announcement: disaster assistance for Alabama	875	6 Nomination: William N. Dale to be United States Ambassador to the Central African Republic	889
29 Announcement: disaster assistance for Oklahoma	876	6 Nomination: David Olan Meeker, Jr., to be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development	889
29 News briefing: on domestic and foreign affairs—by Melvin R. Laird, Counsellor to the President for Domestic Affairs . . . . .	...	6 Nomination: Stanley B. Thomas to be an Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare	890
29 News briefing: on the President's meeting with French Foreign Minister Michel Jobert—by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, and Foreign Minister Jobert . . . . .	...	6 Announcement: disaster assistance for Colorado	890
30 News briefing: on legislative matters—by Melvin R. Laird, Counsellor to the President for Domestic Affairs, and Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President . . . . .	...	6 Announcement: disaster assistance for Vermont	890
		6 News briefing: on foreign policy matters—by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs . . . . .	...
		7 Nomination: Ray Garrett, Jr., to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission; and designation as Chairman	892

Appendix A

<i>July</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>July</i>	<i>page</i>
7 Nomination: A. A. Sommer, Jr., to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission	893	15 Medical report: on the President's illness (2 releases) . . . . .	...
10 News briefing: on the Republican Congressional leadership meeting with the President—by Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford . . . . .	...	15 News briefing: on the President's illness—by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President; and Maj. Gen. Walter R. Tkach, USAF, Physician to the President . . . . .	...
11 Announcement: disaster assistance for Texas	895	16 Medical report: on the President's illness (2 releases) . . . . .	...
11 Announcement: disaster assistance for New Hampshire	895	16 Letter: to Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr., Chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, from J. Fred Buzhardt, Special Counsel to the President, confirming existence of a tape recording system for Presidential conversations at the White House	905
12 Nomination: Bradford Mills and Allie C. Felder, Jr., to be members of the Board of Directors of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation; and designation of Under Secretary of Commerce John K. Tabor as a member of the Board of Directors of OPIC	896	16 News briefing: on the President's illness—by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President; Maj. Gen. Walter R. Tkach, USAF, Physician to the President; and Dr. Sol Katz, professor of medicine and director, pulmonary division, Georgetown University Medical School . . . . .	...
12 Appointment: four members of the Board of Directors of the Environmental Financing Authority	897	17 Medical report: on the President's illness . . . . .	...
12 Statement: on the President's illness and hospitalization—by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President, and Maj. Gen. Walter R. Tkach, USAF, Physician to the President	898	17 Announcement: disaster assistance for Pennsylvania	905
13 News briefing: on the President's illness—by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President; Maj. Gen. Walter R. Tkach, USAF, Physician to the President; and Dr. Sol Katz, professor of medicine and director, pulmonary division, Georgetown University Medical School . . . . .	...	17 News briefing: on the President's illness—by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President, and Maj. Gen. Walter R. Tkach, USAF, Physician to the President . . . . .	...
13 Medical report: on the President's illness . . . . .	...	18 Medical report: on the President's illness (2 releases) . . . . .	...
14 Medical report: on the President's illness (2 releases) . . . . .	...	18 News briefing: on the President's illness—by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President, and Maj. Gen. Walter R. Tkach, USAF, Physician to the President . . . . .	...
14 Announcement: disaster assistance for Mississippi	901		
14 News briefing: on the President's illness—by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President; and Maj. Gen. Walter R. Tkach, USAF, Physician to the President . . . . .	...	

Appendix A

<i>July</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>July</i>	<i>page</i>
18 Letter: to Catherine May Bedell, Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, from the President, about imports of dried milk and certain animal feeds	913	24 Nomination: Meade Whitaker to be an Assistant General Counsel in the Department of the Treasury (Chief Counsel for the Internal Revenue Service)	927
18 Fact sheet: Phase IV of the economic stabilization program . . . . .	...	24 Nomination: Thomas D. Davies to be an Assistant Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.	927
18 Summary: Phase IV of the economic stabilization program . . . . .	...	24 Nomination: Robert Henri Binder to be an Assistant Secretary of Transportation	927
18 News briefing: on Phase IV of the economic stabilization program—by Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz . . . . .	...	25 Nomination: Thomas R. Byrne to be United States Ambassador to Norway	929
19 Medical report: on the President's illness (2 releases) . . . . .	...	25 Nomination: John Y. Ing to be a Governor of the United States Postal Service	929
19 Nomination: William A. Anders to be a member of the Atomic Energy Commission	914	25 News briefing: on the Republican Congressional leadership meeting with the President—by Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford . . . . .	...
19 News briefing: on Phase IV of the economic stabilization program—by George P. Shultz, Secretary of the Treasury, and Peter M. Flanigan, Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs . . . . .	...	26 Nomination: Russell E. Train to be Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency	931
19 News briefing: on the President's illness—by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President, and Maj. Gen. Walter R. Tkach, USAF, Physician to the President . . . . .	...	26 Nomination: William D. Ruckelshaus to be Deputy Attorney General	931
20 Nomination: J. William Middendorf II to be Under Secretary of the Navy.	917	26 Nomination: Frank B. Elliott to be Administrator of the Farmers Home Administration	934
20 Nomination: William L. Gifford to be a Deputy Under Secretary of the Treasury	917	26 News briefing: on the President's responses to subpoenas, issued by the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities and the United States District Court of the District of Columbia, requiring production of Presidential tape recordings and documents—by Leonard Garment, Special Consultant and Acting Counsel to the President; and Charles Alan Wright, consultant to the Counsel to the President. . . . .	...
20 Announcement: disaster assistance for New York	917	26 News briefing: on the Watergate investigations, U.S. bombing in Cambodia, and domestic matters—by Melvin R. Laird, Counsellor to the President for Domestic Affairs . . . . .	...
20 Announcement: disaster assistance for Missouri	918		
23 Letter: to Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox, from Charles Alan Wright, consultant to the Counsel to the President, explaining noncompliance with the Special Prosecutor's requests for tape recordings of Presidential conversations	921		

Appendix A

<i>July</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>August</i>	<i>page</i>
27 Designation: William S. Whitehead as Chairman of the Renegotiation Board	934	6 Designation: Chester R. Lane as Executive Secretary of the Federal Property Council	959
30 Nomination: James B. Gregory to be Administrator of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration	937	6 Assignment: Brig. Gen. Richard L. Lawson, USAF, as Military Assistant to the President	959
30 Nomination: William Keith Brehm to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense	937	6 Nomination: Lowell J. Paige to be an Assistant Director of the National Science Foundation	960
30 Nomination: Marshall Trammell Mays to be President and Herbert Salzman to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation.	937	6 Fact sheet: the Crime Control Act of 1973 . . . . .	...
31 Nomination: Karl E. Bakke to be General Counsel of the Department of Commerce	941	7 Appointment: seven members of the President's Committee on Mental Retardation	971
31 Nomination: Roger Kirk to be United States Ambassador to the Somali Democratic Republic.	941	7 Announcement: disaster assistance for New Jersey	972
<i>August</i>		8 Announcement: transfer of 19 parcels of Federal land to State and local governments under the Legacy of Parks program	972
1 Appointment: Patrick E. O'Donnell as Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs	948	8 Nomination: Joseph T. McCullen, Jr., to be Assistant Secretary of the Navy	972
1 Nomination: Theodore L. Eliot, Jr., to be United States Ambassador to Afghanistan	948	9 Statement: the current fuel situation and proposed mandatory fuel allocation programs—by John A. Love, Director of the Energy Policy Office	973
2 Nomination: James B. Cardwell to be Commissioner of Social Security of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.	949	9 Summary: Energy Policy Office proposed mandatory fuel allocation program . . . . .	...
2 Nomination: Carol C. Laise to be an Assistant Secretary of State.	949	9 News briefing: on the proposed mandatory fuel allocation program—by John A. Love, Director of the Energy Policy Office, and Charles J. DiBona, Special Consultant to the President on energy matters . . . . .	...
2 Nomination: Ellsworth Bunker to be Ambassador at Large.	949	10 Fact sheet: Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1973 . . . . .	...
3 Designation: John L. Ryan as Chairman of the Postal Rate Commission; and appointment of Rod Kreger as a member of the Commission	950	10 News briefing: on the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1973—by Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz . . . . .	...
3 Nomination: John Eger to be Deputy Director of the Office of Telecommunications Policy	951	13 Fact sheet: highway aid and safety bill . . . . .	...
3 News briefing: on the Nation's financial institutions—by George P. Shultz, Secretary, and William E. Simon, Deputy Secretary, Department of the Treasury. . . . .	...	

Appendix A

<i>August</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>August</i>	<i>page</i>
13 News briefing: on the highway aid and safety bill—by Claude S. Brinegar, Secretary of Transportation, and Melvin R. Laird, Counsellor to the President for Domestic Affairs . . . . .	...	17 Nomination: Norman R. Augustine to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army	998
15 Nomination: John R. Quarles, Jr., to be Deputy Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency; and designation as Acting Administrator, pending confirmation of Russell E. Train	982	17 Nomination: Walter B. LaBerge to be an Assistant Secretary of the Air Force	998
15 Announcement: opening of applications for 1974-75 White House Fellows; and appointment of Carl Grant as Director of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships	983	17 Nomination: John H. Powell, Jr., to be a member of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; and designation as Chairman	1003
15 Advance text: address to the Nation about the Watergate investigations . . . . .	...	17 News briefing: on consumer complaints about furniture—by Virginia H. Knauer, Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs. . . . .	...
16 Nomination: Mary Elizabeth Hanford to be a Federal Trade Commissioner	994	18 Nomination: Anthony J. Jurich, United States Negotiator on Textile Matters, for the rank of Minister	1007
16 Nomination: R. David Pittle to be a Commissioner of the Consumer Product Safety Commission	995	18 Fact sheet: veterans programs . . . . .	...
16 Briefing: for representatives of the petroleum industry on Administration energy policies—by John A. Love, Director of the Energy Policy Office; Charles J. DiBona, Special Consultant to the President on energy matters; Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary of the Interior; and Frederick B. Dent, Secretary of Commerce . . . . .	...	21 Nomination: Goodwin Chase to be a member of the Renegotiation Board	1015
17 Appointment: Ray D. Owen as a member of the President's Cancer Panel, and Philippe Shubik as a member of the National Cancer Advisory Board; and redesignation of Benno C. Schmidt as Chairman of the President's Cancer Panel	997	21 Nomination: Norman B. Houston to be a member of the Renegotiation Board	1015
17 Fact sheet: conquest of cancer . . . . .	...	21 Nomination: Marjorie W. Lynch to be an Associate Director of ACTION	1015
17 Nomination: William R. Kintner to be United States Ambassador to Thailand	997	21 Nomination: Harry J. Hogan to be an Associate Director of ACTION.	1016
17 Nomination: David Samuel Potter to be an Assistant Secretary of the Navy.	998	23 News briefing: on his nomination to be Secretary of State and matters of foreign policy—by Secretary of State-designate Henry A. Kissinger	1026
		23 Nomination: John B. Rhinelander to be General Counsel of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare	1030
		23 Nomination: Rodney Eugene Eyster to be General Counsel of the Department of Transportation	1031
		23 Announcement: disaster assistance for Pennsylvania	1031
		23 News briefing: on the economic statistics for the month of July—by Herbert Stein, Chairman, and Gary L. Seevers, member, Council of Economic Advisers . . . . .	...

Appendix A

<i>August</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>August</i>	<i>page</i>
24 Nomination: J. Owen Zurhellen, Jr., to be Deputy Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency	1032	30 News briefing: following his meeting with the President at San Clemente, Calif., to discuss the Colorado River salinity agreement with Mexico—by Herbert Brownell, Special Representative of the President for Resolution of the Salinity Problem With Mexico . . . . .	...
24 Nomination: Robert H. Miller to be an Assistant Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency	1032	31 Announcement: notice of Energy Policy Office public hearing for the establishment of a mandatory allocation program for propane fuel . . . . .	...
24 Nomination: Kingdon Gould, Jr., to be United States Ambassador to the Kingdom of the Netherlands	1033	<i>September</i>	
27 Nomination: James E. Akins to be United States Ambassador to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	1035	4 Nomination: George Henry Hearn to be a Federal Maritime Commissioner	1047
27 Designation: Richard W. Velde as Deputy Administrator for Policy Development of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Department of Justice	1035	6 Nomination: Richard Joseph O'Melia to be a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board	1056
27 Nomination: Howard Jenkins, Jr., to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board	1036	6 Nomination: William W. Blunt, Jr., to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce	1057
27 Announcement: release of audit of transactions in connection with the President's properties in San Clemente, Calif., and Key Biscayne, Fla.	1036	6 Nomination: Donald R. Cotter to be Chairman of the Military Liaison Committee to the Atomic Energy Commission	1057
28 Announcement: disaster assistance for New Hampshire	1039	6 Appointment: Thomas F. Schweigert as the Alternate Federal Member of the Delaware River Basin Commission	1057
28 Letter: to Catherine May Bedell, Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, from the President, about imports of nonfat dry milk	1040	6 News briefing: on the Republican Congressional leadership meeting with the President—by Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford . . . . .	...
29 Nomination: Robert G. Neumann to be United States Ambassador to the Kingdom of Morocco	1043	7 Nomination: Daniel Parker to be Administrator of the Agency for International Development	1065
30 Fact sheet: Colorado River salinity agreement with Mexico . . . . .	...	7 News briefing: on economic matters and his forthcoming trips to Tokyo and Nairobi—by Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz . . . . .	...
30 Text: Minute No. 242—Permanent and definitive solution to the international problem of the salinity of the Colorado River . . . . .	...	8 News briefing: on the President's meeting with Cabinet members and Administration officials to discuss energy policy—by John A. Love, Director of the Energy Policy Office, and Charles J. DiBona, Special Consultant to the President on energy matters . . . . .	...

Appendix A

<i>September</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>September</i>	<i>page</i>
11 Fact sheet: first National Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime (TASC) Conference . . . . .	...	19 Fact sheet: Federal housing policy recommendations . . . . .	...
11 Fact sheet: Administration initiatives in the fields of drug abuse law enforcement, treatment, and rehabilitation . . . . .	...	19 News briefing: on the President's message to the Congress on Federal housing policy recommendations and actions—by Secretary of Housing and Urban Development James T. Lynn . . . . .	...
11 Nomination: John R. Bartels, Jr., to be Administrator of Drug Enforcement	1126	19 News briefing: on their meeting with Governors and Governors' representatives to discuss energy and environmental matters—by John A. Love, Director of the Energy Policy Office; Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary of the Interior; and Russell E. Train, Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency . . . . .	...
11 Appointment: Vernon C. Loen as Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs	1126	20 Nomination: James H. Quello to be a member of the Federal Communications Commission	1165
12 Nomination: Arthur F. Burns to be United States Alternate Governor of the International Monetary Fund, and William J. Casey to be United States Alternate Governor of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the Asian Development Bank	1127	20 Nomination: William Hinton Fribley to be Federal Cochairman of the Ozarks Regional Commission	1165
13 Nomination: William R. Stratton to be a member of the Public Service Commission of the District of Columbia	1128	22 Biographical data: Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger . . . . .	...
13 Nomination: Representative and four Alternate Representatives of the United States to the Seventeenth Session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency	1128	22 Fact sheet: veto of Small Business Administration loan ceiling and disaster loan amendments . . . . .	...
13 News briefing: on domestic matters—by Melvin R. Laird, Counsellor to the President for Domestic Affairs . . . . .	...	24 Summary: report to the President of the President's Advisory Panel on Timber and the Environment . . . . .	...
17 Summary: fourth annual report of the Council on Environmental Quality . . . . .	...	24 Nomination: William John Fellner to be a member of the Council of Economic Advisers	1174
17 News briefing: following their meeting with the President to present the fourth annual report of the Council on Environmental Quality—by John A. Busterud, Acting Chairman, and Beatrice E. Willard, member, Council on Environmental Quality . . . . .	...	25 Nomination: Wythe D. Quarles, Jr., to be a member of the Railroad Retirement Board	1196
18 Nomination: Henry A. Byroade to be United States Ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan	1137	25 Fact sheet: the President's Committee on Health Education and recommendations contained in its final report to the President . . . . .	...

Appendix A

<i>September</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>October</i>	<i>page</i>
25 News briefing: on the recommendations contained in the final report of the President's Committee on Health Education, presented at a meeting with the President—by R. Heath Larry, Chairman, and Walter J. McNerney, Vice Chairman of the Committee; and Charles C. Edwards, Assistant Secretary for Health, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare . . . . .	...	1 Appointment: five members of the Air Quality Advisory Board, Environmental Protection Agency	1211
26 Fact sheet: the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 . . . . .	...	1 Fact sheet: the Domestic Volunteer Service Act of 1973 . . . . .	...
26 News briefing: on the Rehabilitation Act of 1973—by Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Caspar W. Weinberger . . . . .	...	1 News briefing: on the Domestic Volunteer Service Act of 1973—by Michael P. Balzano, Jr., Director of ACTION, and Melvin R. Laird, Counsellor to the President for Domestic Affairs . . . . .	...
27 Fact sheet: proposed patent modernization and reform legislation . . . . .	...	2 News briefing: on the establishment of a mandatory allocation program for home heating oil and propane gas—by Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary of the Interior, and John A. Love, Director of the Energy Policy Office	1213
27 News briefing: on the patent reform legislation—by John K. Tabor, Under Secretary, Karl E. Bakke, General Counsel, and Rene D. Tegtmeyer, Acting Commissioner of Patents for Trademarks, Department of Commerce; and Thomas E. Kauper, Assistant Attorney General, Antitrust Division, Department of Justice . . . . .	...	2 Regulation: mandatory propane allocation program . . . . .	...
27 Nomination: Joseph S. Farland to be United States Ambassador to New Zealand	1202	2 Nomination: Leonard F. Chapman, Jr., to be Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization	1214
27 Announcement: establishment of an Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Puerto Rico; and designation of 14 members	1203	2 Nomination: Charles R. Work to be Deputy Administrator for Administration of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration	1214
28 Nomination: Herman R. Staudt to be Under Secretary of the Army	1205	3 Announcement: 1973 recipients of the National Medal of Science	1224
28 Nomination: Frank A. Shrontz to be an Assistant Secretary of the Air Force	1205	4 News briefing: on the President's meeting with presidents of six education organizations—by Caspar W. Weinberger, Secretary, and Frank C. Carlucci, Under Secretary, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Leonard J. DeLayo, president, Council of Chief State School Officers . . . . .	...
28 Announcement: disaster assistance for Kansas	1207	5 News briefing: on certain economic statistics for the month of September—by Herbert Stein, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers . . . . .	...
<i>October</i>		9 Appointment: six members of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality	1232
1 Appointment: Stanley R. Resor as United States Representative for Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions Negotiations; and nomination for rank of Ambassador	1211	9 Fact sheet: energy conservation . . . . .	...

Appendix A

<i>October</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>October</i>	<i>page</i>
9 News briefing: on the President's meeting with the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality to discuss conservation of energy by government and private sectors—by Rogers C.B. Morton, Secretary of the Interior; Frederick B. Dent, Secretary of Commerce; John A. Love, Director of the Energy Policy Office; John R. Quarles, Jr., Deputy Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency; Virginia H. Knauer, Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs; and Henry L. Diamond, Chairman of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality . . . . .	...	11 Nomination: Joseph S. Farland to be United States Ambassador to Fiji, to Western Samoa, and to the Kingdom of Tonga	1240
10 Nomination: Hugh F. Owens and Glenn E. Anderson to be Directors of the Securities Investor Protection Corporation; and designation of Mr. Owens as Chairman of the Board of Directors	1237	11 Nomination: O. Rudolph Aggrey to be United States Ambassador to the Republic of Senegal and to the Republic of The Gambia	1241
10 Nomination: Warren Clay Wood to be Federal Cochairman of the Old West Regional Commission	1238	11 Announcement: establishment of the President's Export Council and the President's Interagency Committee on Export Expansion; and designation of Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Council and Chairman of the Committee	1243
10 Remarks: following a bipartisan Congressional leadership meeting with the President to discuss the Middle East situation—by Speaker of the House Carl Albert and Senators Mike Mansfield and Hugh Scott . . . . .	...	13 Announcement: extension of application deadline for the 1974-75 White House Fellows program	1247
11 Fact sheet: energy research and development . . . . .	...	13 Announcement: disaster assistance for Oklahoma	1247
11 Fact sheet: Energy Research and Development Advisory Council, Energy Policy Office . . . . .	...	15 Nomination: Russell W. Peterson to be a member of the Council on Environmental Quality; and designation as Chairman	1255
11 News briefing: on energy research and development—by John A. Love, Director of the Energy Policy Office; Dixy Lee Ray, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission; H. Guyford Stever, Director of the National Science Foundation; and William T. McCormick, Jr., Executive Secretary of the Energy Research and Development Advisory Council . . . . .	...	15 Nomination: Eugene E. Berg to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army	1256
		15 Fact sheet: Presidential Medal of Freedom . . . . .	...
		15 Fact sheet: Presidential Citizens Medal . . . . .	...
		16 Nomination: Nicholas W. Craw to be an Associate Director of the ACTION Agency	1258
		16 Nomination: Harry J. Hogan to be an Assistant Director of the ACTION Agency	1259
		16 Announcement: disaster assistance for Massachusetts	1260
		16 Fact sheet: veterans guaranteed home loan program . . . . .	...
		19 Nomination: Kieran O'Doherty to be a member of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States	1263

Appendix A

<i>October</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>October</i>	<i>page</i>
19 Statement: release of statement by the President detailing procedures for making available information from Presidential tape recordings—by Deputy Press Secretary Gerald L. Warren	1265	31 Remarks: on his meeting with the President—by Senator William B. Saxbe . . . . .	...
20 Announcement: disaster assistance for Nebraska	1267	<i>November</i>	
20 Remarks: the President's discharge of the Watergate Special Prosecutor, the abolishment of the Office of Watergate Special Prosecution Force, and the resignations of the Attorney General and Deputy Attorney General—by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler . .	1271	1 Nomination: Senator William B. Saxbe to be Attorney General	1302
23 Appointment: three members of the National Highway Safety Advisory Committee	1273	1 News briefing: on his appointment of Leon Jaworski as Director of the Office of Watergate Special Prosecution Force—by Acting Attorney General Robert H. Bork	1303
23 Appointment: John Norton Moore as Deputy Special Representative of the President for the Law of the Sea Conference, and Deputy Chief of Delegation	1273	1 Biographical data: Leon Jaworski, Director of the Office of Watergate Special Prosecution Force (Special Prosecutor) . . . . .	...
23 News briefing: on the President's decision to submit tape recordings to the U.S. District Court, and the events of October 20—by Charles Alan Wright, consultant to the Counsel to the President, and Alexander M. Haig, Jr., Assistant to the President.	1275	1 Letter: to Catherine May Bedell, Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, from the President, about imports of butter and butter substitutes.	1304
24 Appointment: four members of the National Council on Indian Opportunity	1283	1 Letter: to Catherine May Bedell, Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, from the President, about imports of wheat and milled wheat products	1305
24 News briefing: on the economic statistics for the month of September—by Herbert Stein, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers . . . . .	...	1 Letter: to Catherine May Bedell, Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, from the President, about imports of cotton	1305
30 Nomination: Don S. Smith to be a member of the Federal Power Commission	1297	1 Announcement: disaster assistance for Missouri	1306
30 Nomination: Morris Thompson to be Commissioner of Indian Affairs . . .	1297	5 Nomination: Charles L. Clapp to be an Interstate Commerce Commissioner. .	1310
30 Nomination: Roger L. Campbell and Walter W. Burns, Jr., to be Examiners-in-Chief, United States Patent Office .	1298	7 Biographical data: Samuel Joseph Powers, Jr., consultant to the Counsel to the President . . . . .	...
		7 Announcement: disaster assistance for Alaska	1311
		7 Advance text: address to the Nation about policies to deal with the energy shortages . . . . .	...
		7 Fact sheet: the President's address to the Nation about policies to deal with the energy shortages . . . . .	...

Appendix A

<i>November</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>November</i>	<i>page</i>
7 News briefing: on the President's address to the Nation about policies to deal with the energy shortages—by John A. Love, Director of the Energy Policy Office . . . . .	...	15 Nomination: Stuart Nash Scott to be United States Ambassador to Portugal	1334
8 Nomination: Dr. S. Paul Ehrlich, Jr., to be the United States Representative on the Executive Board of the World Health Organization	1318	16 Fact sheet: the trans-Alaska oil pipeline . . . . .	...
8 News briefing: on Administration briefings for State and local officials on the energy situation—by Charles J. DiBona, Special Consultant to the President on energy matters . . . . .	...	16 News briefing: on the trans-Alaska oil pipeline—by Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary, and Jared G. Carter, Deputy Under Secretary, Department of the Interior . . . . .	...
9 Letter: to Secretary General of the United Nations Kurt Waldheim, from Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, about a Middle East agreement	1324	16 Nomination: Raymond C. Anderson to be Federal Cochairman of the Upper Great Lakes Regional Commission	1345
9 Designation: J. Raymond Bell as Chairman of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States	1324	18 Fact sheet: the aircraft carrier U.S.S. <i>Vinson</i> . . . . .	...
9 Appointment: five members of the National Advisory Council on Adult Education	1325	21 News briefing: following their meeting with the President to discuss the fiscal year 1974 and 1975 budgets—by Roy L. Ash, Director, and Frederic V. Malek, Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget . . . . .	...
9 Appointment: seven members of the National Advisory Council on Education Professions Development; and designation of Chairman	1325	25 Advance text: address to the Nation about national energy policy . . . . .	...
13 Appointment: D. Hebden Porteus as an Alternate United States Commissioner on the South Pacific Commission	1331	25 Fact sheet: new energy emergency actions . . . . .	...
14 Joint communique: United States-People's Republic of China, following meetings between Chinese leaders and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger	1332	25 News briefing: on the energy policy as outlined in the President's address to the Nation—by John A. Love, Director of the Energy Policy Office, and Charles J. DiBona, Special Consultant to the President on energy matters . . . . .	...
14 Announcement: transfer of 21 parcels of Federal land to State and local governments under the Legacy of Parks program	1333	26 Fact sheet: the President's maritime program . . . . .	...
15 Nomination: Louis M. Thayer to be a member of the National Transportation Safety Board	1333	26 Nomination: G. Joseph Minetti to be a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board	1370
		26 Nomination: David Gregg III to be Executive Vice President of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation	1370
		27 Fact sheet: drug abuse law enforcement, treatment, and rehabilitation programs . . . . .	...
		28 Nomination: James W. Plummer to be Under Secretary of the Air Force	1378

Appendix A

<i>November</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>December</i>	<i>page</i>
28 Fact sheet: the President's message to the Congress on wilderness preservation . . . . .	...	3 Nomination: Ralph J. McGuire to be United States Ambassador to the Republic of Mali	1384
28 News briefing: on the President's message to the Congress on wilderness preservation—by Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary, E. U. Curtis Bohlen, Deputy Assistant Secretary, and Stanley W. Hulett, Associate Director of Legislation, National Park Service, Department of the Interior . . . . .	...	3 Nomination: Harry G. Barnes, Jr., to be United States Ambassador to Romania	1384
29 News briefing: on the economic statistics for the month of October—by Herbert Stein, Chairman, and Gary L. Seevers and William J. Fellner, members, Council of Economic Advisers . . . . .	...	4 News briefing: on the establishment of the Federal Energy Office and the proposed Federal Energy Administration—by William E. Simon, Administrator of the Federal Energy Office	1389
29 News briefing: following the President's meeting with presidents of black colleges—by Caspar W. Weinberger, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Roy Hudson, president of Hampton Institute . . . . .	...	4 Fact sheet: Federal energy organization . . . . .	...
30 Remarks: at the swearing in of Russell W. Peterson as Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality—by Melvin R. Laird, Counsellor to the President for Domestic Affairs, and Mr. Peterson . . . . .	...	4 Biographical data: William E. Simon, Administrator of the Federal Energy Office . . . . .	...
30 Fact sheet: swearing in of Russell W. Peterson as Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality . . . . .	...	4 Biographical data: John C. Sawhill, Deputy Administrator of the Federal Energy Office . . . . .	...
30 News briefing: following his swearing-in ceremony—by Russell W. Peterson, Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality . . . . .	...	5 Nomination: Arthur S. Flemming to be a member of the Commission on Civil Rights; and designation as Chairman	1400
<i>December</i>		5 Nomination: Francis T. Underhill, Jr., to be United States Ambassador to Malaysia	1401
3 Nomination: Joseph J. Jova to be United States Ambassador to Mexico	1383	5 Nomination: Francis L. Dale to be the United States Representative to the European Office of the United Nations, with rank of Ambassador	1401
3 Nomination: Anthony D. Marshall to be United States Ambassador to the Republic of Kenya	1383	5 Appointment: five members of the National Advisory Council on Supplementary Centers and Services	1401
3 Nomination: Heyward Isham to be United States Ambassador to Haiti	1383	6 Nomination: Walter J. Stoessel, Jr., to be United States Ambassador to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	1402
3 Nomination: Francis E. Meloy, Jr., to be United States Ambassador to Guatemala	1384	6 Nomination: Arthur A. Hartman to be an Assistant Secretary of State	1403
		6 Nomination: David H. Popper to be United States Ambassador to Chile	1403
		6 Nomination: William B. Buffum to be an Assistant Secretary of State	1404

Appendix A

<i>December</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>December</i>	<i>page</i>
6 Nomination: David D. Newsom to be United States Ambassador to the Republic of Indonesia	1404	8 News briefing: on the President's personal financial transactions—by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President; Kenneth W. Gemmill, White House Counsel's Office; and Arthur Blech, the President's tax accountant . . . . .	...
6 Nomination: Donald B. Easum to be an Assistant Secretary of State	1405	8 News briefing: following Mr. Fitzsimmons' meeting with the President to discuss the energy emergency and the trucking industry—by William E. Simon, Administrator of the Federal Energy Office, and Frank E. Fitzsimmons, general president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters . . . .	...
6 Nomination: Robert J. McCloskey to be an Ambassador at Large	1405	10 News briefing: on his meeting with the President to discuss national health insurance recommendations—by Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Caspar W. Weinberger. . . .	1451
6 Nomination: Thomas O. Enders to be an Assistant Secretary of State	1405	10 Announcement: disaster assistance for Oklahoma	1454
6 Nomination: Helmut Sonnenfeldt to be Counselor of the Department of State .	1406	10 Fact sheet: increase in interest rate to 6 percent on Series E and Series H United States Savings Bonds. . . . .	...
6 Nomination: William J. Casey to be President of the Export-Import Bank of the United States	1406	11 Nomination: Robert C. Hill to be United States Ambassador to Argentina	1454
6 Nomination: Alan G. Kirk II to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency	1407	11 Nomination: Joseph Francis Volker and John William Kauffman to be members of the Board of Regents, National Library of Medicine, Public Health Service	1455
7 Appointment: three members of the Advisory Board of the Commodity Credit Corporation, Department of Agriculture	1409	11 News briefing: following their meeting with the President and Vice President to discuss preliminary plans for the 1974 elections—by George H. Bush, chairman of the Republican National Committee; Senator Bill Brock, chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee; and Representative Robert H. Michel, chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee . . . .	...
7 Appointment: seven members of the National Commission for the Review of Federal and State Laws Relating to Wiretapping and Electronic Surveillance; and designation of Chairman. .	1409	12 Appointment: Robert C. Macdonald and Steven E. Schanes as United States Commissioners on the Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission .	1455
8 Summary: the President's finances . .	1413		
8 Announcement: gift of the President's residence in San Clemente, Calif., to the Nation	1414		
8 Statement: the President and Mrs. Nixon's finances from January 1, 1969, to May 31, 1973	1415		
8 Summary: information from the 1969, 1970, 1971, and 1972 Federal income tax returns of the President and Mrs. Nixon and Patricia R. Nixon [Cox] .	1423		
8 Summary: answers to charges concerning the President's personal finances .	1429		
8 List: documents detailing principal changes in the President and Mrs. Nixon's assets and liabilities from January 1, 1969, to May 31, 1973 . .	1435		

Appendix A

<i>December</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>December</i>	<i>page</i>
12 News briefing: on the Republican Congressional leadership meeting with the President—by Senator Hugh Scott and Representative John J. Rhodes. . . .	...	19 Fact sheet: nationwide outdoor recreation plan . . . . .	...
13 News briefing: on actions taken by the Federal Energy Office—by William E. Simon, Administrator, and John C. Sawhill, Deputy Administrator, William A. Johnson, Director of Policy Analysis, and Eric R. Zausner and John A. Hill, Assistant Administrators, all of the Federal Energy Office; and Russell E. Train, Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency . . . .	...	20 Appointment: 22 members of the President's Export Council; and designation of Chairman and Vice Chairman	1475
13 Nomination: Viron P. Vaky to be United States Ambassador to Colombia	1457	20 Nomination: G. McMurtrie Godley to be United States Ambassador to the Republic of Lebanon	1476
13 Nomination: Lloyd I. Miller to be United States Ambassador to Trinidad and Tobago	1457	20 Nomination: David B. Bolen to be United States Ambassador to the Republic of Botswana, to the Kingdom of Lesotho, and to the Kingdom of Swaziland	1476
13 News briefing: on Federal-State cooperation on solutions to the energy crisis—by William E. Simon, Administrator of the Federal Energy Office; and Governors Stanley K. Hathaway of Wyoming, Daniel J. Evans of Washington, and Wendell H. Ford of Kentucky . . . . .	...	20 Nomination: Robert S. Smith to be United States Ambassador to the Republic of Ivory Coast	1477
14 Nomination: Curtis Marshall Dann to be Commissioner of Patents	1458	21 Nomination: Marshall Wright to be United States Ambassador to the Republic of Cyprus	1481
14 Nomination: James R. Cowan to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense	1458	21 Nomination: James F. Campbell to be United States Ambassador to El Salvador	1481
18 Nomination: three members of the United States Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs; and designation of Chairman	1470	21 Appointment: Robert G. Dixon, Jr., and Harold L. Russell as members of the Council of the Administrative Conference of the United States	1482
19 News briefing: on his resignation from the White House Staff—by Melvin R. Laird, Counsellor to the President for Domestic Affairs . . . . .	...	21 Nomination: Max V. Krebs to be United States Ambassador to Guyana	1482
19 News briefing: on the President's proposal for an emergency windfall profits tax—by Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz . . . . .	...	26 Announcement: submission to the President of the April 1973 Report of the Board of Visitors to the United States Military Academy	1484
		26 Announcement: submission to the President of the April 1973 Report of the Board of Visitors to the United States Naval Academy	1484
		26 Announcement: submission to the President of the April 1973 Report of the Board of Visitors to the United States Air Force Academy	1485
		26 News briefing: on their meeting with the President—by Gov. Malcolm Wilson of New York and former Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller . . . . .	...

Appendix A

<i>December</i>	<i>Vol. 10</i> <i>page</i>	<i>December</i>	<i>page</i>
27 News briefing: on the economic statistics for the month of November and a review of the year 1973—by Herbert Stein, Chairman, and Gary L. Seevers and William J. Fellner, members, Council of Economic Advisers	29 Designation: Patricia Hutar as the United States Representative on the Commission on the Status of Women of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations	4
28 Fact sheet: the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973	30 Appointment: 25 members of the National Voluntary Service Advisory Council	5
28 News briefing: on the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973—by Melvin R. Laird, Counsellor to the President for Domestic Affairs; and Peter J. Brennan, Secretary, and William H. Kolberg, Assistant Secretary for Manpower, Department of Labor	31 Fact sheet: the Flood Disaster Protection Act of 1973 . . . . .	...
29 Fact sheet: the Health Maintenance Organization Act of 1973	31 News briefing: on the Flood Disaster Protection Act of 1973—by James T. Lynn, Secretary, and George K. Bernstein, Federal Insurance Administrator, Department of Housing and Urban Development . . . . .	...
29 News briefing: on the Health Maintenance Organization Act of 1973—by Caspar W. Weinberger, Secretary, and Charles C. Edwards, Assistant Secretary for Health, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare	31 Statement: on stockpile disposal legislation—by Frederic V. Malek, Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget . . . . .	...
		31 News briefing: on the stockpile disposal bills—by Frederic V. Malek, Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget . . . . .	...

Appendix B—Additional White House Announcements

NOTE: This appendix lists items of general interest which were announced to the press during 1973 but which are not noted elsewhere in this volume. Routine announcements of appointments, nominations, resignations, and retirements may be found in the Digest of Other White House Announcements of the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents on the date of the announcement.

January

- 1 The President met with George Allen, head coach of the Washington Redskins, and his family to congratulate the team on winning the National Football Conference championship.
- 2 Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield met with the President at the White House to discuss the 93d Congress.
- 3 Speaker of the House Carl Albert breakfasted with the President to consult with him on the 93d Congress.
- 3 Senator J. Bennett Johnston, Jr., of Louisiana, and his family called on the President at the White House.
- 3 David M. Abshire, who resigned as Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, made a farewell call on the President at the White House.
- 3 Curtis C. Stapp of Oakland, Calif., who had been named "Truckdriver of the Year" for 1973, called on the President at the White House.
- 3 The President talked by telephone with Senate leaders Mike Mansfield and Hugh Scott and with House of Representatives leaders Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., and Gerald R. Ford. The leaders informed the President that a quorum was present and that the Senate and House were ready to conduct business.
- 4 Ambassador Gerard C. Smith, who resigned as Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, paid a farewell call on the President.

January

- 4 The First Lady represented the President at memorial services in New Orleans for House Majority Leader Hale Boggs.
- 5 The President held a breakfast meeting with the bipartisan leadership of the Congress. Discussion topics included the economy, the organization of the executive branch, and Vietnam.
- 5 In a series of meetings, the President received foreign leaders who were in Washington to attend memorial services for former President Harry S. Truman. Calling at the White House were President Zalman Shazar of Israel, Prime Minister John M. Lynch of Ireland, Prime Minister Kim Chong-pil of Korea, Foreign Secretary Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines, and Vice President Yen Chiakan of the Republic of China.
- 5 Edward E. David, Jr., who resigned as Science Adviser to the President, paid a farewell call on the President.
- 5 The President and Mrs. Nixon hosted a reception at the White House for freshman Members of the Congress.
- 11 Members of the Council on Environmental Quality met with the President at the White House.
- 14 The President met with Henry A. Kissinger and Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr., in Key Biscayne, Fla., following Dr. Kissinger's return from Paris. General Haig later departed for Saigon to discuss the current status of the negotiations with President Nguyen Van Thieu.

Appendix B

January

- 15 The White House announced that because of the progress made in the negotiations between Henry A. Kissinger and Special Adviser Le Duc Tho, President Nixon directed that the bombing, shelling, and any further mining of North Vietnam be suspended. This order went into effect at 10 a.m. on January 15, Washington time. The directive applied to action north of the 17th parallel, the entire area of North Vietnam.
- 15 The President telephoned football coaches Don Shula of the Miami Dolphins and George Allen of the Washington Redskins following the Dolphins' victory in the Super Bowl in Los Angeles. Earlier the President had sent telegrams to the two coaches.
- 15 The President received the report of the White House Conference on the Industrial World Ahead entitled "A Look at Business in 1990" (Government Printing Office, 369 pp.).
- 18 The President conferred by telephone with the Republican National Chairman, Senator Robert Dole, and the members of the nominating committee of the Republican National Committee on the subject of a successor to Senator Dole. During the traditional conference between the President and the nominating committee, the President recommended that the name of George Bush be placed in nomination when the committee met on January 19 to select a new chairman.
- 19 The President and the First Family attended the inaugural concerts at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.
- 20 Prior to departing for the inaugural ceremonies, the President and the First Lady hosted a reception in the Blue Room at the White House for Vice President and Mrs. Agnew, members of the Joint Congressional Escort Committee, and the inaugural chairman, J. Willard Marriott, and Mrs. Marriott.

January

- 21 Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr., met with the President and Henry A. Kissinger at the White House to report on his meetings in Southeast Asia with President Nguyen Van Thieu of South Vietnam and officials in Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia.
- 24 The President met at the White House with the Cabinet to discuss the fiscal 1974 budget.
- 26 The President met at the White House, first with Republican Congressional leaders and then with the bipartisan Congressional leadership, to discuss the fiscal 1974 budget.
- 26 Foreign Minister Adam Malik of Indonesia met with the President at the White House. The Foreign Minister was in Washington to attend the funeral of former President Lyndon B. Johnson.
- 30 The Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union mutually agreed that they would resume negotiations on limiting strategic arms, in Geneva on March 12, 1973, rather than on February 27, 1973, as previously announced. The postponement was agreed to in order to allow time to put staff in place under the new head of the United States delegation, U. Alexis Johnson.
- 30 Tran Van Lam, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Vietnam, met with the President at the White House.
- 30 On behalf of the President, his daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Edward F. Cox, greeted the mayor of Moscow, Vladimir Promyslov, and Mrs. Promyslov at the White House.
- 30 The President announced the designation of Representative Guy Vander Jagt as his Special Representative during the Congressman's special trade and investment study mission to Africa, January 30–February 14, 1973.
- 31 Eisaku Sato, former Prime Minister of Japan, met with the President at the White House. In the evening, the former Prime Minister and Mrs. Sato were the President's guests at a black tie dinner in their honor at the White House.

Appendix B

January

- 31 Alaska State Senator Donald Young, Republican candidate for Congress, called on the President at the White House. He was accompanied by Senator Ted Stevens of Alaska and Republican National Chairman George Bush.
- 31 The President sent a letter to President Cevdet Sunay of Turkey to express his sincere condolences and deep regret following the killing in California of Turkish Consul General Mehmet Baydar and Vice Consul Bahadır Demir.

February

- 1 The President received the report of Emergency Board No. 183 created to investigate and report on the dispute involving the Port Authority Trans-Hudson Corporation and the Brotherhood Railway Carmen of the United States and Canada.
- 1 The President sent a message to the eighth annual United Nations Inter-American Economic and Social Council meeting in Bogotá, Colombia. The message was read by Assistant Secretary of State Charles A. Meyer.
- 5 At the direction of the President, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget transmitted to the Congress and to the Comptroller General of the United States a report on budgetary reserves, in accordance with the Federal Impoundment and Information Act (Public Law 92-599). The report is printed in the Federal Register of February 6, 1973 (38 FR 3474).
- 5 Robert J. Brown, who resigned as Special Assistant to the President, paid a farewell call on the President.
- 5 Comdr. Alexander R. Larzelere, Coast Guard Aide to the President, who was being reassigned to other duties, met with the President at the White House.
- 5 The family of Army Col. William Nolde met with the President following funeral services for Colonel Nolde at Arlington National Cemetery. Colonel Nolde was killed by artillery fire in Vietnam on January 27 shortly before the cease-fire went into effect.
- 6 The Governments of the United States and of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, on behalf of the Parties of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam signed on January 27, 1973, agreed to propose Paris as the site for the International Conference to be convened February 26. They would consult on this matter with the Parties listed in Article 19 of the Agreement.
- 7 Henry A. Kissinger met with the President at the White House prior to his departure for the Far East. Earlier, the White House announced that en route to Hanoi, Dr. Kissinger would visit Thailand to meet with Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn as well as with the United States Ambassadors to Thailand, Cambodia, South Vietnam, and Laos, and he would also visit Laos to confer with the Prime Minister, Prince Souvanna Phouma, on the prospects for a cease-fire in Laos. It was also announced that Dr. Kissinger would stop over in Hong Kong en route from Hanoi to the People's Republic of China.
- 7 Representative Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, met with the President at the White House to discuss general legislative and tax and trade matters.
- 8 The President held a breakfast meeting with the Cabinet at the White House to discuss the budget.
- 8 Senator Russell B. Long, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, met with the President at the White House to discuss a number of domestic matters.
- 8 E. D. Kenna, newly elected president of the National Association of Manufacturers, called on the President at the White House.
- 8 Daniel P. Moynihan, United States Ambassador to India, met with the President at the White House to receive guidance and to exchange views on American policy in South Asia prior to assuming his post.

Appendix B

February

- 9 The President asked former Secretary of Commerce Peter G. Peterson to be his Personal Representative, with the personal rank of Ambassador, to conduct a series of talks with European and Japanese leaders. Departing on February 12, Ambassador Peterson would visit Rome, Bonn, Paris, London, and Brussels. The President asked that during these talks, Ambassador Peterson explore, with government and European Community leaders as well as with representatives of business and the intellectual community, questions of mutual interest, including economic, security, and political aspects of the U.S.-European relationship. Ambassador Peterson's trip to Japan would take place in March.
- 10 Vice President Agnew met with the President at the Western White House to report on his visit, begun January 28, to South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia. The Vice President had met with leaders of these countries to discuss postwar relations between the United States and the nations concerned, to explain the continuing American role in Asia, and to reaffirm the United States desire for peace and self-determination for all the countries of Southeast Asia.
- 12 Frank E. Fitzsimmons, general president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, met with the President at the Western White House.
- 12 Gov. Ronald Reagan of California met with the President at the Western White House.
- 12 Soviet Minister of Food Industry V. P. Lein called on the President at the Western White House. He was accompanied by Donald M. Kendall, chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Pepsico, who was Mr. Lein's host during his visit to the United States.
- 12 Counsellor to the President Anne Armstrong represented the President at a wreath-laying ceremony at the Lincoln Memorial, in connection with Lincoln's birthday observances.

February

- 13 Ambassador John A. Scali met with the President at the White House prior to assuming his post as United States Representative to the United Nations.
- 13 The White House released a report to the President on relief and reconstruction efforts following the earthquake in Managua, Nicaragua, by Maurice J. Williams, Deputy Administrator of the Agency for International Development and the President's Special Coordinator for Emergency Relief to Nicaragua.
- 13 Ambassador Donald Rumsfeld met with the President at the White House prior to assuming his post as United States Permanent Representative on the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
- 13 Special Counsel to the President Charles W. Colson met with the President at the White House prior to departing for a series of discussions with officials in Moscow and Bucharest on improving and expanding facilities for American businessmen in the Soviet Union and Romania. In addition, Mr. Colson would dedicate, on behalf of the President, an East-West trade center in Vienna.
- 14 Ambassador Richard Helms met with the President at the White House prior to assuming his post as United States Ambassador to Iran.
- 15 The President met at the White House with J. Curtis Counts, who was resigning as Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, to thank him personally for his service over the past 4 years and to wish him well as he returned to private life.
- 16 The President met with the Cabinet at the White House. Vice President Agnew reported on his trip to Southeast Asia, and Secretary of the Treasury Shultz reported on trade and monetary matters.
- 16 Sir Christopher Soames, Vice President and Commissioner for External Affairs of the European Commission, met with the President at the White House.

Appendix B

February

- 21 The President directed the Secretaries of Commerce and Labor to certify the Bernie Shoe Company of Haverhill, Mass., and its workers as eligible to apply for adjustment assistance under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962.
- 21 The President sent messages of condolence to Col. Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of Libya, and to Anwar el-Sadat, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, on the shooting down of a Libyan commercial airliner over the Sinai Desert by Israeli fighter planes.
- 22 The President held a breakfast meeting at the White House with the bipartisan Congressional leadership.
- 22 The President hosted a reception at the White House for approximately 200 Senators and Representatives to thank those Members of Congress who had supported him over the past 4 years on his Vietnam policies.
- 23 The President held a breakfast meeting at the White House with William P. Rogers, Secretary of State, William J. Porter, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, William H. Sullivan, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, and Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, for consultation prior to the convening of the International Conference on Vietnam in Paris on February 26.
- 23 Hafez Ismail, National Security Adviser to the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, met with the President at the White House.
- 23 Ambassador John A. Volpe met with the President at the White House prior to assuming his post as United States Ambassador to Italy.

February

- 23 The King and Queen of the Mardi Gras 1973 Washington Carnival Ball, Gordon Lambert, of Shreveport, La., and Melanie Roemer, of Bossier City, La., called on the President at the White House. They were accompanied by Representative Joe D. Waggoner, Jr., of Louisiana, and 32 Mardi Gras queens and 24 Mardi Gras princesses.
- 27 Archbishop Luigi Raimondi, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, paid a farewell call on the President at the White House.
- 28 The President and the First Lady hosted a dinner at the White House for Governors who were in Washington attending the National Governors Conference.

March

- 2 Representative Paul Findley of Illinois met with the President at the White House.
- 2 Ambassadors Miguel Solano Lopez of Paraguay, Frederick Hilborn Talbot of Guyana, Haraldur Kroyer of Iceland, M. Hossain Ali of Bangladesh, Ahmedou Ould Abdallah of Mauritania, and Mohamed Khir Johari of Malaysia presented their credentials to the President in ceremonies in the Blue Room at the White House.
- 3 The Quadriad—Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz, Director Roy L. Ash of the Office of Management and Budget, Chairman Hebert Stein of the Council of Economic Advisers, and Chairman Arthur F. Burns of the Federal Reserve Board—met with the President at the White House.
- 3 In an "Evening at the White House," Sammy Davis, Jr., entertained the President and the First Lady and their guests. Among those attending were Members of Congress and the Apollo 17 astronauts, Capt. Eugene A. Cernan, USN, Capt. Ronald E. Evans, USN, and Dr. Harrison H. Schmitt.

Appendix B

March

- 6 The President greeted a bipartisan group of 15 mayors representing the National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors who were meeting at the White House with Kenneth R. Cole, Jr., Executive Director of the Domestic Council, to discuss Federal-city relationships.
- 6 The President hosted a private dinner for a group of business and community leaders.
- 7 Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz met at the White House with the President and Henry A. Kissinger prior to his departure for meetings in Paris and Moscow. Earlier, the White House had announced that Secretary Shultz would hold discussions on current international monetary problems in Paris and would then continue on to Moscow to discuss trade matters with officials of the Soviet Union. Following the visit to the Soviet Union, Secretary Shultz would consult with several finance ministers in Europe in preparation for the monetary reform talks scheduled in Washington by the Committee of Twenty from March 26 to 28.
- 7 The President greeted winners of the Veterans of Foreign Wars' Voice of Democracy contest.
- 7 Rolf Pauls, West German Ambassador to the United States, paid a farewell call on the President at the White House.
- 7 The President hosted a private dinner for a group of business and community leaders.
- 8 Senators John L. McClellan and Milton R. Young, chairman and ranking Republican member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, breakfasted with the President at the White House to discuss the budget.
- 8 Ghulam Mustafa Khar, Governor of the Punjab State of Pakistan and special emissary of President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and Aziz Ahmed, Minister of State for Defense and Foreign Affairs, met with the President at the White House.
- 8 The President greeted freshman Republican Congressmen in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

March

- 8 The White House announced that a United States-Democratic Republic of Vietnam Joint Economic Commission was established and would meet in Paris beginning March 15, 1973.
- 9 The President greeted a group of 10 Federal Regional Council Chairmen at the White House.
- 9 The President met with the Cabinet at the White House to discuss domestic matters.
- 9 Janet J. Johnston, co-chairman of the Republican National Committee, met with the President at the White House.
- 9 The President met with 16 White House Fellows for 1972-73.
- 9 Ambassador John N. Irwin II met with the President at the White House prior to assuming his post as United States Ambassador to France.
- 9 Secretary of State William P. Rogers met with the President at the White House to report on the International Conference on Vietnam held in Paris and to discuss the agreement signed at the Conference.
- 12 The President presented the Hank Manfredi award to Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs Agent Thomas Devine and to the parents of BNDD Agent Frank Tumillo, who was killed in the line of duty in New York City on October 12, 1972.
- 13 In a ceremony in the Oval Office at the White House, the President presented the 1972 Presidential Management Improvement Awards to six individuals and three Government organizations.
- 13 The 1973 National Association of Retarded Children Poster Child, Renee Vincent, age 10, of La Vale, Md., called on the President at the White House.
- 15 Miss Debra Ploch, 1973 Maid of Cotton, called on the President at the White House. She was accompanied by Representative James M. Collins of Texas.
- 15 The President greeted freshman Republican Representative Donald Young of Alaska at the White House.

Appendix B

March

- 16 The President and the First Lady hosted a breakfast at the White House for members of the Council of Economic Advisers and their spouses. The President thanked Ezra Solomon, who was returning to Stanford University, for his outstanding service and also discussed economic matters with the present Council membership.
- 16 The White House announced that the first formal meeting of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Commission on Scientific and Technical Cooperation would be held in Washington, D.C., on March 19-21. The President designated H. Guyford Stever, Director of the National Science Foundation, to replace Edward E. David, Jr., as U.S. Chairman of the Commission.
- 16 The President greeted freshman Republican Senator Peter V. Domenici of New Mexico and his family at the White House.
- 17 In an "Evening at the White House," country and western music singer Merle Haggard and bluegrass singers Bobby and Sonny Osborne entertained the President and Mrs. Nixon and their guests.
- 19 The President directed the Secretary of Labor to certify former employees of the DuBois, Pa., plant of the Aircro Electronics Components Division of Aircro, Inc., as eligible for adjustment assistance under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962.
- 20 The President directed the Secretaries of Commerce and Labor to certify Arkwright Mills, Inc., of Spartanburg, S.C., and 350 of its workers as eligible for adjustment assistance under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962.
- 21 James Roosevelt, David Packard, and Representative John W. Byrnes, representing "Citizens for Control of Federal Spending," met with the President at the White House.
- 22 The President greeted members of the sub-Cabinet and White House Staff who were attending a briefing on foreign and domestic policy in the Executive Office Building by William P. Rogers, Secretary of State, and John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs.

March

- 22 Dr. Carlos Sanz de Santamaria, who resigned as Chairman of the Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress, met with the President at the White House.
- 22 George Bush, chairman of the Republican National Committee, Senator Bill Brock, chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, and Representative Robert H. Michel, the newly selected chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, met with the President at the White House.
- 22 The President met at the White House with members of the Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse to thank them for their work.
- 22 Mrs. Bruce Bedford, of Lawrenceville, N.J., called on the President at the White House. Mrs. Bedford, who was 90, had met nine Presidents during her lifetime.
- 22 Representative M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia called on the President to present 500 letters from the student body of the Hardy Road Elementary School, Vinton, Va., thanking the President for bringing the prisoners of war home.
- 22 Representative Jack Edward of Alabama called on the President at the White House to present the commemorative medal of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway dedication. The President had dedicated the waterway on May 25, 1971.
- 22 Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz met with the President at the White House to report on his discussions in Europe on international monetary problems and in the Soviet Union on trade matters.
- 26 Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, called on Mexican President Luis Echeverría Alvarez in Mexico City to extend President Nixon's best wishes and personal greetings and to discuss bilateral matters and hemispheric and world questions.

Appendix B

March

- 27 In a letter to Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, USA, Advisor to the President on Manpower Mobilization and former Director of the Selective Service System, the President expressed his profound gratitude to General Hershey for his 62 years of service to the Nation.
- 30 Mrs. Yekaterina Furtseva, Soviet Minister of Culture, called on the President at the White House.
- 30 Indian Ambassador L. K. Jha paid a farewell call on the President at the White House.
- 30 Perkins McGuire, Chairman, and Representative Chet Holifield, Vice Chairman, of the Commission on Government Procurement, met with the President at the White House to present a copy of the Commission's report.
- 30 Dr. John R. Kernodle, chairman of the board of the American Medical Association, met with the President at the White House to discuss the Administration's medical policy.
- 31 The President and Mrs. Nixon attended the wedding of Cheri Fisher and Richard Ryan in Van Nuys, Calif. Mr. Ryan was Mrs. Nixon's nephew.

April

- 6 The President attended the opening game of the California Angels 1973 baseball season at Anaheim Stadium. Former prisoner of war Maj. David Luna, USAF, threw out the first ball at the game.
- 8 Mayor Lorin Grisct and members of the city council of Santa Ana, Calif., presented a proclamation to the President honoring him as the "First Citizen of the Century."
- 9 Ambassadors Ardeshtir Zahedi of Iran, Tiamiou Adjibade of Dahomey, Marco Antonio Lopez Aguero of Costa Rica, and Simcha Dinitz of Israel presented their credentials to the President in ceremonies in the Blue Room at the White House.

April

- 11 Gregorio Lopez Bravo de Castro, Foreign Minister of Spain, met with the President at the White House.
- 11 Roger Shields, Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Defense, met with the President at the White House. Dr. Shields played a leading role in plans for the release of American prisoners of war; he was also actively engaged in efforts to account for those missing in action.
- 12 NATO Secretary General Joseph Luns met with the President at the White House.
- 12 Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr., Vice Chief of Staff of the Army, met with the President at the White House to report on his visit to Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam.
- 12 The President directed the Secretary of Labor to certify as eligible for adjustment assistance under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, workers formerly employed by the Rose-Bro Shoe Company, Inc., of Boston, Mass., and by the Tazewell, Va., plant of the General Instrument Corporation.
- 12 The President hosted a reception at the White House for Members of the House and Senate who supported him by sustaining his veto of vocational rehabilitation and water and sewer legislation.
- 13 The President met with a group of Japanese Prefectural Governors, Vice Governors, and their staff in the Rose Garden at the White House. They were in the United States as part of an exchange program with U.S. State Governors sponsored by the Department of State.
- 13 Representative John Jarman of Oklahoma and a group of business and civic leaders who were the founders of the Frontiers of Science Foundation of Oklahoma, Inc., met with the President at the White House.
- 14 The President greeted a group of visitors who were viewing the White House gardens in the first public tour of the gardens, initiated at the request of Mrs. Nixon.

Appendix B

April

- 16 Speaker of the House Carl Albert breakfasted with the President to discuss various legislative matters before the Congress.
- 16 John Norris, chairman, and Robert Hitchins, general manager, Alcoholics Anonymous, called on the President at the White House.
- 16 The President greeted Roy Hickman, president of Rotary International, in the Oval Office at the White House.
- 18 The President met with bipartisan Congressional leaders in the Roosevelt Room at the White House to discuss his request for most favored nation legislation for the Soviet Union and recent communications on the emigration of Soviet Jews.
- 18 The President met with Rainer Barzel, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of West Germany.
- 18 The President greeted Lorin J. Badskey, president of Kiwanis International, in the Oval Office at the White House.
- 19 The President met with leaders of the Jewish community to discuss recent developments with regard to the emigration of Soviet Jews.
- 20 The President met with the Cabinet at the White House.
- 25 The White House announced that at 10 a.m., Paris time, on April 27, 1973, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam Nguyen Co Thach and U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State William Sullivan would meet in Paris to prepare a review of the implementation of the Paris agreement and of appropriate measures to bring about the strict implementation of the agreement.
- 28 The President designated Mrs. Anna Chennault, of Washington, D.C., as his Special Representative to the Philippine Aviation Week celebration held at Manila and other Philippine cities from April 29 to May 5, 1973.

May

- 1 Ambassadors Joseph Ndabaniwe of Burundi and Berndt von Staden of the Federal Republic of Germany presented their credentials to the President in ceremonies in the Oval Office at the White House.
- 1 The President met at the White House with members of the Cabinet.
- 2 The President met at the White House with Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, George P. Shultz, Secretary of the Treasury; Arthur F. Burns, Chairman of the Federal Reserve; Roy L. Ash, Director of the Office of Management and Budget; Herbert Stein, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers; and John T. Dunlop, Director of the Cost of Living Council.
- 2 The Labor-Management Advisory Committee to the Cost of Living Council met with the President at the White House.
- 3 Ambassador David K. E. Bruce met with the President at the White House prior to assuming his post as Chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in Peking.
- 3 David Packard, former Deputy Secretary of Defense, met with the President at the White House.
- 3 Senator Bill Brock of Tennessee called on the President at the White House to present letters of appreciation from elementary school students from Bethel Springs, Tenn.
- 3 The President greeted William Sterrett, winner of the 1972 President's Cup Regatta. He was accompanied by Representative Thomas S. Foley of Washington.
- 3 Representative Samuel L. Devine of Ohio met with the President to present to him the Captain Eddie Rickenbacker Americanism Award.
- 3 Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona met with the President at the White House. The President asked Senator Goldwater to serve as his Personal Representative at the 1973 Paris Air Show held May 24-June 3, 1973.

Appendix B

May

- 3 Mabel Liang, 1972 National Outstanding Teenager, called on the President at the White House. She was accompanied by Representative Edward J. Derwinski of Illinois.
- 3 Senator Jesse A. Helms and a group of citizens from Greensboro, N.C., called on the President at the White House to give him a set of cufflinks to replace a set lost during his campaign visit to North Carolina on November 4, 1972.
- 3 Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr., Vice Chief of Staff of the Army, met with the President at the White House.
- 7 Former Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally met with the President at Key Biscayne, Fla.
- 8 Representative Edward P. Boland of Massachusetts and members of the Tercentenary Celebration Committee of Brookfield, Mass., called on the President at the White House.
- 8 Brazilian soccer player Edson Arantes do Nascimento (Pelé) met with the President at the White House. The President expressed his appreciation to Pelé for his contributions to better understanding between nations through sports.
- 8 Members of the Senate Commerce Committee met with the President at the White House to report on their recent visit to the Soviet Union.
- 9 George Bush, Republican National Chairman, Senator Bill Brock of Tennessee, Representative Robert H. Michel of Illinois, and David K. Wilson, chairman of the Republican National Finance Committee, met with the President at the White House and presented him with medals commemorating his foreign policy achievements.
- 10 Members of the Republican leadership of the Congress met with the President at the White House.

May

- 10 The President met at the White House with members of the Cabinet.
- 10 Representative Gene Taylor and former Representative Dewey Short of Missouri called on the President at the White House.
- 11 The White House announced that the Governments of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the United States agreed to hold discussions in order to review the implementation of the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam, and to find measures to bring about the strict implementation of that agreement. Mr. Le Duc Tho, representative of the Government of the DRVN, and Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, would meet for this purpose in Paris on May 17, 1973.
- 11 Henry A. Kissinger met with the President at the White House to report on meetings he had with leaders in the Soviet Union, beginning on May 4, and the United Kingdom, beginning May 9, to exchange views on matters of mutual interest.
- 11 Secretary of State William P. Rogers met with the President at the White House for consultation prior to the start of his 17-day visit to eight Latin American countries. Henry A. Kissinger participated in the meeting.
- 11 John C. Slemp, editor emeritus of the American Baptist magazine, of Rosemont, Pa., called on the President at the White House.
- 15 Representative Stanford E. Parris of Virginia and Robert G. Goodnough, executive director of the Manassas, Va., Centennial Commission, called on the President to present him with the first of 50 sterling silver coins struck to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Manassas, Va.

Appendix B

May

- 15 The President directed the Secretaries of Commerce and Labor to certify as eligible to apply for adjustment assistance under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 the Consolidated National Shoe Corp., of Norwood, Mass., and its workers.
- 17 Mustafizur Rahman Siddiqi, Special Emissary of the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, called on the President at the White House to present a letter to the President from the Prime Minister.
- 17 The President met at the White House with Mrs. Cleo A. Noel, Jr., and Mrs. G. Curtis Moore, the widows of the two U.S. diplomats who were slain by Arab terrorists in The Sudan on March 2, 1973.
- 17 Chester Cornett, of Harrison, Ohio, called on the President to present him with a wooden rocking chair which Mr. Cornett had made entirely by hand. He was accompanied by Representative Donald D. Clancy of Ohio.
- 17 Mayor Ralph Perk of Cleveland, Ohio, called on the President at the White House to discuss issues relating to problems of urban communities. He was accompanied by Republican National Chairman George Bush.
- 17 The White House announced that Henry A. Kissinger would meet with French President Georges Pompidou in Paris on May 18 to discuss preparations for the May 31-June 1 meetings between President Pompidou and President Nixon in Iceland.
- 18 The President met at the White House with members of the Cabinet.
- 18 Phillip V. Sanchez, United States Ambassador to Honduras, met with the President at the White House.
- 18 Dr. Edmund C. Casey, president of the National Medical Association, met with the President at the White House. Dr. Casey headed a delegation of NMA members to the People's Republic of China in late 1972.

May

- 18 The President asked Apollo 17 astronauts Capt. Eugene A. Cernan, USN, Capt. Ronald E. Evans, USN, and Dr. Harrison H. Schmitt to undertake a good will mission to Senegal, Niger, Nigeria, Cameroon, Pakistan, India, Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines, Micronesia, and Fiji. The tour, which included rest stops in the Canary Islands, Ivory Coast, and Kenya, began June 6 and ended July 1.
- 22 Republican National Chairman George H. Bush, Senators Hugh Scott and Robert P. Griffin, and Representatives Gerald R. Ford and Leslie C. Arends met with the President at the White House.
- 23 Mary T. Brooks, Director of the Mint, called on the President at the White House to present him with the first strike of a medal commemorating his second term in office.
- 23 The President received the American Legion's 1970 Robert L. Hague Merchant Marine Achievement Award.
- 23 Republican National Chairman George H. Bush and Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, former chairman, met with the President at the White House.
- 23 The President designated four persons to represent him during the inaugural ceremonies for His Excellency, Dr. Hector J. Campora as President of the Argentine Republic, May 23-27, 1973. They were: Secretary of State William P. Rogers, head of the delegation; and with the rank of Special Ambassador, Ambassador John Davis Lodge, Senator William B. Saxbe, and Representative David E. Satterfield III.
- 23 The President attended a reception for Republican leaders of the House of Representatives at Blair House.
- 24 Henry A. Kissinger met with the President at the White House to report on his meetings in Paris with North Vietnamese representative Le Duc Tho.

Appendix B

May

- 25 Lt. Col. John Dramesi, USAF, of Blackwood, N.J., called on the President at the White House to present him with an American flag which he had made while held as a prisoner of war in North Vietnam.
- 25 The President met with members of the Cabinet at the White House.
- 27 The President expressed deep sadness and sympathy on the death of Secret Service Agent J. Clifford Dietrich. Agent Dietrich drowned when the Presidential helicopter in which he and six other Secret Service agents were passengers crashed off Grand Cay Island in the Bahamas. The President ordered the Secretary of Defense to appoint an investigating board to determine the cause of the accident.
- 29 Secretary of State William P. Rogers met with the President at the White House to report on his recent trip to Latin America.
- 29 The bipartisan Congressional leadership met with the President at the White House. Discussion topics included Secretary Rogers' trip to Latin America, the President's upcoming meetings with French President Pompidou in Iceland, and other foreign policy matters.
- 29 Representatives of the Eighth Armored Division Association called on the President at the White House to present him with the Association's annual peace citation for his contributions to the cause of peace. They were accompanied by Senator Edward J. Gurney of Florida.
- 29 Robert S. Stone, newly appointed Director of the National Institutes of Health, and Charles C. Edwards, Assistant Secretary for Health in the Department of HEW, met with the President at the White House to discuss progress and expanded research efforts toward finding cures for cancer and heart disease.
- 29 The President directed the Secretary of Labor to certify as eligible to apply for adjustment assistance under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, employees of Johnson Shoes, Inc., Manchester, N.H.

May

- 29 The President greeted a delegation of 20 journalists from the People's Republic of China who were visiting the United States at the invitation of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.
- 29 The Quadriad—Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz, Director Roy L. Ash of the Office of Management and Budget, Chairman Herbert Stein of the Council of Economic Advisers, and Chairman Arthur F. Burns of the Federal Reserve Board—met with the President at the White House. Also attending the meeting were John T. Dunlop, Chairman of the Cost of Living Council; John B. Connally, Special Advisor to the President; and Kenneth R. Cole, Jr., Executive Director of the Domestic Council.
- 29 Fifteen Democratic Members of the House of Representatives met with the President at the White House to discuss global policy and national defense matters.
- 30 Huang Chen, Chief of the People's Republic of China Liaison Office in Washington, met with the President at the White House.
- 30 Mrs. Nixon and Julie Eisenhower represented the President at funeral services in Greenwich, Conn., for Secret Service Agent J. Clifford Dietrich.
- 30 The President left Washington for meetings in Iceland with French President Georges Pompidou. During the flight, he viewed damage resulting from recent volcanic eruptions in the Westmann Islands.
- 30 In Reykjavik, the President met with Icelandic President Kristján Eldjárn, Prime Minister Olafur Jóhannesson, and Minister of Foreign Affairs Einar Ágústsson at the State Council House.

June

- 1 After 2 days of discussions with President Pompidou in Reykjavik, President Nixon returned to Washington.
- 5 Herbert G. Klein, who resigned as Director of Communications for the Executive Branch, met with the President at the White House.

Appendix B

June

- 5 America's Junior Miss for 1973, Linda Rutledge, of Leavenworth, Kans., called on the President at the White House.
- 5 Robert C. Seamans, who resigned as Secretary of the Air Force, met with the President at the White House.
- 5 The Troika—Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz, Director Roy L. Ash of the Office of Management and Budget, and Chairman Herbert Stein of the Council of Economic Advisers—met with the President at the White House. Also attending the meeting were John T. Dunlop, Director of the Cost of Living Council; John B. Connally, Special Advisor to the President; and Kenneth R. Cole, Jr., Executive Director of the Domestic Council.
- 7 The President met with members of the Cabinet at the White House.
- 7 Members of the board of trustees of the Council of the Americas met with the President at the White House to discuss the evolution of U.S.-Latin American relations. The council was an association of more than 200 U.S. corporations with investments in Latin America.
- 11 The President met with George P. Shultz, Secretary of the Treasury and Chairman of the Cost of Living Council; John T. Dunlop, Director of the COLC; Herbert Stein, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers; and John B. Connally, Special Advisor to the President.
- 11 Henry A. Kissinger met with the President at the White House to report on his meetings, which resumed June 6, with North Vietnamese representative Le Duc Tho in Paris, and to discuss the upcoming visit of General Secretary Brezhnev of the Soviet Union on June 18.
- 11 Members of the Labor-Management Advisory Committee to the Cost of Living Council met with the President at the White House.

June

- 12 The Troika—Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz, Director Roy L. Ash of the Office of Management and Budget, and Chairman Herbert Stein of the Council of Economic Advisers—met with the President at the White House. Also attending the meeting were John T. Dunlop, Director of the Cost of Living Council, and John B. Connally, Special Advisor to the President.
- 14 George Putnam, nationally syndicated radio and television commentator, called on the President at the White House.
- 14 Ambassadors Yaha H. Geghman of the Yemen Arab Republic, Yadu Nath Khanal of Nepal, Triloki Nath Kaul of India, Robert Bernard Mbaya of Malawi, Faisal bin Ali al-Bu-Saiid of the Sultanate of Oman, Um Sim of the Khmer Republic, and Abdullah Salah of Jordan presented their credentials to the President in ceremonies in the Blue Room at the White House.
- 16 The President designated Claude Bekins, of Seattle, Wash., as his Personal Representative, with the rank of Ambassador, to the biennial Kinshasa International Trade Fair to be held June 23–July 8, 1973, at Kinshasa, Zaire.
- 16 The President telephoned General Secretary Brezhnev at Camp David, Md., to welcome him to the United States on behalf of the American people. The General Secretary was spending the weekend at Camp David prior to the beginning of the summit meeting with President Nixon.
- 19 President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev attended the ceremony in the Benjamin Franklin Room at the Department of State for the signing of agreements on agriculture, ocean study, transportation, and exchange and cooperation.
- 19 The President and the General Secretary and members of the two Governments met in plenary session in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

Appendix B

June

- 19 The President and the General Secretary went aboard the *Sequoia* for a cruise on the Potomac River. Following the cruise, they went to Camp David, Md.
- 21 Following 2 days of meetings at Camp David, Md., President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev helicoptered to the White House. During the flight, they viewed the Gettysburg battlefield and the Gettysburg farm of Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower in Pennsylvania.
- 21 The President and the General Secretary signed two documents in a ceremony in the East Room at the White House. They were an agreement on the peaceful uses of atomic energy and the "Basic Principles of Negotiations on the Further Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms."
- 22 Members of the bipartisan Congressional leadership met with the President at the White House to discuss the U.S.-Soviet agreement on the prevention of nuclear war.
- 22 President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev signed the agreement on the prevention of nuclear war in a ceremony in the East Room at the White House.
- 23 The President hosted a dinner at his residence in San Clemente for members of the Soviet and American delegations who were participating in the summit meeting.
- 24 In a ceremony at the President's residence in San Clemente, he and General Secretary Brezhnev signed the joint communique issued at the conclusion of their meetings. Following the ceremony, they greeted the Skylab 1 astronauts, Capt. Charles Conrad, Jr., USN, Comdr. Joseph P. Kerwin, USN, and Comdr. Paul J. Weitz, USN. The President then accompanied General Secretary Brezhnev to El Toro Marine Corps Air Station. The General Secretary departed for Camp David, Md., where he spent the night prior to leaving the United States the following day.

June

- 28 Daniel Patrick Moynihan, United States Ambassador to India and former Counsellor to the President, met with the President and Henry A. Kissinger at the Western White House.
- 30 The permanent representatives of 15 nations on the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization met with the President at the Western White House.
- 30 Members of a Congressional delegation of four Senators and four Representatives, headed by Senator Warren G. Magnuson and Representative Thomas E. Morgan, met with the President at the Western White House prior to departing for a 2-week visit to the People's Republic of China at the invitation of the Chinese People's Institute for Foreign Affairs.

July

- 1 Brig. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, Military Assistant to the President, telephoned Israeli Ambassador Yitzhak Rabin to express the President's condolences following the slaying of Col. Yosef Alon, Deputy Military Attaché of the Israeli Embassy.
- 2 The President participated in the swearing-in ceremony at the Western White House for James R. Schlesinger as Secretary of Defense.
- 5 Lt. Comdr. T. Stephen Todd, newly appointed Naval Aide to the President, met with the President at the Western White House.
- 5 Gov. Daniel J. Evans of Washington, chairman of the National Governors Conference, met with the President at the Western White House to discuss Federal-State relations.
- 6 Huang Chen, Chief of the Liaison Office of the People's Republic of China, met with the President at the Western White House.
- 6 Dr. Michael DeBakey, heart surgeon from Houston, Tex., met with the President at the Western White House to report on his recent visit to the Soviet Union.

Appendix B

July

- 6 The President announced the designation of Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary of the Interior, and Stanley S. Scott, Special Assistant to the President, as his representatives to the official celebration of the independence of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas on July 10.
- 10 Robert F. Froehlke, who resigned as Secretary of the Army, met with the President at the White House.
- 10 The Farm Family of the Year, Mr. and Mrs. Verl M. Buxton and their three children, of Cache County, Utah, called on the President at the White House.
- 10 A group of the President's economic advisers met with him in the Cabinet Room at the White House to review the current economic situation and to discuss the consultations which have been going on preceding Phase IV.
- 11 The President met at the White House with members of the Cabinet to discuss the state of the economy.
- 11 On behalf of the United States Capitol Historical Society, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Representative Gerald R. Ford, and Arthur B. Hanson called on the President at the White House to present him with medallion number 1776 commemorating the laying of the cornerstone of the U.S. Capitol Building in 1793. Senator Humphrey was vice president of the Society, Representative Ford was a member of the honorary board of trustees, and Mr. Hanson was a member of the active board of trustees.
- 11 The President hosted an informal reception at the White House for a group of 10 Republican Senators who had supported him in the past.
- 12 The President talked by telephone with Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr., chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities.

July

- 12 Walter Scheel, Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, met with the President at the White House.
- 17 Vice President Spiro T. Agnew met with the President at the Bethesda Naval Hospital, Md., to discuss the economy.
- 17 Senators Mike Mansfield and Hugh Scott called on the President at the Bethesda Naval Hospital, Md.
- 18 At the President's request, the Vice President presided at a Cabinet meeting at the White House to discuss the economy.
- 20 The President held a senior staff meeting at the White House.
- 23 The Council of Economic Advisers met with the President at the White House.
- 23 Senators Edward W. Brooke, John O. Pastore, and Claiborne Pell and Representative Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., met with the President at the White House to discuss the closing of certain military bases in New England.
- 24 The President participated in a promotion ceremony at the White House for Dr. William M. Lukash, Assistant Physician to the President, who was promoted to the rank of rear admiral in the U.S. Navy.
- 26 The President met with the Cabinet at the White House to discuss legislative issues.
- 26 Russell E. Train, who was nominated for the position of Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, met with the President.
- 26 Ambassadors Takeshi Yasukawa of Japan and Vincent Mavoungou of Gabon presented their credentials to the President in ceremonies in the Oval Office at the White House.
- 26 The President hosted a reception in the Blue Room at the White House for members of the House Republican Policy Committee.

Appendix B

July

- 30 Edward Gough Whitlam, Prime Minister of Australia, met with the President at the White House.
- 30 The President presented the Distinguished Service Medal to Gen. John D. Ryan, Air Force Chief of Staff, in a ceremony in the Oval Office at the White House. General Ryan was retiring July 31 after 35 years of service.
- 30 Myles J. Ambrose, who resigned as Special Assistant Attorney General, Office for Drug Abuse Law Enforcement, met with the President at the White House.
- 30 Ambassador Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa, dean of the diplomatic corps, met with the President at the White House on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of his service as Nicaraguan Ambassador to the United States.
- 30 The President met at the White House with Robert E. Bauman, of Easton, Md., Republican candidate for the Congressional seat from Maryland's First District.
- 30 The President met at the White House with Senator Ted Stevens, Representative Donald E. Young, and a delegation of Alaska citizens to discuss Alaska pipeline legislation. The delegation included former Governor Keith Miller, State House Speaker Thomas Fink, State Senate President Terry Miller, State Senate Majority Leader Clifford Groh, and State Representative Selyn Carroll.
- 31 Mr. and Mrs. George C. Lang met with the President at the White House. Mr. Lang had received the Medal of Honor from the President in an East Room ceremony on March 2, 1971. They were accompanied by Secretary of Labor Peter J. Brennan.

August

- 1 Jack Miller, former Senator from Iowa, met with the President at the White House. Mr. Miller was nominated to be an Associate Judge of the United States Court of Customs and Patent Appeals.

August

- 2 Albert Bernard Bongo, President of the Gabonese Republic, met with President Nixon at the White House.
- 2 Jessica Solomon, age 9, of Harrisburg, Pa., called on the President at the White House. The President met Miss Solomon during his September 1972 inspection of the disaster area in Pennsylvania following Tropical Storm Agnes. She was accompanied by Pennsylvania Representatives George A. Goodling and Herman T. Schneebeli.
- 2 James B. Cardwell, nominated to be Commissioner of Social Security, met with the President at the White House.
- 6 In a ceremony in the Oval Office, the President signed into law the Crime Control Act of 1973 (H.R. 8152 approved August 6, 1973, as Public Law 93-83, 87 Stat. 197).
- 6 The President met at the White House with Chester Robert Lane who was designated as Executive Secretary of the Federal Property Council.
- 6 The President met at the White House with Brig. Gen. Richard L. Lawson, USAF, who was assigned as Military Assistant to the President.
- 6 The President greeted White House interns who were meeting with Counsellor to the President Anne Armstrong in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. The President thanked them for their work at the White House during the summer.
- 7 The President directed the Secretary of Labor to certify as eligible for adjustment assistance under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 former employees of the Buffalo, N.Y., plant of General Electric Co.
- 7 The President met with Vice President Spiro T. Agnew in the President's office in the Old Executive Office Building.

Appendix B

August

- 13 The President announced the designation of a delegation to represent him at inaugural ceremonies for Alfredo Stroessner as President of Paraguay in Asuncion from August 13 to 16. The members of the delegation, all with the rank of Special Ambassador, were: Senator J. Bennett Johnston, Jr., head of the delegation, and Ambassador George W. Landau, Personal Representatives of the President; and Benjamin Fernandez, Representative of the President.
- 14 The President announced the designation of John A. McKesson III, U.S. Ambassador to the Gabonese Republic, as his Personal Representative with the rank of Special Ambassador, to attend ceremonies marking Gabonese National Day in Libreville on August 17.
- 17 Benno C. Schmidt, Ray D. Owen, and Dr. R. Lee Clark of the President's Cancer Panel, HEW Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, and Dr. Frank J. Rauscher, Director of the National Cancer Institute, met with the President at the White House to discuss a report on the National Cancer program.
- 21 The President expressed sadness following the death of Gordon Jeffery, foreign editor of the London Daily Mirror, who died as the result of an accident while in California with the White House press corps. The President and Mrs. Nixon sent their condolences to Mr. Jeffery's family.
- 27 The President talked by telephone with former Counsellor to the President Robert H. Finch.
- 29 The White House announced that on August 28, following an earthquake in Mexico, the President had sent a personal message to President Luis Echeverría Alvarez extending deepest sympathy to the President and the people of Mexico.

September

- 1 The President met at the White House with Vice President Spiro T. Agnew.

September

- 6 The President greeted Robert E. Bauman, newly elected Representative from Maryland's First District. Representative Bauman was accompanied by his wife and four children.
- 6 Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz met with the President at the White House for consultation prior to the Secretary's departure for trade negotiations in Tokyo.
- 7 Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield breakfasted with the President at the White House and discussed the current legislative session.
- 7 The President met with the Cabinet at the White House to discuss domestic priorities and goals.
- 7 Ray R. Soden, commander-in-chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, called on the President at the White House to present him with a bound copy of the resolutions passed at the VFW's 1973 convention in New Orleans.
- 7 The President directed the Secretary of Labor to certify as eligible to apply for adjustment assistance, under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, former employees of the BGS Shoe Corp., Manchester, N.H.
- 10 Senator and Mrs. Strom Thurmond and their two children called on the President at the White House.
- 10 The President and Mrs. Nixon hosted a reception in the East Room at the White House for Republican National Committee members and State chairmen who were in Washington for a semiannual meeting of the committee.
- 11 Former Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally met with the President at the White House for a discussion of the economy and foreign policy matters.

Appendix B

September

- 11 The President met with Representative Trent Lott of Mississippi, who presented the President with a stained-glass medallion. The medallion was made from fragments of glass collected by Mrs. Everett Pease from the Church of the Redeemer in Ocean Springs, Miss., which was hit by Hurricane Camille in 1969.
- 11 Arthur F. Burns, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, met with the President at the White House to discuss monetary and fiscal policy matters.
- 11 A bipartisan group of 95 Members of Congress, headed by Representatives Ben B. Blackburn and Dan H. Kuykendall, called on the President at the White House to express their support for him.
- 12 Secretary of Housing and Urban Development James T. Lynn met with the President at the White House to discuss the Administration's forthcoming housing policy proposals.
- 12 The President transmitted to the Senate for advice and consent to ratification the United States-Paraguay extradition treaty and the protocol relating to an amendment to Article 56 of the Convention on International Civil Aviation.
- 13 Representatives Al Ullman and Herman T. Schneebeli of the House Ways and Means Committee met with the President at the White House to discuss trade matters. Ambassador William R. Pearce, Deputy Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, also participated in the meeting.
- 14 The President met with Secretary of Housing and Urban Development James T. Lynn and a group of HUD assistant secretaries to thank them for their efforts in preparing a housing study.

September

- 17 Senators John C. Stennis, Strom Thurmond, John G. Tower, and Henry M. Jackson, and Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger met with the President at the White House to discuss the military procurement authorization bill and other defense matters.
- 17 Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz met with the President at the White House to report on his recent trip to Tokyo where he attended the first round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade negotiations. They also discussed the Secretary's forthcoming trip to Nairobi to attend the International Monetary Fund meetings.
- 19 The President opened a meeting on energy and the environment being conducted by John A. Love, Director of the Energy Policy Office. The meeting, held in the Cabinet Room at the White House, was attended by the Governors of Florida, Kentucky, Virginia, Maryland, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, and representatives of the Governors of California, New Jersey, and New York. Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton and Environmental Protection Administrator Russell E. Train also participated in the meeting.
- 19 Walter H. Annenberg, United States Ambassador to the United Kingdom, met with the President at the White House.
- 20 The President presented the Harmon International Aviation Trophies to Geraldine Cobb of Oklahoma; Lt. Col. Thomas B. Est, USAF, of Kentucky; Lt. Col. Dewain C. Vick, USAF, of Ohio; Andre Turcat of France; and Brian Trubshaw of Great Britain. The award winners were accompanied by Senator Barry Goldwater.
- 20 Richard Clayton, Jr., president of the United States Jaycees, called on the President at the White House.

Appendix B

September

- 20 The President met with Vice President Spiro T. Agnew in the President's office in the Old Executive Office Building.
- 21 The President announced the members of the delegation which would represent him at the funeral of King Gustav of Sweden on September 25. They were: Adm. Arleigh A. Burke (USN, ret.), Representative of the President and head of the delegation; Representative Albert W. Johnson of Pennsylvania; Jerome Holland, former United States Ambassador to Sweden; Franklin S. Forsberg; and Arthur Olson, Chargé d'Affairs, United States Embassy, Stockholm.
- 21 Sunthorn Hongladarom, Secretary General of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, met with the President at the White House.
- 21 Marshall T. Mays, President of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, met with the President at the White House.
- 24 Senator Wallace F. Bennett of Utah met with the President at the White House to report on his trip to Vienna where he attended the International Atomic Energy Conference meetings which began September 18.
- 25 Representative Dick Shoup of Montana called on the President at the White House to present a plaque from the Montana Outfitters and Dude Ranch Association expressing the Association's deep concern for the Nation's efforts in environment and conservation.
- 25 Representative Gerald R. Ford, House minority leader, met with the President at the White House.
- 26 Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Casper W. Weinberger, met with the President at the White House to discuss the progress in securing enactment of the President's education initiatives.
- 27 The Republican leadership of the Congress met with the President at the White House.

September

- 28 Soviet Foreign Minister A. A. Gromyko met with the President at the White House.
- 28 Daniel P. Moynihan, United States Ambassador to India, met with the President at the White House.
- 29 Chancellor Willy Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany met with the President at the White House.
- 29 Senator Charles H. Percy of Illinois met with the President at the White House.

October

- 1 The President participated in a promotion ceremony at the White House for Brig. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. General Scowcroft was promoted to the rank of major general in the U.S. Air Force.
- 1 Representative Del Clawson of California called on the President at the White House to present a centennial plate from the city of Downey, Calif., which was celebrating its 100th anniversary.
- 4 The President met with the Cabinet at the White House.
- 4 Members of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board met with the President in the Cabinet Room at the White House.
- 9 The President announced the designation of a delegation to represent him at inaugural ceremonies for Juan Domingo Perón as President of the Argentine Republic in Buenos Aires from October 10 to 14. The members of the delegation, all with the rank of Special Ambassador, were: Robert H. Finch, Personal Representative of the President and head of the delegation; and Ambassador John Davis Lodge and Senator Carl T. Curtis, Representatives of the President.
- 10 Members of the bipartisan Congressional leadership met with the President at the White House to discuss the military situation in the Middle East and U.S. diplomatic activities concerning the situation.

Appendix B

October

- 10 President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire met with the President at the White House.
- 11 The President announced that Herbert Brownell would replace Robert H. Finch as the President's Personal Representative and head of the delegation to the inauguration of President Perón of Argentina.
- 15 Senator Robert P. Griffin and Representative Leslie C. Arends met with the President at the White House to discuss the Middle East situation.
- 15 President Sangoule Lamizana of Upper Volta met with President Nixon at the White House to discuss the drought in West Africa and the region's recovery needs.
- 15 Senator Hugh Scott met with the President at the White House to discuss the Middle East situation.
- 15 The President met at the White House with Henry Kearns, who was resigning as President and Chairman of the Export-Import Bank of the United States, to express personally his gratitude for Mr. Kearns' service. During their meeting, Mr. Kearns presented the Export-Import Bank's annual report for 1973 entitled "Eximbank and the World of Exports" (Government Printing Office, 56 pp.).
- 16 Representative Robert M. Michel of Illinois and Erwin E. Towne, of Pekin, Ill., met with the President at the White House. Mr. Towne presented the President with a wood-carved reproduction of the painting, "The Spirit of '76."
- 16 Veterans Administrator Donald E. Johnson and Alden Thomas Hood, of West Columbia, S.C., called on the President at the White House. Mr. Hood, a Vietnam veteran, had received a VA home loan which brought the total dollar volume of home loans guaranteed by the Veterans Administration to more than \$100 billion.

October

- 17 The President joined the Washington Special Actions Group meeting in the Cabinet Room for a discussion of the Middle East situation.
- 18 Senator Pete V. Domenici and Representatives Manuel Lujan, Jr., and Harold L. Runnels of New Mexico called on the President at the White House to present a wood carving from the New Mexico American Revolution Bicentennial Commission.
- 18 Representative Paul Findley and Christy Carter, of Eldred, Ill., called on the President at the White House. Miss Carter was named American Princess Soya by the American Soybean Association in August 1973.
- 18 The President met with the Cabinet at the White House. During the meeting, Secretary of the Treasury Shultz discussed the International Monetary Fund meetings in Nairobi and his trip to the Soviet Union; Secretary of Labor Brennan discussed programs of the Labor Department; and Secretary of State Kissinger reported on the current situation in the Middle East.
- 22 Former Attorney General Elliot L. Richardson met with the President at the White House.
- 24 On behalf of the President, Counsellor Anne Armstrong accepted a set of 13 stamps presented by Nicaraguan Ambassador Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa at a special ceremony in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. The stamps were issued by Nicaragua to commemorate the American Revolution Bicentennial.
- 25 Members of the bipartisan Congressional leadership met with the President at the White House. During the meeting, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger briefed the leaders on the situation in the Middle East.

Appendix B

October

- 26 The President announced the designation of the delegation which represented him at ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Turkey, held at Ankara on October 29 and at Istanbul on October 30 and 31. The members of the delegation, with the rank of Special Ambassador, were: Secretary of Transportation Claude S. Brinegar, Personal Representative of the President, and Ambassador William B. Macomber, Jr., Representative of the President.
- 30 The President met at Camp David with Soviet Ambassador A. F. Dobrynin and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.
- 31 Ismail Fahmy, Acting Foreign Minister of Egypt, met with the President at the White House.

November

- 1 Members of the Republican Congressional leadership met with the President at the White House.
- 1 Prime Minister Golda Meir of Israel met with the President at the White House.
- 6 The President met with the Cabinet at the White House to discuss the fuel and energy problems facing the Nation.
- 7 The White House announced that the Governments of the United States and of Egypt agreed in principle to resume diplomatic relations at an early date. The two Governments also agreed that in the meantime, the respective interests sections of the two countries would be raised immediately to the ambassadorial level. The Government of Egypt named Ambassador Ashraf Ghorbal. The United States designated Ambassador Hermann Eilts.
- 8 Senator Marlow W. Cook met with the President at the White House.
- 9 Republican National Chairman George H. Bush met with the President at the White House.

November

- 9 New members of the Council of Economic Advisers, William J. Fellner and Gary L. Seevers, and their families met with the President at the White House. Council Chairman Herbert Stein was also present at the meeting.
- 9 The President met at the White House with a group of Republican Congressional leaders for a discussion of the Watergate issue.
- 9 Ambassadors Victor C. McIntyre of Trinidad and Tobago, Ephraim Tsepa Manare of the Kingdom of Lesotho, John Gerald Molloy of Ireland, Gaston Banda-Bafiot of the Central African Republic, Livingston Basil Johnson of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, James Lawrence Funwayo Sime-lane of the Kingdom of Swaziland, Søren Christian Sommerfelt of the Kingdom of Norway, and Walter Heitmann of the Republic of Chile presented their credentials to the President in ceremonies in the Blue Room at the White House.
- 12 In the first of a series of meetings held throughout the week of November 12-16 with various Members of Congress and other political leaders for discussions of the Watergate issue, the President met separately with:
 - 21 members of the Republican Coordinating Committee at a breakfast meeting, and
 - six Senate Democrats and one Independent.
- 12 Actor Chuck Connors called on the President at the White House prior to departing for a visit to the Soviet Union.
- 12 Senator Jacob K. Javits met with the President at the White House to report on the recent meeting of the North Atlantic Assembly held in Ankara, Turkey, October 21-27.
- 13 The President held a meeting with 15 Senate Republicans at the White House to discuss the Watergate issue.

Appendix B

November

- 13 The President and Mrs. Nixon attended a party at the Congressional Club for Senator Wallace F. Bennett who was celebrating his 75th birthday.
- 14 For further discussions of the Watergate issue, the President met separately with:
 - 75 House Republicans at a breakfast meeting, and
 - 13 Senate Republicans.
- 14 The President met at the White House with Dr. E. K. Fedorov, co-chairman of the Soviet delegation to the United States for the second annual meeting of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Committee on Cooperation in the Field of Environmental Protection. Also participating in the meeting were EPA Administrator Russell E. Train and Soviet Ambassador A. F. Dobrynin.
- 14 P. D. (Bud) Hermann, newly elected president of the American Society of Association Executives, called on the President at the White House.
- 15 For further discussions of the Watergate issue, the President met separately with:
 - 79 House Republicans at a breakfast meeting,
 - 10 Senate Republicans, and
 - 39 House Democrats at a dinner meeting.
- 15 Robert E. L. Eaton, newly elected national commander of the American Legion, called on the President at the White House.
- 15 Cambodian Foreign Minister Long Boret met with the President at the White House.
- 16 The President held a breakfast meeting with 28 House Republicans at the White House to discuss the Watergate issue.
- 16 Representatives of Concerned Americans for the President, from Jacksonville, Fla., called on the President at the White House to express their support for him.

November

- 23 The President designated Gov. Ronald Reagan of California as his Special Representative for the promotion of U.S. trade during a visit to East Asia. Between November 26 and December 5, Governor Reagan visited Australia, Indonesia, and Singapore and met with senior officials of the host governments, American officials, and local and American businessmen.
- 23 The President approved a time extension for the report of the Emergency Board created on November 1, 1973, by Executive Order 11745, to investigate a labor dispute involving the Long Island Rail Road. The extension permitted the Board to file its findings and recommendations by January 4, 1974, instead of December 1, 1973.
- 26 A bipartisan group of six Senators met with the President at the White House.
- 27 Members of the bipartisan Congressional leadership met with the President at the White House. During the meeting, Secretary of State Kissinger reported on his recent trip to the Middle East, the People's Republic of China, Japan, and the Republic of Korea.
- 27 The President held a dinner meeting with 35 House Democrats to discuss Watergate and related matters. The discussion also included foreign policy and the energy situation.
- 28 The President met at the White House with Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary of the Interior; Ronald H. Walker, Director of the National Park Service; and Lynn A. Greenwalt, Director of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife. They discussed the wilderness proposals being transmitted to the Congress.
- 29 Representatives Louis Frey, Jr., of Florida and Robert H. Steele of Connecticut met with the President at the White House to report on their recent trip to Israel.

Appendix B

November

- 30 Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz met with the President at the White House to discuss national and international economic issues, including the energy crisis.
- 30 The Energy Emergency Action Group met with the President at the White House.
- 30 Vice President-designate Gerald R. Ford met with the President in the Old Executive Office Building to discuss the progress of Mr. Ford's confirmation by the Senate and House of Representatives.

December

- 3 Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz met with the President at the White House to discuss a wide range of international matters including the interplay of international economics on other foreign policy matters.
- 3 Former Senator John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky met with the President at the White House to discuss his upcoming trip to the Far East.
- 3 Carl E. Friend, of Memphis, Tenn., called on the President at the White House. Mr. Friend composed a work of music entitled, "The History of the States," which was accepted by the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission for use in the Nation's 200th anniversary celebration. Mr. Friend was accompanied by Representative Dan H. Kuykendall.
- 3 Atomic Energy Commission Chairman Dixy Lee Ray met with the President at the White House to present recommendations for an integrated energy research and development program.
- 3 Republican Congressional leaders met with the President at the White House to discuss the information on the President's personal finances which was made available later in the week.
- 3 The President attended a dinner for Cabinet members at a private club in Washington hosted by Republican National Chairman George H. Bush.

December

- 5 The President met with the Cabinet at the White House. During the meeting, William E. Simon, Administrator of the Federal Energy Office, outlined the organization of the new Federal Energy Administration, and Director Roy L. Ash and Deputy Director Frederic V. Malek, of the Office of Management and Budget, discussed the current state of the budget.
- 5 The President greeted Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Nail, of Clearwater, Fla., at the White House. The President expressed his appreciation to Mr. Nail for newspaper advertisements he had placed in support of the President. Mr. and Mrs. Nail were accompanied by Representative C. W. (Bill) Young.
- 5 The President and Mrs. Nixon went to a dinner at the Washington Hilton Hotel attended by 350 Presidential appointees. The President spoke briefly, expressing his appreciation for their work in the Federal departments and agencies.
- 6 The President accompanied Gerald R. Ford to the House Chamber at the Capitol where Mr. Ford took the oath of office as the 40th Vice President of the United States.
- 6 The President sent a telegram to Joseph B. Danzansky, of Washington, D.C., expressing congratulations to him and his associates following the National League vote approving transfer of the San Diego Padres baseball franchise to Washington.
- 7 The President announced the delegation which represented him at ceremonies commemorating the 10th anniversary of the independence of Kenya, within the British Commonwealth, held at Nairobi from December 10 through 12. The members of the delegation, with the rank of Special Ambassador, were: Michael P. Balzano, Jr., Personal Representative of the President, and William O. Walker, Representative of the President.

Appendix B

December

- 7 Vice President Gerald R. Ford met with the President in the Oval Office at the White House.
- 7 The President met with the Quadriad—Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz, Director Roy L. Ash of the Office of Management and Budget, Chairman Herbert Stein of the Council of Economic Advisers, and Chairman Arthur F. Burns of the Federal Reserve Board—at the White House.
- 10 Berge Avadanian, national commander of AMVETS, called on the President at the White House.
- 11 Othal Brand and James Griffin, of McAllen, Tex., organizers of a Committee To Support the President, called on the President at the White House. They were accompanied by Senator John G. Tower.
- 11 Officers of the American Hospital Association met with the President at the White House to discuss better health care and the national health insurance program.
- 12 M. Harvey Taylor, of Harrisburg, Pa., called on the President at the White House. Mr. Taylor, 97, was a former Pennsylvania State senator. He was accompanied by John Fine, former Governor of Pennsylvania.
- 12 J. Craig Smith, of Birmingham, Ala., president of the Alabama State Chamber of Commerce, called on the President at the White House. Mr. Smith, who had placed advertisements in support of the President in Birmingham newspapers, was accompanied by Commerce Secretary Frederick B. Dent.
- 13 The White House announced that a meeting would be held in Paris on December 20, 1973, between United States Secretary of State and Assistant to the President Henry A. Kissinger and Special Adviser Le Duc Tho, Representative of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, to discuss matters of mutual interest.

December

- 13 The President met at the White House with the Domestic Council Committee on Health to review recommendations of HEW Secretary Weinberger on national health insurance. Vice President Gerald R. Ford also attended the meeting.
- 13 Betty Nightingale, of Fort Fairfield, Maine, Miss National Teen-Ager, called on the President at the White House. She was accompanied by Representative William S. Cohen.
- 13 Soviet Ambassador to the United States A. F. Dobrynin met with the President at the White House for a general review of foreign policy matters and for a review of the overall relationships between the United States and the U.S.S.R.
- 14 The President met with the Quadriad—Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz, Director Roy L. Ash of the Office of Management and Budget, Chairman Herbert Stein of the Council of Economic Advisers, and Chairman Arthur F. Burns of the Federal Reserve Board—at the White House to review current economic conditions and the energy situation. Also participating in the meeting were Vice President Gerald R. Ford and Cost of Living Council Director John T. Dunlop.
- 14 The President met at the White House with national and State leaders of the Jaycees. Attending the meeting were Rick Clayton, president, Ray Roper, executive vice president, and the 17-member executive committee, United States Jaycees, as well as the heads of State Jaycee organizations from the 50 States and the District of Columbia.
- 14 The President announced the appointment of Ambassador at Large Ellsworth Bunker as his Personal Representative and Chief of the U.S. delegation to the Geneva negotiations on the Middle East, beginning December 18.

Appendix B

December

- 14 Country and western entertainer Tex Ritter called on the President at the White House to present a recording entitled "Thank You, Mr. President." Also attending the meeting was Wesley Rose, president of the Country Music Hall of Fame in Nashville.
- 14 Officials of the American Nursing Home Association met with the President at the White House to discuss health care and health insurance programs. The President expressed his appreciation for their implementation of the eight-point program to improve nursing home care which was announced during his visit to the Greenbriar Nursing Home at Nashua, N.H., on August 6, 1971.
- 14 Archbishop Jean Jadot, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, met with the President at the White House.
- 15 William E. Simon, Deputy Secretary of the Treasury and Administrator of the Federal Energy Office, and John C. Sawhill, Deputy Administrator of the Federal Energy Office, met with the President at the White House to discuss Administration efforts to conserve energy.
- 17 Secretary of Labor Peter J. Brennan met with the President at the White House to discuss the manpower legislation currently in conference between the House of Representatives and the Senate. Following that meeting, the President greeted senior officials of the Department of Labor.
- 17 The President participated in a promotion ceremony at the White House for Col. Lawrence Adams, Commanding Officer, White House Communications Agency. Colonel Adams was promoted to the rank of brigadier general in the U.S. Army.
- 18 Attorney General-designate William B. Saxbe met with the President at the White House.
- 18 Senator James A. McClure of Idaho met with the President at the White House to report on his recent trip to the Middle East.

December

- 18 Representatives of the National Parks Centennial Commission called on the President at the White House to present the Commission's final report.
- 18 Ambassador O. Rudolph Aggrey met with the President at the White House prior to assuming his post as United States Ambassador to Senegal and The Gambia.
- 19 The President greeted Rabbi Baruch Korff, of Providence, R.I., president of the National Citizens Committee for Fairness to the President, and members of the committee's executive board. The committee had sponsored newspaper advertisements in support of the President. The President thanked them for their support and encouragement.
- 19 After meeting in the Oval Office with William E. Simon, Administrator of the Federal Energy Office and Deputy Secretary of the Treasury, the President opened a meeting of the Energy Emergency Action Group in the Cabinet Room.
- 19 James R. Schlesinger, Secretary of Defense, and Roy L. Ash, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, met with the President at the White House to discuss Defense budget matters.
- 19 The President and Mrs. Nixon greeted members of the White House Staff at a Christmas reception at the White House.
- 20 The President greeted Anna Clinkscales, who organized a door-to-door campaign in Baltimore, Md., to demonstrate support for the President.
- 20 The White House announced that Vice President Gerald R. Ford would be the Personal Representative of the President at the funeral of Spanish Prime Minister Luis Carrero Blanco in Madrid on December 21. The U.S. delegation also included William J. Porter, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, and Adm. Horacio Rivero, United States Ambassador to Spain.

Appendix B

December

- 21 The President and Mrs. Nixon greeted Members of Congress and their families attending a Christmas reception at the White House.
- 22 The President held a breakfast meeting at the White House with Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

December

- 26 Following his meeting at the White House with Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, Soviet Ambassador A. F. Dobrynin joined with Secretary Kissinger in a meeting with the President in the Oval Office.
- 28 The President and Mrs. Nixon attended the wedding of Maj. Gen. Walter R. Tkach, USAF, Physician to the President, and Cheryle Ann Gaillard in La Jolla, Calif.

Appendix C—Presidential Documents Published in the Federal Register

NOTE: The texts of these documents are also printed in title 3A of the Code of Federal Regulations. Texts of the proclamations and Executive orders are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents for the period covered by this volume.

PROCLAMATIONS

<i>Proc. No.</i>	<i>Date 1973</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>38 F.R. page</i>
4178	Jan. 17	Modifying Proclamation No. 3279, relating to imports of petroleum and petroleum products	1719
4179	Jan. 21	National Jaycee Week, 1973	2319
4180	Jan. 23	Announcing the death of Lyndon Baines Johnson ¹	2321
4181	Jan. 26	National Moment of Prayer and Thanksgiving ²	2737
4182	Jan. 27	International Clergy Week in the United States	2739
4183	Jan. 29	Providing for the quantitative limitation on the importation of certain meats into the United States	2951
4184	Jan. 29	Save Your Vision Week, 1973	2953
4185	Jan. 29	National Safe Boating Week, 1973	2955
4186	Feb. 5	American Heart Month, 1973	3503
4187	Feb. 6	National Inventors' Day	3577
4188	Feb. 13	Providing for the display of the flag in honor of Vietnam prisoners of war	4497
4189	Feb. 20	Providing for the modification of trade agreement concession and extension of increased rate of duty on imports of certain pianos	4935
4190	Feb. 28	National Poison Prevention Week, 1973	5617
4191	Mar. 3	Red Cross Month, 1973	5993
4192	Mar. 5	National Beta Club Week	6133
4193	Mar. 8	Law Day, U.S.A., 1973	6661
4194	Mar. 12	Earth Week, 1973	6873
4195	Mar. 12	Small Business Week, 1973	6875

¹ Proclamation 4180 is printed in full on p. 17 of this volume.

² Proclamation 4181 is printed in full on p. 28 of this volume.

Appendix C

<i>Proc. No.</i>	<i>Date 1973</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>38 F.R. page</i>
4196	Mar. 13	National Defense Transportation Day and National Transportation Week, 1973	6983
4197	Mar. 13	National Farm Safety Week	6985
4198	Mar. 14	National Action for Foster Children Week, 1973	7109
4199	Mar. 15	National Employ the Older Worker Week	7111
4200	Mar. 16	National Wildlife Week	7315
4201	Mar. 23	Loyalty Day, 1973	7975
4202	Mar. 23	Modifying Proclamation No. 3279, as amended, relating to imports of petroleum and petroleum products	7977
4203	Mar. 26	Senior Citizens Month, 1973	8047
4204	Mar. 28	Cancer Control Month, 1973	8231
4205	Apr. 7	Pan American Day and Pan American Week	9151
4206	Apr. 10	Nicolaus Copernicus Week	9215
4207	Apr. 11	National Maritime Day, 1973	9217
4208	Apr. 14	National Clean Water Week	9575
4209	Apr. 16	Jim Thorpe Day	9577
4210	Apr. 18	Modifying Proclamation No. 3279, as amended, relating to imports of petroleum and petroleum products	9645
4211	Apr. 21	Thirtieth Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising	10065
4212	Apr. 21	National Arthritis Month, 1973	10067
4213	Apr. 25	Amending part 3 of the Appendix to the Tariff Schedules of the United States with respect to the importation of agricultural commodities	10241
4214	May 4	World Trade Week, 1973	11433
4215	May 5	National Historic Preservation Week	11435
4216	May 10	Amending part 3 of the Appendix to the Tariff Schedules of the United States with respect to the importation of agricultural commodities	12313
4217	May 11	Mother's Day, 1973	12601
4218	May 25	Prayer for Peace, Memorial Day, May 28, 1973	14151
4219	June 4	World Environment Day	14739
4220	June 8	Flag Day and National Flag Week, 1973	15435
4221	June 11	American Education Week, 1973	15497
4222	June 14	Honor America, 1973	15815
4223	June 14	Commemorating the opening of the Upper Mississippi River	15817
4224	June 15	Father's Day, 1973	15819

Appendix C

<i>Proc. No.</i>	<i>Date 1973</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>38 F.R. page</i>
4225	June 15	National Autistic Children's Week, 1973	15929
4226	June 16	White Cane Safety Day, 1973	15931
4227	June 19	Modifying Proclamation No. 3279, as amended, relating to imports of petroleum and petroleum products	16195
4228	July 2	National Student Government Day	17825
4229	July 13	Captive Nations Week, 1973	19007
4230	July 18	Amending part 3 of the Appendix to the Tariff Schedules of the United States with respect to the importation of agricultural commodities .	19343
4231	Aug. 14	Columbus Day, 1973	22115
4232	Aug. 14	General Pulaski's Memorial Day	22117
4233	Aug. 15	Leif Erikson Day, 1973	22213
4234	Aug. 16	National Legal Secretaries' Court Observance Week	22365
4235	Aug. 16	National Next Door Neighbor Day, 1973	22367
4236	Aug. 16	Women's Equality Day	22369
4237	Aug. 23	Citizenship Day and Constitution Week	22883
4238	Aug. 28	Amending part 3 of the Appendix to the Tariff Schedules of the United States with respect to the importation of agricultural commodities .	23309
4239	Sept. 4	National Highway Week, 1973	24191
4240	Sept. 4	United Nations Day, 1973	24193
4241	Sept. 7	National Hispanic Heritage Week, 1973	24881
4242	Sept. 14	National Hunting and Fishing Day	26099
4243	Sept. 14	Fire Prevention Week, 1973.	26101
4244	Sept. 17	Child Health Day, 1973	26179
4245	Sept. 18	National Employ the Handicapped Week, 1973	26351
4246	Sept. 19	Johnny Horizon '76 Clean Up America Month	26441
4247	Sept. 29	Country Music Month, October 1973	27279
4248	Oct. 5	National Day of Prayer, 1973	27917
4249	Oct. 5	Veterans Day, 1973	27919
4250	Oct. 12	National School Lunch Week, 1973	28551
4251	Oct. 17	Drug Abuse Prevention Week, 1973	28925
4252	Oct. 18	National Forest Products Week, 1973	29069
4253	Oct. 31	Amending part 3 of the Appendix to the Tariff Schedules of the United States with respect to the importation of agricultural commodities .	30427

Appendix C

<i>Proc. No.</i>	<i>Date 1973</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>38 F.R. page</i>
4254	Nov. 12	National Farm-City Week, 1973	31407
4255	Nov. 16	Thanksgiving Day, 1973, and a day of prayer for the memory of John F. Kennedy	31809
4256	Dec. 7	Bill of Rights Day and Human Rights Day and Week	34101
4257	Dec. 15	Wright Brothers Day, 1973	34723

EXECUTIVE ORDERS

<i>E.O. No.</i>	<i>Date 1973</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>38 F.R. page</i>
11694	Jan. 2	Creating an emergency board to investigate a dispute between the Port Authority Trans-Hudson Corporation and certain of its employees	729
11695	Jan. 11	Further providing for the stabilization of the economy	1473
11696	Jan. 17	Excusing Federal employees in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area from duty for one-half day on Friday, January 19, 1973, the day preceding Presidential Inauguration Day	1722
11697	Jan. 17	Providing for inspection by Department of Agriculture of income tax returns made under the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 of persons having farm operations	1723
11698	Jan. 19	Relating to the implementation of the Convention on the Taking of Evidence Abroad in Civil or Commercial Matters	2207
11699	Jan. 22	Amending Executive Order No. 11248, placing certain positions in levels IV and V of the Federal Executive Salary Schedule	2323
11700	Jan. 23	Providing for the closing of Government departments and agencies on Thursday, January 25, 1973, as a mark of respect for President Lyndon Baines Johnson	2325
11701	Jan. 24	Providing for the facilitation of employment of veterans by Federal agencies and Government contractors and subcontractors	2675
11702	Jan. 25	Transferring the Office of Consumer Affairs from the Executive Office of the President to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and abolishing the Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy	2957
11703	Feb. 7	Assigning policy development and direction functions with respect to the oil import control program	3579
11704	Feb. 28	Further exempting A. Everette MacIntyre from compulsory retirement for age	5619
11705	Mar. 6	Ordering the flag to be flown at half-staff in memory of Cleo A. Noel, Jr., and George Curtis Moore	6135

Appendix C

<i>E.O. No.</i>	<i>Date 1973</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>38 F.R. page</i>
11706	Mar. 8	Providing for inspection of returns by U.S. attorneys and attorneys of Department of Justice and use of returns in grand jury proceedings and in litigation	6663
11707	Mar. 12	Providing for change in boundaries of New England River Basins Commission	6877
11708	Mar. 23	Placing certain positions in levels IV and V of the Executive Schedule .	7979
11709	Mar. 27	Providing for inspection by Department of Agriculture on income tax returns made under the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 of persons having farm operations	8131
11710	Apr. 4	Establishing the National Commission for Industrial Peace	9071
11711	Apr. 13	Providing for inspection of income, excess-profits, estate, and gift tax returns by the Senate Committee on Government Operations . . .	9483
11712	Apr. 18	Establishing the Special Committee on Energy and the National Energy Office.	9657
11713	Apr. 21	Delegating certain functions vested in the President to the Administrator of General Services concerning Canal Zone property . . .	10069
11714	Apr. 24	Amending Executive Order No. 11652 on classification and declassification of national security information and material	10245
11715	Apr. 24	Amending Executive Order No. 11708, placing certain positions in levels IV and V of the Executive Schedule	10246
11716	Apr. 26	Amending Executive Order No. 11157 as it relates to incentive pay for hazardous duty	10621
11717	May 9	Transferring certain functions from the Office of Management and Budget to the General Services Administration and the Department of Commerce	12315
11718	May 14	Designating the International Telecommunications Satellite Organization (INTELSAT) as an international organization entitled to enjoy certain privileges, exemptions, and immunities	12797
11719	May 17	Providing for inspection of income, estate, and gift tax returns by the Committee on Public Works, House of Representatives	13315
11720	May 17	Providing for inspection of income, excess-profits, estate, gift, and excise tax returns by the Senate Committee on Commerce	13317
11721	May 23	Providing for Federal pay administration	13717
11722	June 9	Providing for inspection of income, estate, and gift tax returns by the Committee on Internal Security, House of Representatives	15437
11723	June 13	Further providing for the stabilization of the economy	15765
11724	June 25	Establishing the Federal Property Council.	16837
11725	June 27	Providing for the transfer of certain functions of the Office of Emergency Preparedness under Reorganization Plan 1 of 1973.	17175

Appendix C

<i>E.O. No.</i>	<i>Date 1973</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>38 F.R. page</i>
11726	June 29	Establishing the Energy Policy Office	17711
11727	July 6	Providing for the consolidation of drug law enforcement functions under Reorganization Plan 2 of 1973	18357
11728	July 12	Amending Section 104(b)(1) of Executive Order No. 11157, relating to incentive pay for hazardous duty involving aerial flight	18861
11729	July 12	Amending Executive Order No. 11710 of April 4, 1973, relating to the National Commission for Industrial Peace	18863
11730	July 18	Further providing for the stabilization of the economy	19345
11731	July 23	Amending Executive Order No. 11647, relating to Federal Regional Councils	19903
11732	July 30	Delegating mortgage purchasing authority of the President to the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development	20429
11733	July 30	Further amending Executive Order No. 10122 of April 14, 1950, entitled "Regulations governing payment of disability retirement pay, hospitalization, and re-examination of members and former members of the uniformed services"	20431
11734	July 30	Revising the membership of the President's Committee on the National Medal of Science	20433
11735	Aug. 3	Assigning functions under Section 311 of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended	21243
11736	Aug. 6	Amending Executive Order No. 11708, placing certain positions in levels IV and V of the Executive Schedule	21387
11737	Sept. 7	Providing for the enlargement of the Upper Mississippi River Basin Commission	24883
11738	Sept. 10	Providing for administration of the Clean Air Act and the Federal Water Pollution Control Act with respect to Federal contracts, grants, or loans	25161
11739	Oct. 3	Increasing rates of pay for Federal civilian employees	27581
11740	Oct. 3	Increasing rates of pay for members of the uniformed services.	27585
11741	Oct. 15	Providing for Federal agency use of the official American Revolution Bicentennial symbol	28809
11742	Oct. 23	Delegating to the Secretary of State certain functions with respect to the negotiation of international agreements relating to the enhancement of the environment	29457
11743	Oct. 23	Modifying Proclamation No. 3279, as amended, with respect to the Oil Policy Committee	29459
11744	Oct. 24	Concerning cost-of-living allowance provided to employees of the Joint Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission for Alaska	29563

Appendix C

<i>E.O. No.</i>	<i>Date 1973</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>38 F.R. page</i>
11745	Nov. 1	Creating an emergency board to investigate a dispute between the Long Island Rail Road and certain of its employees	30429
11746	Nov. 7	Assigning certain emergency preparedness functions to the United States Treasury Department	30991
11747	Nov. 7	Delegating certain authority of the President under the Water Resources Planning Act, as amended	30993
11748	Dec. 4	Establishing the Federal Energy Office	33575
11749	Dec. 10	Consolidating disaster relief functions assigned to the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development	34177
11750	Dec. 13	Providing for the closing of Government departments and agencies on Monday, December 24, 1973, and Monday, December 31, 1973 . . .	34451
11751	Dec. 15	Authorizing the Secretary of Transportation to grant exemptions from daylight saving time and realignments of time zone limits	34725
11752	Dec. 17	Providing for the prevention, control, and abatement of environmental pollution at Federal facilities	34793
11753	Dec. 20	Establishing the President's Export Council	34983
11754	Dec. 26	Modifying rates of interest equalization tax	35423
			<i>39 F.R.</i>
11755	Dec. 29	Relating to the employment of non-Federal prison inmates in the performance of Federal contracts	779
11756	Dec. 30	Exempting Whitney Gilliland from mandatory retirement	781
11757	Dec. 30	Exempting Lawrence Quincy Mumford from mandatory retirement .	783

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS OTHER THAN PROCLAMATIONS AND EXECUTIVE ORDERS

<i>Date 1973</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>38 F.R. page</i>
Jan. 2	Presidential Determination: Eligibility for the purchase of defense articles under the Foreign Military Sales Act, as amended	7211
Jan. 22	Letter: Authority to issue reports on impounded funds.	2677
Feb. 1	Presidential Determination: Authorization for use of security supporting assistance to fund annual educational-cultural component of the United States-Spanish agreement	5235
Apr. 18	Reorganization Plan 1 of 1973: abolishment and transfer of functions of the Office of Emergency Preparedness, the Civil Defense Advisory Council, the National Aeronautics and Space Council, and the Office of Science and Technology.	9579

Appendix C

<i>Date</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>38 F.R. page</i>
1973		
Apr. 26	Presidential Determination: Eligibility of the International Commission of Control and Supervision in Vietnam and the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos to receive defense articles and services . . .	12799
May 14	Memorandum: Delegation of certain functions relating to notices under section 201 of the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968	13319
May 14	Presidential Determination: Sales, credits, or guaranties to the Government of Peru under the Foreign Military Sales Act, as amended	16019
May 21	Presidential Determination: Extension of credit to the Governments of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Venezuela in connection with the sale of F-5 military aircraft	16021
June 13	Presidential Determination: Transfer of certain supporting assistance funds to administrative expense funds, relating to programs in Vietnam	18231
June 19	Reorganization Plan 2 of 1973: Establishment of the Drug Enforcement Administration, abolishment of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, and consolidation of illicit drug law enforcement functions	15932
June 29	Presidential Determination: Waiver of regional ceiling on military assistance and sales for Latin America	20805
Aug. 17	Presidential Determination: Authorization of use of up to \$50 million for the grant of defense articles and services to the Republic of Turkey	25903
Sept. 20	Presidential Determination: Extension of credit to the Government of Peru in connection with the sale of F-5 military aircraft	27811
Sept. 28	Presidential Determination: Furnishing of sophisticated weapons systems to the Republic of Korea, Turkey, and Jordan	31811
Dec. 11	Presidential Determination: Transfer of foreign assistance funds programmed for Ecuador and Peru	34799
		39 F.R.
Nov. 2	Presidential Determination: Authorization for use of up to \$1 million for the grant of defense articles, services, and training to Portugal	1423
Dec. 13	Presidential Determination: Eligibility of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas to purchase articles and services under the Foreign Military Sales Act, as amended	3537
Dec. 20	Presidential Determination: Authorization for use of up to \$3.4 million for the grant of defense articles, services, and training to Spain	4463
Dec. 24	Presidential Determination: Ordering of up to \$200 million in defense articles and services for military assistance to Cambodia	3539

Appendix D—Presidential Reports to the 93d Congress, First Session

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Published</i>	<i>Sent to the Congress</i>	<i>Date of White House release 1972</i>
Federal Statutory Pay Systems, Joint annual report of the Director of the Office of Management and Budget and the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission		Jan. 9	Dec. 15
			1973
Office of Alien Property (fiscal year 1971)		Jan. 9	. . . .
Trade Agreements Program:			
16th annual	H. Doc. 41	Jan. 9	Jan. 9
17th annual	H. Doc. 166	Oct. 17	Oct. 17
Cash Awards to Members of the Armed Forces and the Coast Guard (fiscal year 1972)		Jan. 26	Jan. 26
Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965 (6th annual)		Jan. 26	. . . .
National Endowment for the Arts and National Council on the Arts (fiscal year 1972)		Jan. 26	Jan. 26
U.S.-Japan Cooperative Medical Science Program under the International Health Research Act of 1960 (6th annual)	H. Doc. 44	Jan. 26	Jan. 26
Alaska Railroad, Operation of		Jan. 26	. . . .
Economic Report	H. Doc. 28	Jan. 31	Jan. 30
Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisi- tion Policies Act of 1970 (2d annual)		Feb. 8	Feb. 8
Economic Stabilization Program:			
5th Quarterly		Feb. 26	Feb. 26
6th Quarterly		July 11	July 11
7th Quarterly		Oct. 30	Oct. 30
Corporation for Public Broadcasting (fiscal year 1972)		Mar. 6	. . . .
National Science Foundation (22d annual)	H. Doc. 58	Mar. 12	Mar. 12
Aeronautics and Space Report (1972)	H. Doc. 63	Mar. 19	Mar. 19
Manpower Report (11th annual)	H. Doc. 64	Mar. 20	Mar. 20
International Economic Report (1st annual)		Mar. 22	Mar. 22

Appendix D

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Published</i>	<i>Sent to the Congress</i>	<i>Date of White House release 1973</i>
Delmarva Peninsula Water Resources	H. Doc. 68	Mar. 27	Mar. 27
National Endowment for the Humanities (7th annual)		Mar. 27	Mar. 27
Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969 by Department of the Interior:			
1971		Mar. 30	. . . .
1972		Aug. 3	. . . .
International Coffee Agreement (1972)		Apr. 9	. . . .
U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (12th annual)		Apr. 9	Apr. 9
National Credit Union Administration (3d annual)		Apr. 11	. . . .
Federal Advisory Committees (1st annual)		Apr. 12	. . . .
Civil Service Commission (fiscal year 1972)	H. Doc. 13	May 9	May 9
Railroad Retirement Board (fiscal year 1972)	H. Doc. 27	May 29	. . . .
National Corporation for Housing Partnerships (4th annual)		May 29	. . . .
Commodity Credit Corporation (fiscal year 1972)		June 13	. . . .
World Weather Program (5th annual)		July 13	July 13
National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education (7th annual)	H. Doc. 73	July 13	July 13
Food for Peace Program under Public Law 480, 83d Congress (1972)	H. Doc. 127	July 13	July 13
National Advisory Council on Adult Education (fiscal year 1973)	H. Doc. 133	July 19	. . . .
Administration of Radiation Control for Health and Safety Act of 1968 (5th annual)	H. Doc. 132	July 19	. . . .
Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act of 1968 (special report on Federal-State relations)		July 19	. . . .
Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act of 1968 (5th annual)		July 27	. . . .
National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity (6th annual)	H. Doc. 136	July 30	. . . .
Youth Conservation Corps (1972)		Aug. 3	. . . .
Federal Railroad Safety Act of 1970 (2d annual)		Aug. 3	. . . .
National Housing Goals (5th annual)	H. Doc. 141	Aug. 14	. . . .
Federal Activities in Juvenile Delinquency, Youth Development and Related Fields (fiscal year 1972)		Sept. 5	. . . .

Appendix D

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Published</i>	<i>Sent to the Congress</i>	<i>Date of White House release 1973</i>
National Cancer Program and National Cancer Advisory Board (1st annual)		Sept. 5	. . . .
Special International Exhibitions (10th annual)		Sept. 5	. . . .
National Science Board (5th annual)		Sept. 5	. . . .
Hazardous Materials Control (3d annual)		Sept. 5	. . . .
United Nations (27th annual)	H. Doc. 53	Sept. 6	Sept. 6
National Cooley's Anemia Control Act (1st annual)		Sept. 13	. . . .
Council on Environmental Quality (4th annual)		Sept. 17	Sept. 17
St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation (1972)	H. Doc. 154	Sept. 20	. . . .
Upland Cotton (1st annual)		Sept. 20	. . . .
Sickle Cell Anemia Control Act (1st annual)		Sept. 21	Sept. 21
Federal Ocean Program (1972)	H. Doc. 159	Sept. 28	Sept. 28
National Capital Housing Authority (fiscal year 1972)		Oct. 9	. . . .
Department of Housing and Urban Development (8th annual)	H. Doc. 122	Oct. 9	. . . .
Communicable Disease Control Amendments Act of 1972 (1st annual)	H. Doc. 164	Oct 11	. . . .
International Educational and Cultural Exchange Program (fiscal year 1972)		Oct. 16	Oct. 16
Advisory Council on Intergovernmental Personnel Policy (1st annual)		Oct. 16	Oct. 16
National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966 and the Highway Safety Act of 1966 (1972)	H. Doc. 173	Oct. 30	Oct. 30
Federal Interstate Compact for the Hudson River Basin	H. Doc. 176	Nov. 6 (H) Nov. 7 (S)	Nov. 6
Availability of Government Services to Rural Areas (3d annual)	H. Doc. 191	Nov. 15	. . . .
Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969 by Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (3d annual)		Nov. 15	. . . .
National Wilderness Preservation System (9th annual)	H. Doc. 194	Nov. 28	. . . .
Outdoor Recreation		Dec. 19	. . . .
Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 (2d annual).	H. Doc. 65	Dec. 20	Dec. 20

Appendix E—Rules Governing This Publication

NOTE: The rules are reprinted from the Federal Register, vol. 37, p. 23607, dated November 4, 1972, and title 1 of the Code of Federal Regulations.

TITLE 1—GENERAL PROVISIONS

Chapter I—Administrative Committee of the Federal Register

PART 10—PRESIDENTIAL PAPERS

SUBPART A—ANNUAL VOLUMES

Sec.

- 10.1 Publication required.
- 10.2 Coverage of prior years.
- 10.3 Scope and sources.
- 10.4 Format, indexes, and ancillaries.
- 10.5 Distribution to Government agencies.
- 10.6 Extra copies.

AUTHORITY: 44 U.S.C. 1506; sec. 6, E.O. 10530, 19 FR 2709; 3 CFR 1954–1958 Comp. p. 189.

SUBPART A—ANNUAL VOLUMES

§ 10.1 *Publication required.*

The Director of the Federal Register shall publish, at the end of each calendar year, a special edition of the FEDERAL REGISTER called the “Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States.” Unless the amount of material requires otherwise, each volume shall cover one calendar year.

§ 10.2 *Coverage of prior years.*

After consulting with the National Historical Publications Commission on the need therefor, the Administrative Committee may authorize the publication of volumes of papers of the Presidents covering specified years before 1957.

§ 10.3 *Scope and sources.*

(a) The basic text of each volume shall consist of oral statements by the President or of writings subscribed by him, and selected from—

- (1) Communications to the Congress;
- (2) Public addresses;
- (3) Transcripts of news conferences;
- (4) Public letters;

- (5) Messages to heads of State;
- (6) Statements released on miscellaneous subjects; and
- (7) Formal executive documents promulgated in accordance with law.
- (b) In general, ancillary text, notes, and tables shall be derived from official sources.

§ 10.4 *Format, indexes, and ancillaries.*

(a) Each annual volume, divided into books whenever appropriate, shall be separately published in the binding and style that the Administrative Committee considers suitable to the dignity of the Office of the President of the United States.

(b) Each volume shall be appropriately indexed and contain appropriate ancillary information respecting significant Presidential documents not printed in full text.

§ 10.5 *Distribution to Government agencies.*

(a) The Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States shall be distributed to the following, in the quantities indicated, without charge:

(1) *Members of Congress.* Each Senator and each Member of the House of Representatives is entitled to one copy of each annual volume published during his term of office, upon his written request to the Director of the Federal Register.

(2) *Supreme Court.* The Supreme Court is entitled to 12 copies of each annual volume.

(3) *Executive agencies.* The head of each executive agency is entitled to one copy of each annual volume upon application to the Director.

(b) Legislative, judicial, and executive agen-

Appendix E

cies of the Federal Government may obtain copies of the annual volumes, at cost, for official use, by the timely submission of a printing and binding requisition to the Government Printing Office on Standard Form 1.

§ 10.6 *Extra copies.*

Each request for extra copies of the annual volumes must be addressed to the Superintendent of Documents, to be paid for by the agency or official making the request.

INDEX

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Abdallah, Abdel Rahman, 71 n.
 ABMs (antiballistic missile systems), 141
 (pp. 483, 493, 494, 498)
 Abplanalp, Robert, 246 [8]
 Acree, Vernon D., 78 n.
 ACTION
 Director, 148, 279 n.
 Domestic Volunteer Service Act of
 1973, 279
 Legislative authority, 253 (p. 777)
 ACTION, University Year for, 279
 Adams, Eva B., 325
 Addresses and remarks
 See also Appendix A
 AFL-CIO
 Building and Construction Trades
 Department, national confer-
 ence, 122
 Executive Council, remarks to repor-
 ters about meeting, 47, 49
 American Cancer Society's Courage
 Award, presentation ceremony,
 117
 Appointments and nominations. *See*
 Appointments and nominations
 Armed Forces Day, Norfolk Naval
 Base, Va., 160
 Associated Press Managing Editors As-
 sociation, question-and-answer ses-
 sion, 334
 Association of American Foreign Serv-
 ice Women, 77
 Bethesda Naval Hospital, Md.
 Departure remarks, 209
 Return to White House, remarks to
 Staff, 210
 Boggs, Repr. Corinne C., exchange of
 remarks, 94
 Boy Scouts' annual report, 54
 Budget, fiscal 1974, radio address, 20
 Christmas, lighting ceremony for na-
 tional tree, 358

Addresses and remarks—Continued
 Congressional Medal of Honor, pres-
 entation ceremony, 296
 Customs officials, meeting on Ricord
 case, 78
 District of Columbia Metropolitan Po-
 lice Department, meeting with
 Jerry V. Wilson, 70
 Dollar devaluation, 41
 Domestic issues, address to Nation, 98
 Economic advisers meeting, exchange
 of remarks, 249
 Economy, national, addresses to Nation,
 174, 194
 Emergency windfall profits tax, pro-
 posed, 365
 Energy
 Addresses to Nation, 323, 339
 Meetings with advisers, remarks to
 press, 250, 338, 357
 Message to Congress, remarks on
 transmitting, 127
 Everett McKinley Dirksen Congres-
 sional Leadership Research Cen-
 ter, cornerstone unveiling, 175
 Export expansion, remarks to confer-
 ence, 292
 Federal election reform, proposed com-
 mission, 154
 Federal Energy Office, establishment,
 347
 Federal Woman's Award, remarks to
 recipients, 72
 Florida Technological University, com-
 mencement, 173
 Ford, Gerald R., meeting with Vice
 President-designate, 295
 Foreign leaders, visits with. *See* Meet-
 ings with foreign leaders
 Foreign policy report, radio address,
 139
 Foreign Service, ceremony honoring
 slain officers, 71

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Addresses and remarks—Continued

Georgia
 Robins Air Force Base, arrival, 335
 Walter F. George School of Law,
 100th anniversary ceremonies,
 336
 Goodpaster, Gen. Andrew J., meeting
 with, 45
 Heart-of-the-Year Award, presentation
 ceremony, 64
 Inaugural address, 8
 Jackie Gleason Inverrary Classic, Lau-
 derhill, Fla., 48
 Jobs for Veterans program report, 57
 John C. Stennis Naval Technical
 Training Center, dedication, 131
 Legislation, approval. *See* Legislation,
 remarks or statements on approval
 Legislative goals, radio address, 252
 Longworth, Alice Roosevelt, remarks
 with reporters following visit, 35
 Mayport Naval Air Station, Fla., 46
 Memphis, Tenn., arrival, 337
 Middle East
 Arab Foreign Ministers, remarks to
 press following meeting, 301
 U.S. diplomatic actions, 285
 National Association of Realtors, an-
 nual convention, 330
 National League of Families of Ameri-
 can Prisoners and Missing in
 Southeast Asia, 19
 National Legislative Conference, re-
 marks to State legislators, 100
 National Medal of Science, presenta-
 tion ceremony, 289
 National Prayer Breakfast, 24
 Nevada State Society of Washington,
 D.C., 325
 News conferences. *See* News confer-
 ences
 Organization of American States,
 Chiefs of Delegations to the Gen-
 eral Assembly, 120
 Presidential Citizens Medal, presenta-
 tion ceremonies, 152, 297
 Presidential Medal of Freedom, pres-
 entation ceremonies, 101, 297
 Presidential oath of Office, 8

Addresses and remarks—Continued

Prisoners of war
 Remarks with reporters on release,
 37
 State Department reception, 163
 White House dinner, 164, 165
 Republican fundraising dinner, 147
 Rickover, Adm. Hyman G., ceremony
 marking promotion, 345
 Seafarers International Union biennial
 convention, 340
 Senior citizens from Whittier, Calif.,
 White House tour, 280
 Shenyang Acrobatic Troupe, White
 House reception, 7
 Skylab 1, telephone call to crew, 176
 South Carolina General Assembly, 51
 State of the Union, radio addresses
 Community development, 68
 Economy, 52
 Human resources, 58
 Law enforcement and drug abuse
 prevention, 74
 Natural resources and the environ-
 ment, 43
 Stennis, Sen. John C., remarks with
 reporters following hospital visit,
 32
 Swearing-in ceremonies. *See* Swearing-
 in ceremonies
 Trade reform legislation, 111
 Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime
 Conference, 255
 U.S.S.R. Women's Gymnastic Team,
 86
 U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Commission on
 Scientific and Technical Coopera-
 tion, 84
 Veterans of Foreign Wars national
 convention, 235
 Vietnam peace agreement, addresses to
 Nation, 12, 98
 Watergate
 Addresses to Nation, 134, 233
 Remarks to press, 125
 West African drought, benefit ball, 343
 White House Correspondents Associa-
 tion, annual dinner, 121
 Adenauer, Konrad, 136
 Administration. *See other part of title*

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Administration, Nixon
Achievements and goals, 21 (pp. 41, 42), 68, 134, 147, 330
Cooperation with Congress, 175, 246 [17]
News media critics, 235
Public confidence in, 246 [13], 312 [16]
Advertising Council, Inc., 255
Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, 248
Advisory Committee on Federal Pay, 278, 282
Advisory Council on Intergovernmental Personnel Policy, annual report, 300
Aeronautics. *See* Aviation; Space program
Aeronautics Board, Civil, 132, 190
Afghanistan, foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 458, 512)
AFL-CIO
Building and Construction Trades Department, remarks to national conference, 122
Executive Council, meeting with the President, 47, 49
Africa
See also specific country
Drought, 180, 343
First Lady's trip (1972), 141 (p. 466), 171
Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 357, 460-467)
African Development Fund, 141 (p. 462)
African drought, 180, 343
African Unity, Organization of, 141 (pp. 462, 464), 166
Aged. *See* Older persons
Agency. *See other part of title*
Aging, Administration on, 61 (p. 141), 142
Agnes, tropical storm, 73
Agnew, Spiro T. (Vice President of the United States), 8 n., 33, 35, 36, 48, 99, 114, 141 (p. 466), 147, 165, 236 [10, 16], 246 [6], 272, 281 [2, 3, 7], 290
Agreements, international. *See* Treaties and other international agreements; *specific subject*
Agricultural Act of 1970, 44
Agriculture, Department of
Food prices, 6, 80 [9]
Agriculture, Department of—Continued
Price freeze, monitoring, 194
Rural areas, credit, 264
Secretary (Earl L. Butz), 3, 44, 98 ftn., 113 n., 122, 130, 207, 231, 344 n., 366
Transfer of certain functions, proposed, 73, 190
Under Secretary, 44 n.
Agriculture and agricultural programs
See also Food; Rural areas
Budget
Message to Congress, 21 (pp. 45, 46)
Radio address, 20
Cooperation with U.S.S.R., 185
Economic stabilization program, Phase IV, 207
Loans, interest rates, 23 [5]
State of the Union messages
Economy, 52, 53
Natural resources and the environment, 43, 44
Trade, 112, 137, 141 (pp. 473, 474), 174, 194, 302
Unemployment insurance, 118, 253 (p. 774)
Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1973, statement on signing, 231
Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Food and, 141 (p. 504), 180, 247
AID. *See* International Development, Agency for
Air Force, Department of the
Fitzgerald, Ernest A., firing of, 23 [10, 11]
Secretary
McLucas, John L., 296
Seamans, Robert C., Jr., 23 [10, 11], 45 n.
Air pollution, 44, 141 (p. 515)
Air travel, energy shortage, 323, 324, 339
Airport-Airways Development Act of 1970, 73
Airport Development Acceleration Act of 1973, statement on signing, 179
Airport Development Aid program, 73
Alaska, energy resources, 141 (p. 513)
Alaskan pipeline, 127, 128 (p. 307), 174, 190, 246 [4], 250, 253 (p. 768), 323, 324, 330, 334 [18]

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Alaskan pipeline bill, remarks and statement on signing, 332, 333
- Albert, Repr. Carl (Speaker of the House of Representatives), 8, 24, 33, 99, 229, 253 n., 290 n.
- Aleksandrov, A. M., 185
- Alexander, Holmes, 63 [3]
- Algeria
 - Foreign Minister Abdelaziz Bouteflika, meeting with the President, 301 n.
 - Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 451, 462, 513)
- All-volunteer armed force, 160
- Allison, Larry, 334 [17]
- Aluminum stockpiles, disposal, 378
- Alvarez, Lt. Comdr. Everett, Jr., 37 ftn.
- Ambrose, Myles J., 79 n., 96 n.
- American Cancer Society's Courage Award, 117
- American Film Institute, 101 n., 306
- American Heart Association, 64
- American National Red Cross, 67
- American Revolution Bicentennial, 259
- American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, 26, 253 (p. 782), 356
- American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, 26, 253 (p. 782)
- American Society of Newspaper Editors, 141 (p. 363)
- American States, Organization of, 120, 141 (pp. 436, 437, 444)
- Amnesty for draft evaders and deserters, 23 [3], 63 [6], 98
- Amtrak Improvement Act of 1973, statement on signing, 320
- Andreotti, Giulio, 124, 126, 141 (p. 406)
- Antiballistic missile systems (ABMs), 141 (pp. 483, 493, 494, 498)
- Antidumping laws, 112
- Apollo program, 82
- Appointments and nominations
 - See also* Appendix A
 - Cost of Living Council
 - Director, 6
 - Labor-Management Advisory Committee, members, 6 n.
 - Council of Economic Advisers, member, 281 [11]
 - Disasters, international, special U.S. relief coordinator, 180
- Appointments and nominations—Con.
 - Drug Enforcement Administration, Administrator, 255
 - Energy Policy Office, Director, 190
 - Federal Bureau of Investigation, Director, withdrawal of nomination, 109
 - Federal Energy Office, Administrator, 347
 - Federal Property Council, Chairman, 186
 - General Services Administration, Administrator and Deputy Administrator, 161
 - Justice Department, Attorney General
 - Richardson, Elliot L., 133, 134
 - Saxbe, William B., 319
 - National Endowment for the Arts, Chairman, 259
 - State Department, Secretary, 236 [1]
 - Vice President, 294
 - White House Staff, Acting Counsel to the President, 133
- Appropriations. *See* Budget; *specific subject*
- Arab-Israeli conflict. *See under* Middle East
- Arbatov, G. A., 185
- Arends, Repr. Leslie C., 290 n.
- Argentina, foreign policy report, 141 (p. 438)
- Arizona, wilderness areas, proposed, 342
- Arkansas
 - Disaster assistance, 130
 - Wilderness areas, proposed, 342
- Armed Forces, United States
 - Manpower, 21 (p. 41), 141 (pp. 485, 489), 253 (p. 784), 270
 - Military Incentive Awards program, 16
 - Pay increase, 278, 282
 - Veterans. *See* Veterans
- Armed Forces Day, remarks, 160
- Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, United States, annual report, 110
- Arms and weapons
 - See also* Strategic arms limitation; *specific weapons system*
 - Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 367, 477–500)
 - Joint statement (U.S.-U.S.S.R.), 185

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Arms and weapons—Continued
 - Legislative goals, message to Congress, 253 (p. 784)
 - Letter to Senate leaders, 270
 - News conference remarks, 246 [3]
- Armstrong, Anne L., 1 n., 3, 28, 72 ftn., 186
- Armstrong, Hamilton Fish, 129
- Army Chorus, U.S., 276 ftn.
- Army Corps of Engineers, 130, 190
- Army Department, Secretary
 - Callaway, Howard H., 296
 - Froehlke, Robert F., 45 n.
- Arnon, Daniel I., 289
- Artists-in-the-Schools Program, 259
- Arts, National Council on the, 15
- Arts, National Endowment for the, 15, 253 (p. 782), 259
- Arts and humanities, 61 (pp. 146, 147)
- Arts and the Humanities, National Foundation on the, 61 (p. 147), 304
- Ash, Roy L., 3, 13 n., 28, 91 n., 108 n., 186, 242, 249 n., 278, 282
- Asia
 - See also specific country*
 - Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 356, 357, 426-432, 453-460, 486)
- Asia and the Far East, Economic Commission for, 141 (p. 431)
- Asian Development Bank, 141 (pp. 430, 431, 476), 317
- Asian Nations, Association of Southeast, 141 (p. 431)
- Askew, Gov. Reubin, 334 [2]
- Associated Press Managing Editors Association, question-and-answer session, 334
- Association of American Foreign Service Women, 77
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations, 141 (p. 431)
- Astronaut rescue and return agreement (1968), 141 (p. 509)
- Atlantic Alliance. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- Atlantic Treaty Association, 254
- Atomic energy, cooperation with U.S.S.R., 181, 185
- Atomic Energy Agency, International, 141 (p. 504), 247
- Atomic Energy Commission
 - Chairman, 185 ftn., 291 n.
 - Message to Congress on energy policy, 128 (pp. 310, 315, 316, 317)
 - Nuclear energy, 250, 253 (p. 768), 323, 324
 - Statement on energy, 190
- Austria, news conference remarks, 281 [9]
- Automobiles
 - Emissions standards, 250
 - Gasoline mileage, 190
- Aviation
 - Aeronautics and space activities, annual report, 82
 - Cooperation with U.S.S.R., 141 (p. 371), 185
 - Energy conservation, 190
- Aviation Administration, Federal, 190
- Aviation Organization, International Civil, 141 (p. 503), 247
- Awards and citations
 - American Cancer Society's Courage Award, 117
 - Congressional Medal of Honor, 296
 - Federal Woman's Award, 72
 - Heart-of-the-Year Award to the President, 64
 - National Medal of Science, 289
 - Presidential Citizens Medal, 152, 297
 - Presidential Medal of Freedom, 101, 297
 - Veterans of Foreign Wars, Peace Award to the President, 235
- B-1 bomber, 141 (p. 483), 253 (p. 784)
- B-52 bomber force, 141 (pp. 478, 483)
- Bahr, Egon, 138
- Bail Reform Act of 1966, 79
- Baker, Cynthia, 175
- Baker, Sen. Howard H., Jr., 125, 305, 312 [4], 334 [4, 7]
- Bakke, Karl E., 275 n.
- Bal Harbour, Fla., 47
- Balance of payments, 112, 128 (pp. 307, 309), 141 (pp. 404, 407, 408, 428, 436, 468), 189, 253 (p. 766), 277, 315
- Balzano, Michael P., Jr., 148 n., 279 n.

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Bangladesh
 Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 356, 454, 456)
 India-Pakistan agreement on POW's, 238
 Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, 141 (pp. 454, 456)
- Banks, 228
- Barcelo, Carlos Romero, 1 n.
- Barrett, Edward Ware, 143
- Bartels, John R., 255
- Bean, Capt. Alan L., 273 n.
- Becker, William, 198 n.
- Beckman, Aldo B., 281 [6]
- Begich, Repr. Nick, 94 n.
- Beikirch, Sgt. Gary B., 296
- Ben-Gurion, David, 62, 344
- Benhima, Ahmed Taibi, 301 n.
- Benitez, Jaime, 152
- Bennett, Gen. Donald V., 162
- Bennett, Sen. Wallace F., 371 n.
- Bentley, Helen D., 325, 340
- Berlin, quadripartite agreement, 138, 141 (pp. 367-369, 411, 412), 185
- Bernstein, Bernice L., 72 n.
- Bernstein, George K., 377 n.
- Bethesda Naval Hospital, Md.
 Departure remarks, 209
 Return to White House, remarks to Staff, 210
- Better Communities Act, proposed, 68, 73, 179, 252, 253 (p. 778), 264
- Better Schools Act, proposed, 252, 253 (p. 773)
- Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali, 141 (pp. 454, 455), 239, 261, 262, 266
- Bible, Sen. Alan, 325
- Bicentennial, American Revolution, 259
- Bicentennial Administration, American Revolution, 26, 253 (p. 782), 356
- Bicentennial Commission, American Revolution, 26, 253 (p. 782)
- Big Cypress National Fresh Water Preserve, 44
- Biological and chemical weapons, 110, 141 (pp. 492, 500, 501), 185
- Black September, 63 [10 fn.]
- Blacks, news conference remarks, 63 [4]
- Blackwell, Robert J., 340
- Bland, Richard E., 201
- Blass, Steve, 1 n.
- Blatt, Solomon, 51
- Blech, Arthur, 355 n.
- Blood diseases, 64
- Boerma, A. H., 180
- Boggs, Repr. Corinne C., 94, 235
- Boggs, Repr. Hale, 94 n.
- Boggs, Sen. J. Caleb, 93
- Bohlen, E. U. Curtis, 342 n.
- Boldt, George H., 6
- Bombings and bomb threats, 162
- Bond, Gov. Christopher S., 198
- Bondsteel, S. Sgt. James L., 296
- Boo, Ben R., 68 n.
- Bork, Robert H. (Acting Attorney General), 309, 312 [3], 319
- Boulad, Paul, 78 n.
- Bouteflika, Abdelaziz, 301 n.
- Boy Scouts, annual report, 54
- Boyatt, Thomas D., 71
- Boyd, Forrest J., 312 [9]
- Boydan, Cornelia, 348 n.
- Boys' Clubs of America, 48
- Brandt, Willy, 136, 138, 141 (p. 406), 281 [12]
- Brazil, foreign policy report, 141 (p. 438)
- Brennan, Peter J. (Secretary of Labor), 28, 122, 246 [15], 253 (p. 774), 340, 366, 372 n.
- Brezhnev, L. I., 86, 141 (p. 373), 160, 171, 174, 177, 178, 181, 183-185, 285 n., 312 [1, 5, 10, 14], 336
- Brinegar, Claude S. (Secretary of Transportation), 28, 190, 232 n., 320, 366
- Broadcasting, Presidential Study Commission on International, 143
- Brock, Sen. Bill, 147
- Brownell, Herbert, 141 (p. 442)
- Bruce, David K. E., 80 [1]
- Buck, Pearl S., 69
- Budget
 Appropriations
 Congressional inaction, 253 (p. 762)
 Continuing, 195
 Supplemental, 132, 188, 195
 Fiscal 1973, 219
 Fiscal 1974, 20, 21
 Government spending, 6, 20, 21 (pp. 33, 34, 35, 36, 37), 22, 23 [12], 29, 53, 91, 98, 100, 107, 108, 113, 122, 137, 174, 219, 246 [2, 17], 269, 278, 330

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Budget—Continued
 - Legislative goals
 - Message to Congress, 253 (pp. 763–765)
 - Radio address, 252
 - Reform of process, 21 (p. 36)
- Bugayev, B. P., 185
- Bunker, Ellsworth P., 103 n., 106
- Burger, Warren E. (Chief Justice of the United States), 8 n., 28, 167, 268
- Burns, Arthur F., 24, 141 (p. 443), 246 [9, 10]
- Burundi, 141 (pp. 464, 465)
- Bush, George H., 147
- Business, 112, 228, 269
- Businessmen, National Alliance of, 85, 90
- Busing, 58, 61 (p. 135), 253 (p. 773)
- Busterud, John A., 260 n.
- Butz, Earl L. (Secretary of Agriculture), 3, 44, 98 ftn., 113 n., 122, 130, 207, 231, 344 n., 366
- Buzhardt, J. Fred, 162 n., 211, 281 [10], 334 [3]
- Byrd, Sen. Harry F., Jr., 160
- Byrne, William Matthew, Jr., 162, 234, 236 [9]
- Byrnes, James F., 51
- Byrnes, Mrs. James F., 51
- Cabinet
 - Meeting with the President, 174 n.
 - Reorganization, 3
 - Swearing-in ceremony, 28
- Cabinet Committee to Combat Terrorism, 141 (p. 511)
- Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control, 79, 96, 141 (p. 511), 341
- Caldecott, Thomas W., 39
- California
 - Visit, 102, 105, 106
 - Wilderness areas, proposed, 342
- Callaway, Howard H. (Secretary of the Army), 296
- Cambodia
 - See also* Indochina; Vietnam conflict
 - Foreign policy report, 139, 141 (pp. 356, 400–402)
 - News conference remarks, 63 [2], 236 [21]
 - Peace efforts, Congressional role, 156
- Cambodia—Continued
 - Prime Minister Lon Nol, 141 (p. 401)
 - Prince Norodom Sihanouk, 235
 - U.S. assistance, 303
 - U.S. bombing, 188, 195, 229, 235, 236 [21]
- Campaigns. *See* Elections
- Campbell, J. Phil, 44 n.
- Canada
 - Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 405, 412, 421, 515, 516)
 - Great Lakes safety agreement with U.S., 150
 - Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, 141 (pp. 405, 516)
 - Relations with Europe, 138
- Cancer research, 20, 21 (p. 44), 58, 61 (p. 137), 141 (p. 371)
- Cancer Society, American, 117
- Cannon, Sen. Howard W., 325
- Canton Export Commodities Fair, 141 (p. 362)
- Capital punishment, 74, 79, 80 [8], 253 (pp. 781, 782)
- Caribbean area, foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 433, 439)
- Carlucci, Frank C., 28
- Carr, Patrick E., 235
- Carter, Jared G., 333 n.
- Carver, Lillie, 175 n.
- Casey, William J., 28, 66
- Ceausescu, Nicolae, 141 (p. 415), 346, 348–351, 353
- Central Intelligence Agency
 - Cambodia, 1969 U.S. bombing, 235
 - Deputy Director, 162, 234, 236 [3]
 - Director, 28, 245
 - Watergate, 162, 234, 236 [3]
- Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 351
- Chandler, Norman, 307
- Chandley, John, 334 [19]
- Chang, Dr. Marguerite S., 72 n.
- Chang Ying-wu, 7 n.
- Chapin, Dwight L., 80 [6]
- Chavan, Y. B., 141 (p. 458)
- Chazov, E. I., 185
- Chemical and biological weapons, 110, 141 (pp. 492, 500, 501), 185
- Chi P'eng-fei, 141 (p. 363)
- Chile, foreign policy report, 141 (p. 438)

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- China, Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of, 141 (p. 363)
- China, People's Republic of
 - American prisoners, release, 23 [13]
 - Bilateral exchanges with U.S., 299
 - Chairman Mao Tse-tung, 7, 141 (pp. 360, 363), 330, 336
 - Foreign policy report, 139, 141 (pp. 349, 352, 355, 358-365)
 - Premier Chou En-lai, 7, 23 [13], 141 (pp. 360, 363), 330, 336
 - Shenyang Acrobatic Troupe, U.S. visit, 7
 - Trade with U.S., 112, 302
 - Trip by Secretary of State Kissinger, 281 [1]
 - U.S. Liaison Office, 80 [1]
 - U.S. relations, 348
- China, Republic of, foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 362, 427, 488)
- China Relations, National Committee on U.S.-, 141 (p. 363)
- China Trade, National Council for U.S.-, 141 (p. 362)
- Chou En-lai, 7, 23 [13], 141 (pp. 360, 363), 330, 336
- Christmas, lighting ceremony for national tree, 358
- CIA. *See* Central Intelligence Agency
- Cities. *See* Urban areas
- Cities, National League of, 68 n.
- Citizens' Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality, 287
- Citizens Medal, Presidential, 152, 297
- Civil Aeronautics Board, 132, 190
- Civil Aviation Organization, International, 141 (p. 503), 247
- Civil Defense Advisory Council, abolishment, 13
- Civil rights. *See* Equal opportunity
- Civil Rights, Commission on, 21 (p. 44), 61 (p. 143), 281 [5]
- Civil Service Commission, United States, 21 (p. 44), 61 (p. 143), 146, 242, 278, 282
- Clapp, Norton, 54 n.
- Clay, Gen. Lucius D., Jr., 57 fn.
- Clean Air Act of 1970, 128 (pp. 308, 309)
- Clemency, executive, 162, 234, 236 [14], 334 [3]
- Clemente, Roberto, 1, 152
- Clements, William P., 123 n.
- Coal resources, 21 (p. 45), 127, 128 (pp. 303, 308, 309, 315), 141 (p. 514), 190, 250, 253 (p. 769), 323, 324, 330, 334 [18]
- Coastal zones, 277
- Coffee Agreement, International, 212
- Colby, William E., 245
- Cole, Kenneth R., Jr., 25 n.
- Collective bargaining process, 137
- Colleges and universities
 - Grants to students, 21 (p. 43), 58, 61 (p. 139), 132
 - University Year for ACTION, 279
- Collins, Michael, 126
- Colombia
 - Foreign policy report, 141 (p. 438)
 - Treaty with U.S. concerning Quita Sueño, Roncador, and Serrana, 5
- Colorado, wilderness areas, proposed, 342
- Colorado River, salinity, 141 (pp. 442, 516)
- Combined Federal Campaign, 230
- Commerce, cooperation with U.S.S.R., 141 (p. 372), 185
- Commerce, Department of
 - See also specific constituent agencies*
 - Assistant Secretary, 340
 - General Counsel, 275 n.
 - Message to Congress on energy policy, 128 (p. 314)
 - Patent reform, 275
 - Price freeze, monitoring, 194
 - Public works and economic development programs, 21 (p. 47)
 - Secretary (Frederick B. Dent), 28, 51, 190, 287, 340, 351, 366
 - Under Secretary, 275 n.
- Commerce Commission, Interstate, 320
- Commercial Commission, U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint, 141 (p. 372)
- Commission. *See other part of title*
- Committee of Twenty, 21 (p. 41)
- Common Market. *See* European Economic Community
- Communism, 141 (p. 349)
- Community Action program, 61 (p. 142)

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Community development
 - See also* Rural areas; Urban areas
 - Legislative goals, message to Congress, 253 (pp. 777, 778)
 - State of the Union message, 68, 73
- Community Development, Department of, proposed, 3, 13, 68
- Community mental health center demonstration program, 61 (p. 138)
- Community Relations Service, 21 (p. 44)
- Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973, statement on signing, 372
- Concentrated Employment Program, 61 (p. 139)
- Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, 110, 141 (p. 501), 185
- Conference of Heads of State and Government of the European Community, 138
- Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 45, 138, 141 (pp. 367, 375, 412), 185
- Congress
 - Bipartisan leadership, meetings with the President, 3 n., 19, 112 n., 127 n., 135 n., 154, 174 n., 324
 - Budget procedures, 21 (p. 36)
 - China, People's Republic of, visit by certain Members, 141 (p. 363)
 - Committee hearings and executive privilege, 63 [16], 76, 80 [2, 10], 125
 - Cooperation with Administration, 175, 246 [17]
 - Government spending, 6, 20, 21 (pp. 34, 35, 36, 37), 23 [12], 91, 98, 174, 219, 253 (pp. 763-765)
- House of Representatives
 - Committees
 - Agriculture, 44
 - Armed Services, 378
 - Ways and Means, 41 n., 283
 - Majority Leader (Repr. Thomas P. O'Neill), 246 [2, 17], 253 n.
 - Minority Leader (Repr. Gerald R. Ford), 253 n., 290 n., 294 n.
 - Speaker (Repr. Carl Albert), 8, 24, 33, 99, 229, 253 n., 290 n.
- Congress—Continued
 - Indochina reconstruction plans, 23 [6], 63 [3]
 - Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, 354, 355
 - Legislation
 - Bipartisan cooperation with Administration, 253 (pp. 762, 763)
 - Inaction on Administration's proposals, 246 [1-5], 368
 - Members, terms of office, 154, 155
 - Republican leadership, meeting with the President, 319
- Senate
 - Committees
 - Agriculture and Forestry, 44
 - Appropriations, 156 n.
 - Armed Services, 378
 - Finance, 41 n.
 - Foreign Relations, 202
 - Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities. *See* Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities
 - Majority Leader (Sen. Mike Mansfield), 229, 270, 290 n.
 - Minority Leader (Sen. Hugh Scott), 63 [6], 152, 270, 290 n., 294 n.
 - President (Vice President Spiro T. Agnew), 33, 99
 - War Powers Resolution, 311, 322
- Congress, communications to
 - See also* Veto messages and memorandums of disapproval *and* Appendix A *and* Appendix D
- Advisory Council on Intergovernmental Personnel Policy, report transmittal, 300
- Aeronautics and space activities, report transmittal, 82
- Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, U.S., report transmittal, 110
- Budget message, fiscal year 1974, 21
- Cambodia, U.S. bombing halt, letter to Speaker of House and Majority Leader of Senate, 229
- Civil Service Commission, U.S., report transmittal, 146

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Congress, communications to—Continued
 Convention for the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea, message to Senate transmitting protocol, 327
 Convention on the International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea, 1972, transmittal to Senate, 326
 Council on Environmental Quality, report transmittal, 260
 Customs Convention on Containers, 1972, transmittal to Senate, 329
 Defense budget, letter to Senate leaders, 270
 Delmarva Peninsula, water resources, report transmittal, 93
 Disaster Preparedness and Assistance Act of 1973, message, 144
 District of Columbia budget, message, 104
 Economic Report, 22
 Economic Stabilization Act of 1970, extension and amendment, message, 6
 Economic stabilization program, Cost of Living Council's quarterly reports, transmittal, 59, 199, 315
 Emergency security assistance for Israel and Cambodia, message, 303
 Endangered species of wild fauna and flora, convention on international trade in, transmittal to Senate, 119
 Energy messages, 128, 324
 Extradition treaties, transmittal to Senate
 Denmark, 314
 Italy, 187
 Uruguay, 157
 Federal civilian and military pay increases, messages, 242, 282
 Federal election reform, message proposing commission, 155
 Federal ocean program, report transmittal, 277
 Financial system, U.S., message, 228
 Food for Peace program, report transmittal, 203
 Foreign assistance
 Letter to President of Senate and Speaker of House, 33
- Congress, communications to—Continued
 Foreign assistance—Continued
 Message, 135
 Foreign policy report, 140, 141
 Great Lakes safety agreement between U.S. and Canada, transmittal to Senate, 150
 Highway, traffic, and motor vehicle safety programs, reports transmittal, 316
 Housing legislation, message, 264
 Hudson River Basin Compact Act, report transmittal, 321
 Import barriers, letter to Speaker of House and President of Senate, 99
 International Coffee Agreement 1968 as Extended, transmittal to Senate, 212
 International Convention on Load Lines, 1966, message to Senate transmitting amendments, 87
 International Convention for Safe Containers, transmittal to Senate, 329
 International Development Association and Asian Development Bank, message requesting additional funds, 317
 International Economic Report of the President, 89
 International Educational and Cultural Exchange program, report transmittal, 299
 International expositions, message to Senate transmitting protocol amending convention, 208
 International transit of goods, customs convention on, transmittal to Senate, 213
 Johnson, Lyndon B., death, 10
 Legislative goals, message, 253
 Manpower Report of the President, 83
 Military Incentive Awards program, reports transmittal, 16
 National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education, report transmittal, 204
 National Endowment for the Arts and National Council on the Arts, report transmittal, 15
 National Endowment for the Humanities, report transmittal, 92

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Congress, communications to—Continued
National Science Foundation, report transmittal, 75
National Sickle Cell Anemia Control Act, administration, report transmittal, 267
Occupational safety and health, report transmittal 367
Ocean dumping convention, transmittal to Senate, 60
Patent modernization and reform legislation, message, 275
Pension reform legislation, message, 115
Phonograms, convention for the protection of producers, transmittal to Senate, 116
Presidential testimony, tapes, and documents, letters to Chairman, Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, 197, 211, 220
President's finances, letter to Chairman, Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, 355
Reorganization plans
Drug Enforcement Administration (No. 2 of 1973), 96
Executive Office of the President (No. 1 of 1973), 13
Safety of Life at Sea convention, message to Senate transmitting amendments, 145
State of the Union messages
Community development, 73
Economy, 53
Human resources, 61
Law enforcement and drug abuse prevention, 79
Natural resources and the environment, 43
Overview, 29
Stockpile disposal legislation, message, 123
Strasbourg Agreement concerning the International Patent Classification, transmittal to Senate, 88
Trade Agreements Program, report transmittal, 4, 302
Trade reform legislation, message, 112
- Congress, communications to—Continued
Unemployment insurance legislation, message, 118
Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970, report transmittal, 36
United Nations, U.S. participation, report transmittal, 247
United Nations Charter amendment, transmittal to Senate, 158
United States-Colombian treaty concerning Quita Sueño, Roncador, and Serrana, transmittal to Senate, 5
United States-Ethiopian treaty of amity and economic relations, message to Senate transmitting notes, 17
United States-Japan Cooperative Medical Science Program, report transmittal, 14
United States-Soviet convention on taxation, transmittal to Senate, 263
Wilderness areas, message, 342
World cultural and natural heritage protection convention, transmittal to Senate, 95
World Tourism Organization, message to Senate transmitting statutes, 256
World Weather Program, U.S. participation, plan transmittal, 205
Congressional Leadership Research Center, Everett McKinley Dirksen, 175
Congressional Medal of Honor, presentation ceremony, 296
Connally, John B., 23 [7], 63 [7], 114, 141 (pp. 443, 458), 246 [6], 334 [20]
Conrad, Capt. Charles, Jr., 172, 176, 182
Conservation. *See* Environment
Construction industry, 6, 122, 137
Construction Industry Stabilization Committee, 122 *ftn.*
Consumer Affairs, Office of, transfer to Health, Education, and Welfare Department, 61 (p. 146), 253 (pp. 776, 777)
Consumer Finance, National Commission on, report, 2
Consumer interests
Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1973, statement, 231

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Consumer interests—Continued
 - Energy policy, 128 (pp. 306, 312, 314)
 - Financial system, U.S., 228
 - Legislative goals, message to Congress, 253 (pp. 776, 777)
 - State of the Union message on human resources, 61 (pp. 145, 146)
- Consumer Protection Act of 1973, Agriculture and, 231
- Containers, conventions on, 329
- Conte, Repr. Silvio O., 126
- Continental Shelf, Outer, 127, 128 (pp. 304, 306, 307), 141 (p. 513), 253 (pp. 770, 771), 277
- Conventions, international. *See under* Treaties and other international agreements; *specific subject*
- Cook, G. Bradford, 66
- Cook, Sen. Marlow W., 8 n.
- Copley, James S., 284
- Copper stockpiles, disposal, 378
- Cormier, Frank, 63 [16], 246 [7, 18], 281 [12], 312 [4, 17]
- Corps of Engineers (Army), 130, 190
- Cost of Living Council
 - Chairman, 6 n., 59 n., 98 ftn.
 - Director, 6, 34, 59 n., 63 [12], 137 n., 194
 - Economic stabilization program, 6, 59, 137, 174, 207
 - Labor-Management Advisory Committee, members, 6 n.
 - Meat prices, 98
- Council. *See other part of title*
- Courts, United States
 - See also* Supreme Court of the United States
 - Narcotics and drug traffickers, prosecution, 74
 - Watergate, 134
- Cox, Archibald, 211, 221, 305, 309, 312 [4-6], 334 [3, 4]
- Credit. *See* Loans
- Crime. *See* Law enforcement and crime
- Criminal Code, Federal, reform, 253 (pp. 780, 781)
- Criminal Code Reform Act, proposed, 74, 79
- Criminal Laws, National Commission on the Reform of the Federal, 79
- Cromer, The Earl of, 35 ftn.
- Cuba, foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 437, 511)
- Cultural Exchange program, International Educational and, 299
- Cushing, E. M., 93
- Customs, Bureau of, 78, 96
- Customs Convention on Containers, 1972, 329
- Customs convention on the international transit of goods, 213
- Daniel, Repr. Robert W., Jr., 160
- Daughtrey, Maj. Robert N., 51
- Daylight saving time, 323, 324
- Daylight Saving Time Energy Conservation Act of 1973, Emergency, 359
- Deakin, James, 23 [7], 63 [6], 80 [9], 236 [12], 312 [11]
- Dean, John W., III, 3, 23 [10], 63 [15, 16], 76 n., 80 [2, 4, 11], 109, 133, 134, 162, 197, 220, 233, 234, 236 [4, 6, 14, 20], 246 [12], 328, 334 [3]
- Death penalty, 74, 79, 80 [8], 253 (pp. 781, 782)
- Deepwater ports, 127, 128 (pp. 311, 313), 250, 253 (pp. 768, 769), 277, 324
- Defense, Department of
 - Deputy Secretary, 123 n., 366
 - Energy conservation, 190
 - Military Incentive Awards program, 16
 - Military technology, 13
 - National defense report, 140
 - Secretary
 - Richardson, Elliot L., 28, 45 n.
 - Schlesinger, James R., 227, 270
 - Veterans training, 90
- Defense, national. *See* National defense and security
- Defense burden sharing, 138, 141 (p. 408), 254
- Defense Intelligence Agency, 162
- Defense spending, 20, 63 [3], 98, 100, 122, 246 [3], 253 (p. 764), 270
- De Gasperi, Alcide, 126
- Delaware, water resources, 93
- Delmarva Peninsula, 93
- Denmark, extradition treaty with U.S., 314
- Dent, Frederick B. (Secretary of Commerce), 28, 51, 190, 287, 340, 351, 366

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Denton, Capt. Jeremiah A., Jr., 46 n., 90, 98 ftn., 101
- Desegregation, schools, 253 (p. 773)
- Developing nations
 - Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 429, 430, 438, 474-476, 515)
 - Generalized tariff preferences, 112, 283
 - Ocean resources, 277
 - United Nations participation, 247
 - U.S. assistance. *See* Foreign assistance
- Diamond, Henry A., 287
- DiBona, Charles J., 128 (p. 318), 128 n., 190, 250, 347 n.
- DiMaggio, Joe, 48
- Dirksen, Mrs. Everett M., 175
- Dirksen Congressional Leadership Research Center, Everett McKinley, 175
- Disability Insurance Trust Fund, 91
- Disarmament, Conference of the Committee on, 110, 141 (p. 501), 185
- Disaster Preparedness and Assistance Act of 1973, proposed, 73, 144, 253 (p. 779)
- Disaster Relief Program, United Nations, 247
- Disaster relief and small business bill, veto, 269
- Disasters and disaster assistance
 - Disaster declaration announcements. *See* Appendix A
 - Flooded areas, statement on inspection flight, 130
 - International
 - Foreign policy report, 141 (p. 350)
 - U.S. relief coordinator, 180, 239
 - Legislative goals, message to Congress, 253 (pp. 779, 780)
 - Loans and insurance, 377
 - Relief functions, transfer, 13, 144
 - State of the Union message on community development, 68, 73
- Discrimination. *See* Desegregation
- District of Columbia
 - ABM site, planned, 141 (p. 483)
 - Budget, 104
 - Crime, 74, 79
 - Home rule, 253 (p. 780)
 - Mayor, 55
 - Metropolitan Police Department, meeting with Chief Jerry Wilson, 70
- District of Columbia—Continued
 - U.S. District Court, jurisdiction in civil actions brought by Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, 361
- District of Columbia, Commission on the Organization of the Government of the, 253 (p. 780)
- District of Columbia Self-Government and Governmental Reorganization Act, statement on signing, 370
- Dixon, John W., 358
- Djerassi, Carl, 289
- Dobrynin, A. F., 84 n., 181, 183, 185
- Dole, Sen. Robert, 147
- Dollar, U.S., 41, 52, 63 [13]
- Domenici, Sen. Pete B., 126
- Domestic Council, 3, 85 n., 341
- Domestic International Sales Corporations, 112
- Domestic policy
 - See also specific subject*
 - Address to Nation, 98
 - News conference remarks, 246 [5]
- Domestic Volunteer Service Act of 1973, statement on signing, 279
- Dominick, Sen. Peter H., 147
- Dorn, Repr. William Jennings Bryan, 235
- Doughtery, John, 334 [4]
- Douglas, Mike, 48
- Douglas-Home, Sir Alec, 27 n.
- Downey, John, 23 [13]
- Driggs, John, 68 n.
- Drug Abuse Control, United Nations Fund for, 141 (p. 512), 247
- Drug Abuse Law Enforcement, Office for Abolishment, 96
 - Director, 79 n., 96 n.
 - State of the Union message, 79
- Drug Abuse Prevention, Special Action Office for, 79, 255
- Drug Enforcement Administration
 - Administrator, 255
 - Reorganization Plan 2 of 1973, 96
- Drugs and drug abuse. *See* Narcotics and dangerous drugs
- Duffy, Kevin, 66
- Dunlop, John T., 6, 34, 59 n., 63 [12], 137 n., 194
- Dunn, James Clement, 77

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Dunn, Gov. Winfield, 337
 DuPont, Robert L., 255
 Dwight D. Eisenhower Highway, 232
- Earth Resource Technology Satellite, 141 (p. 509)
 East-West relations, 138 (pp. 375, 411-413), 346
 Eastland, Sen. James O., 76 n., 131
 Eberle, William D., 251 n., 292 ftm.
 Echeverría Alvarez, Luis, 141 (pp. 442, 516)
 Ecology. *See* Environment
 Economic Advisers, Council of
 Chairman, 22 n., 123 n., 137 n., 186, 249
 Meetings on Phase IV, 194
 Members, 53 n., 281 [11]
 Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, 141 (p. 431)
 Economic Cooperation and Development, Organization for, 128 (p. 317), 141 (p. 515), 225
 Economic Development Administration, 179
 Economic opportunity. *See* Equal opportunity
 Economic Opportunity, Office of, 58, 61 (p. 142), 149
 Economic Stabilization Act, extension, 6, 22, 53, 59, 137
 Economic stabilization program
 Phase III, 6, 52, 53, 59, 63 [12, 14], 137
 Phase IV, 174, 194, 207, 315
 Quarterly reports, 59, 199, 315
 Economy, national
 See also Economic stabilization program; Budget; *specific economic indicators*
 Addresses to Nation, 98, 174, 194
 Budget, fiscal 1974, 20, 21 (pp. 32-38)
 Comments, 173, 175, 249
 Economic Report, 22
 Legislative goals
 Message to Congress, 253 (pp. 763-767)
 Radio address, 252
 News conference remarks, 246 [2, 9], 281 [11]
 State of the Union message, 52, 53
- Edgerton, Harold E., 289
 Education
 See also Schools
 Budget message, 21 (pp. 40, 43)
 Busing, 58, 61 (p. 135), 253 (p. 773)
 Higher. *See* Colleges and universities
 Legislative goals
 Message to Congress, 253 (pp. 772-774)
 Radio address, 252
 Revenue sharing, 21 (pp. 40, 43), 58, 61 (p. 138)
 State of the Union message on human resources, 58, 61 (pp. 138, 139)
 Education, National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing, 204
 Education, National Institute of, 61 (p. 139), 253 (p. 773)
 Educational and Cultural Exchange program, International, 299
 Edwards, Dr. Charles C., 376 n.
 Egypt
 See also Middle East
 Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 447-449)
 Ehrlichman, John D., 3, 41 n., 80 [2, 4], 125, 133, 134, 162, 233, 234, 236 [4, 6, 9, 13-15, 20], 246 [12], 334 [6, 7, 9]
 Eid, Guy, 63 [10], 65 n.
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 24, 31, 64
 Eisenhower, Mrs. Dwight D., 8 n., 224, 297
 Eisenhower, Lt. (jg.) Dwight David, II, 46 n.
 Eisenhower, Milton, 143
 Eisenhower Highway, Dwight D., 232
 Elahi, Chaudhry Fazal, 239 n.
 Elderly. *See* Older persons
 Eldjárn, Kristján, 169
 Election Reform, Commission on Federal, proposed, 154, 155, 253 (p. 782), 334 [19]
 Elections
 1972, campaign contributions, 312 [11]
 1976, news conference remarks, 23 [7], 281 [6]
 Electric power, 128 (pp. 311, 316), 253 (p. 770), 339
 Electric Power Research Institute, 128 (p. 316)

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Elk Hills Naval Petroleum Reserve, 250, 253 (p. 771), 323, 324
- Ellsberg, Daniel, 162, 234, 236 [9], 334 [4, 7]
- Emergency Daylight Saving Time Energy Conservation Act of 1973, statement on signing, 359
- Emergency Employment Act of 1971, 85
- Emergency Employment Assistance program, 21 (p. 43)
- Emergency Energy Act, proposed, 368
- Emergency medical services bill, veto, 226, 257
- Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act of 1973, 339 fn.
- Emergency Preparedness, Office of
 - Abolishment and transfer of functions, 13, 161
 - Acting Director, 130, 144 n.
- Emergency windfall profits tax, proposed, 364, 365
- Employee Benefits Protection Act, proposed, 115, 253 (p. 775)
- Employment Act of 1971, Emergency, 85
- Employment Security Amendments of 1970, 118
- Employment and Training Act of 1973, Comprehensive, 372
- Employment and unemployment
 - See also* Labor; Manpower
 - Minimum wage bill, 246 [15], 248, 253 (p. 775), 265
 - News conference remarks, 246 [15], 281 [11]
 - State of the Union message on the economy, 52, 53
 - Unemployment insurance, 118, 253 (p. 774)
- Endangered species
 - Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora, transmittal to Senate, 119
 - Federal ocean program, 277
 - State of the Union message on natural resources and the environment, 44
- Endangered Species Act of 1973, statement on signing, 374
- Energy
 - See also specific energy source*
- Energy—Continued
 - Addresses to Nation, 323, 339
 - Alaskan pipeline bill, remarks and statement on signing, 332, 333
 - Associated Press Managing Editors Association, question-and-answer session, 334 [18]
 - Budget message, 21 (p. 45)
 - Comments, 173, 289, 330, 340, 358
 - Cooperation with U.S.S.R., 128 (p. 317)
 - Emergency Daylight Saving Time Energy Conservation Act of 1973, statement on signing, 359
 - Federal Government conservation, memorandum, 191
 - Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 451, 462, 513, 514)
 - Joint statement (U.S.-Japan), 225
 - Letter to Governors, 192
 - Meetings with advisers, remarks to press, 250, 338, 357
 - Messages to Congress, 127, 128, 253 (pp. 768-771), 324
 - News conference remarks, 246 [4, 17]
 - Radio addresses
 - Economy, 194
 - Legislative goals, 252
 - State of the Union message on natural resources and the environment, 43, 44
 - Statements, 190, 287, 291, 368
- Energy, Special Committee on, 127 n., 128 (p. 318), 190
- Energy Act, Emergency, proposed, 368
- Energy Administration, Federal, proposed, 347, 359
- Energy Conservation, Office of, 128 (pp. 313, 314, 318), 190, 191
- Energy Data and Analysis, Office of, 190
- Energy Emergency Action Group, 323 n., 339, 347, 357
- Energy and Natural Resources, Department of, proposed, 128 (p. 318), 190, 253 (p. 770), 291, 324
- Energy Office, Federal, 347, 357
- Energy Office, National, 127, 128 (p. 318), 190
- Energy Policy Office
 - Deputy Director, 347

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Energy Policy Office—Continued
Director, 190, 250, 287 n., 291 n., 320 n., 333, 338, 339 n.
Establishment, 190
Energy Research and Development Administration, proposed, 190, 253 (p. 770), 291, 323, 324, 347
Energy Research and Development Advisory Council, 190, 291
Engineers, Corps of (Army), 130, 190
England. *See* United Kingdom
Environment
See also Recreation
Budget message, 20, 21 (pp. 44, 45)
Council on Environmental Quality, annual report, 260
Energy crisis, impact, 190, 250, 253 (pp. 768, 769-771), 289, 323, 324, 332
Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 370, 371, 514-516)
Historic preservation, 44
International cooperation, 44, 60, 225
Messages to Congress
Energy policy, 128 (pp. 303, 304, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310)
Legislative goals, 253 (pp. 771, 772)
Rural assistance program, 231
State of the Union message, 43, 44
United Nations activities, 44, 247, 277, 360
Wilderness areas. *See* Wilderness areas
Environment, President's Advisory Panel on Timber and the, 271
Environment, United Nations Conference on the Human (1972), 141 (pp. 514, 515)
Environment Fund, United Nations, 141 (pp. 504, 515)
Environmental Protection, U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Committee on, 141 (pp. 371, 516)
Environmental Protection Agency
Administrator, 44 n., 250 ftn., 324, 357 n.
Automobiles, gasoline mileage, 190
Deputy Administrator, 287 n.
Drinking water, 253 (p. 772)
Energy crisis, relaxation of standards, 332
Environmental Protection Agency—Con.
Message to Congress on energy policy, 128 (pp. 307, 309, 314, 316)
Toxic substances, 253 (p. 772)
Waste treatment construction grants, 21 (p. 45), 108
Environmental Quality, Citizens' Advisory Committee on, 287
Environmental Quality, Council on
Acting Chairman, 260 n.
Annual report, 260
Chairman, 44 n., 186, 250 ftn., 260 n., 357 n.
Energy resources, 128 (pp. 307, 313, 314), 190
Outer Continental Shelf, leasing, 253 (pp. 770, 771)
Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, 146
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 21 (p. 44), 61 (p. 143)
Equal opportunity, 21 (p. 44), 58, 61 (pp. 141, 143), 264
Equal rights for women, proposed amendment, 61 (p. 143)
Ervin, Sen. Sam J., Jr., 63 [15], 80 [6, 10], 125, 197, 211, 220, 305, 312 [4], 334 [4, 7]
Ervin (Watergate investigation) committee. *See* Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities
Ethiopia
Emperor Haile Selassie I, meeting with the President, 153
U.S.-Ethiopian treaty of amity and economic relations, 17
Europe
See also specific country
Defense
See also North Atlantic Treaty Organization
Burden sharing, 138, 141 (p. 408), 254
Mutual and balanced force reductions, 45, 98, 110, 122, 138, 141 (pp. 367, 375, 410, 413, 498-500), 163, 185, 270
Foreign policy report, 139, 141 (pp. 349, 352, 356, 402-416, 486)

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Europe—Continued
 Joint statements
 Federal Republic of Germany-United States, 138
 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics-United States, 185
 President's travel plans, 281 [8]
 U.S. relations, 23 [6], 45
Europe, Conference on Security and Cooperation in, 45, 138, 141 (pp. 367, 375, 412), 185
European Community, Conference of Heads of State and Government of the, 138
European Defense Improvement Program, 141 (pp. 408, 486)
European Economic Community
 Declaration of principles, proposed, 281 [12]
 Energy resources, message to Congress, 128 (p. 317)
 Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 403-406, 471, 472, 474)
 Trade with U.S., 112
European Space Conference, 141 (p. 509)
Evans, Daniel J., 357 n.
Everett McKinley Dirksen Congressional Research Center, 175
Everglades National Park, 44
Ewing, William Maurice, 289
Exchange rates, international, 141 (pp. 469, 476)
Executive Boards, Federal, 30
Executive branch. *See* Government departments and agencies
Executive clemency, 162, 234, 236 [14], 334 [3]
Executive Office of the President
 See also White House Staff
 Reorganization, 3, 13, 20
Executive orders
 See also Appendix C
 Economy
 Economic stabilization program, Phase IV, 207 n.
 60-day freeze on prices, 174 ftn.
 Energy Policy Office, establishment, 190 n.
 Federal civilian and military pay increases, 282 n.
 Executive orders—Continued
 Federal Energy Office, establishment, 347
 Federal Property Council, establishment, 186 n.
 Foreign Service, slain officers, lowering flags, 71 ftn.
 General Services Administration, transfer of certain functions from Office of Management and Budget, 161
 Oil Policy Committee, 128 (p. 318)
 President's Export Council, 366 n.
 Special Committee on Energy and National Energy Office, 127 n., 128 (p. 318)
 Executive privilege, 23 [10], 63 [16], 76, 80 [2, 10], 125, 162, 220, 234, 236 [17], 310, 312 [17], 334 [14, 15]
 Expansion Arts Program, 259
 Export Administration Act, proposed amendment, 253 (p. 766)
 Export Council, President's, 292 n., 366 n.
 Export Expansion, Conference on, 292
 Export Expansion, President's Interagency Committee on, 292 n., 366
 Export-Import Bank of the United States, 112, 141 (pp. 372, 415, 439, 462), 351, 366
 Export Trade Act, proposed amendment, 112
Exports
 See also Trade
 Agricultural, 112, 137, 174, 194, 302
 Economic Report, 22
 Scarcity goods, controls, 194, 207, 253 (p. 766)
Expositions, Bureau of International, 208
Expositions, convention on international, protocol amending, 208
Expropriations, 141 (p. 441)
Extradition treaties
 Denmark, 314
 Italy, 187
 Uruguay, 157
Fair Labor Standards Act, 248
Family assistance program, 63 [8]
Fannin, Sen. Paul J., 323
Far East, Economic Commission for Asia and the, 141 (p. 431)

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Farley, James A., 280
- Farmers Home Administration, 264
- Farms and farming. *See* Agriculture and agricultural programs
- Fassler, Gustave, 78 n.
- FBI. *See* Federal Bureau of Investigation
- Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1973, statement on signing, 232
- Federal Assistance Review program, 21 (p. 39)
- Federal Aviation Administration, 190
- Federal Bureau of Investigation
 - Acting Director, 63 [9, 16], 80 [2, 4, 6], 109, 162
 - Crime index, 74, 79, 97
 - Director, 198
 - Drug abuse prevention, 96
 - Files, confidentiality, 80 [4]
 - Intelligence operations, 162
 - Watergate, 63 [16], 134, 162, 233, 234, 236 [3]
- Federal criminal laws, reform, 74, 79, 253 (pp. 780, 781)
- Federal Election Reform, Commission on, proposed, 154, 155, 253 (p. 782), 334 [19]
- Federal employees. *See* Government employees
- Federal Employees Pay Council, 278, 282
- Federal Energy Administration, proposed, 347, 359
- Federal Energy Office, 347, 357
- Federal Executive Boards, 30
- Federal Highway Administration, annual report, 316
- Federal Home Loan Bank Board, 264
- Federal Home Loan Banks, 228
- Federal Housing Administration
 - Housing policy, message to Congress, 264
 - Insulation standards, 128 (p. 314)
 - Mortgage insurance program, 253 (p. 778)
 - Mortgage loans, interest ceilings, 228
- Federal Insurance Administration, 377 n.
- Federal land and property, 44, 186
- Federal Maritime Commission, 325, 340, 366
- Federal National Mortgage Association, 264
- Federal Pay, Advisory Committee on, 278, 282
- Federal Power Commission, 128 (pp. 305, 309, 316), 324
- Federal Property Council, 186
- Federal Regional Council system, 21 (p. 39)
- Federal Reserve System
 - Board of Governors, Chairman, 24, 141 (p. 443), 246 [9, 10]
 - Message to Congress on housing policy, 264
 - Monetary policy, 194, 207, 228, 246 [2, 9], 253 (p. 763)
- Federal-State Employment Security System, 85
- Federal Trade Commission, 333
- Federal Trade Commission Act, proposed amendment, 112
- Federal Unemployment Tax Act, proposed amendment, 118
- Federal Water Pollution Control Act
 - Amendments of 1972, 179
- Federal Woman's Award, 72
- Fellner, William J., 281 [11]
- Fielding, Dr. Lewis, 234, 236 [12]
- Film Day, National, 306
- Financial Structure and Regulation, Commission on, 228
- Financial system, U.S., message to Congress, 228
- Finnegan, John, 334 [14]
- Fire Prevention and Control, National Commission on, 201
- Fire safety equipment, 375
- Fishing industry, 277
- Fishing rights, U.S., 5
- Fisheries, environmental protection, 44
- Fitzgerald, A. Ernest, 23 [10, 11]
- Fitzmaurice, Sp4 Michael J., 296
- Flanigan, Peter M., 3, 23 [10], 89 n., 112 n.
- Fletcher, James C., 371 n.
- Flood Disaster Protection Act, 144, 253 (p. 779), 377
- Flood insurance program, national, 73, 377
- Florida, visits, 46-49, 173
- Florida Technological University, commencement remarks, 173

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Flynn, Brig. Gen. John P., 165
 Flynn, Lt. Comdr. Robert J., 23 [13]
 Food
 See also Nutrition; *specific commodity*
 Agriculture and Consumer Protection
 Act of 1973, statement, 231
 Supplies and prices, 6, 22, 52, 53, 59,
 80 [9], 137, 174, 194, 207, 249
 Food and Agriculture Organization of
 the United Nations, 141 (p. 504),
 180, 247
 Food for Peace program, 141 (p. 439),
 203
 Food stamps, 61 (p. 140), 231
 Ford, Gerald R.
 Minority Leader, House of Representa-
 tives, 253 n., 290 n., 294 n.
 Vice President of the United States,
 294, 295, 325, 363
 Ford, John, 63 [1], 101, 244
 Ford, Wendell H., 357 n.
 Foreign assistance
 See also Developing nations; *specific*
 country
 Agricultural loans, 23 [5]
 Appropriations, letter to President of
 Senate and Speaker of House, 33
 Budget message, 21 (p. 41)
 Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 474-
 476, 487, 488, 512)
 Messages to Congress, 135, 253 (p.
 785), 317
 Foreign Assistance Act of 1973, proposed,
 135
 Foreign investment, private, 112, 141
 (pp. 440, 462)
 Foreign leaders, meetings with. *See*
 Meetings with foreign leaders
 Foreign policy
 See also specific country or area
 Comments, 45, 160, 348
 Cooperation between executive and
 legislative branches, 311
 Inaugural address, 8
 Report, 139, 140, 141
 South Carolina General Assembly, re-
 marks, 51
 Foreign Service, slain officers, 71
 Foreign Service Women, Association of
 American, 77
 Forest Service, 271
 Forestry incentives program, 231
 Fort Detrick, Md., 141 (p. 500)
 Fosco, Peter, 126
 Foster Grandparents program, 142
 Four-Party Joint Military Commission
 (Vietnam), 12 n., 141 (pp. 390, 391)
 France
 Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 412,
 512)
 Narcotics and dangerous drugs, 255
 President Georges Pompidou, 141 (pp.
 405, 406), 169, 281 [12]
 Frey, Repr. Louis, Jr., 173
 Friedersdorf, Max L., 313 n.
 Froehlke, Robert F. (Secretary of the
 Army), 45 n.
 Galanti, Phyllis, 19
 Galbreath, Dan, 1 n.
 Gandhi, Indira, 141 (pp. 454, 458)
 Garment, Leonard, 125, 133, 155 n.,
 162 n., 186, 221
 Garriott, Dr. Owen K., 273 n.
 Gas, natural
 See also Energy
 Deregulation, 127, 128, 250, 253 (p.
 769), 324, 330, 334 [18]
 Outer Continental Shelf, leasing, 128,
 277
 U.S.S.R. resources, 185
 Gasoline
 Filling stations, Sunday closing, 339
 Message to Congress on energy policy,
 128 (pp. 303, 305, 306, 307)
 Prices, 174, 194
 Rationing, 323, 324, 334 [16]
 Supply, 141 (p. 513), 190
 GATT. *See* General Agreement on Tariffs
 and Trade
 Gayler, Adm. Noel A., 57 ftn., 162
 Gemmill, Kenneth W., 355 n.
 General Accounting Office, 36
 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade,
 138, 141 (pp. 372, 406, 438, 444,
 471, 472, 474), 302, 351
 General Services Administration
 Administrator and Deputy Administra-
 tor, 161
 Energy conservation, 128 (p. 314), 287

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- General Services Administration—Con.
 - Federal properties, surveys, 186
 - President's properties, improvements, 246 [8], 281 [4], 354
 - Property Management and Disposal Service, Commissioner, 123 n.
 - Stockpiles, disposal, 378
 - Transfer of certain functions from Office of Management and Budget and Office of Emergency Preparedness, 13, 161
- Geological Survey, 93, 128 (p. 308)
- George, Walter F., 336
- Georgia, visit, 335, 336
- Georgine, Robert A., 122 n.
- Geothermal energy, 128 (pp. 304, 308), 141 (p. 514)
- Germany, Federal Republic of
 - Chancellor Willy Brandt
 - Meetings with the President, 136, 138, 141 (p. 406)
 - Mention, 281 [12]
 - Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 367, 369, 406, 408, 411, 412)
 - Joint statement with U.S., 138
- GI bill, 61 (p. 144), 90
- Gill, George, 334 [3]
- Gillespie, Capt. Charles R., Jr., 164
- Giusti, Dave, 1 n.
- Gleason, Jackie, 48
- Godley, G. McMurtrie, 202
- Goldwater, Sen. Barry, 281 [2]
- Goodpaster, Gen. Andrew J., 45 n.
- Government departments and agencies
 - See also* Government employees; Memorandums to Federal officials and agencies
 - Civil rights activities, 21 (p. 44)
 - Combined Federal Campaign, memorandum, 230
 - Energy conservation, 190, 191, 287, 323, 324
 - President's Interagency Committee on Export Expansion, memorandum, 366
 - Red Cross Month, memorandum, 67
 - Reorganization, 3, 21 (pp. 38, 39), 73
- Government employees
 - Pay increase, 242, 253 (p. 764), 278, 282
- Government employees—Continued
 - Reduction in civilian work force, 207, 253 (p. 764)
- Government National Mortgage Association, 264
- Government reform and decentralization, 3, 8, 20, 21 (pp. 32, 34, 38-40), 29, 51, 52, 53, 68, 73, 100, 252
- Government spending. *See* Budget
- Governors
 - Letter on energy conservation, 192
 - Meeting with the President on energy, 357
- Governors' Conference, National, 36
- Governors' Conference, Republican, 337 n.
- Graham, Rev. William F. "Billy", 24
- Grand Forks, N. Dak., 141 (pp. 483, 494)
- Grants, Federal
 - See also* Revenue sharing and *specific programs*
 - College students, 21 (p. 43), 58, 61 (p. 139), 73, 132
 - Federal Assistance Review program, 21 (p. 39)
 - Waste treatment construction, 21 (p. 45)
- Gray, L. Patrick, 63 [9, 16], 80 [2, 4, 6], 109, 162, 233, 234, 236 [3, 9], 246 [12]
- Grayson, C. Jackson, Jr., 6
- Great Britain. *See* United Kingdom
- Great Lakes, International Field Year of the, 277
- Great Lakes, pollution, 43, 44
- Great Lakes safety agreement with Canada, 150
- Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement, 141 (p. 516)
- Greece, foreign policy report, 141 (p. 488)
- Green Revolution, 141 (pp. 427, 459, 474)
- Gribbs, Roman S., 68 n.
- Griffin, Sen. Robert P., 290 n.
- Gromyko, A. A., 141 (p. 369), 181, 183, 185
- Gronouski, John A., 143
- Gross national product, 21 (p. 33), 98, 100, 253 (p. 764), 315
- Guam Doctrine. *See* Nixon Doctrine

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Gullion, Edmund A., 143
Gun control, 23 [9], 79
Gunther, John J., 68 n.
- Ha Xuan Trung, 106
Haagen-Smit, Arie Jan, 289
Haensel, Vladimir, 289
Haig, Gen. Alexander M., Jr., 198, 295 n., 312 [2]
Haile Selassie I, 153
Haiman, Bob, 334 [6]
Haldeman, H. R., 3, 133, 134, 162, 221, 234, 236 [4, 6, 13-15], 328, 334 [6, 9]
Hall, Paul, 340
Hampton, Robert E., 242, 278, 282
Hamza, Abel Aziz al-Nasri, 71 n.
Handicapped persons
 Budget message, 21 (p. 43)
 Job training, 253 (p. 774)
 Rehabilitation Act of 1973, 274
 Supplemental security income program, 200, 231
Handley, William J., 255
Hanks, Nancy, 259
Hansen, Sen. Clifford P., 332
Hardin, Clifford M., 334 [20]
Harlow, Bryce, 63 [8], 186, 249 n., 281 [2]
Harris, Dr. Rufus Carrollton, 336
Hart, George L., Jr., 245
Hart, Janet, 72 n.
Hassan II, King, 166
Hatfield, Sen. Mark O., 332, 334 [10]
Hathaway, Stanley K., 357 n.
Health, Education, and Welfare, Department of
 See also specific constituent agencies
 Assistant Secretaries, 72 ftn., 376 n.
 Hospitals, contracts with community, 226
 Indian affairs, 61 (p. 144)
 Nursing homes safety study, 375
 Occupational safety and health, 367
 Secretary
 Richardson, Elliot L., 131
 Weinberger, Caspar W., 3, 39, 61 (p. 148 n.), 63 [8], 200, 230, 274 n., 325, 376 n.
 Social service regulations, 200
 Student assistance programs, 132
 Under Secretary, 28
 Vocational rehabilitation, 91
 Health, National Institutes of, 267
 Health Maintenance Organization Act of 1973, statement on signing, 376
 Health Maintenance Organization Assistance Act, proposed, 253 (p. 776)
 Health maintenance organizations, 61 (p. 137)
 Health and medical care
 See also specific disease
 Budget message, 21 (pp. 43, 44)
 Cooperation with U.S.S.R., 141 (pp. 370, 371)
 Drug addiction. *See* Narcotics and dangerous drugs
 Economic stabilization program, 6, 137
 Emergency medical services bill, veto, 226, 257
 Insurance, 21 (p. 44), 58, 61 (p. 137), 253 (pp. 775, 776), 376
 International cooperation, 14, 185
 Legislative goals, message to Congress, 253 (pp. 775, 776)
 Occupational, 367
 State of the Union message on human resources, 58, 61 (pp. 137, 138)
 Health Organization, World, 247
 Health Programs Extension Act of 1973, statement on signing, 179
 Health Services Administration, 267
 Health Services Industry, Committee on the, 6
 Heart Association, American, 64
 Heart disease, 20, 58, 61 (p. 137), 64, 79, 141 (p. 371)
 Heart-of-the-Year Award, 64
 Heath, Donald R., 77
 Heath, Edward, 23 [6], 25, 27, 45, 141 (pp. 406, 418), 171, 281 [12]
 Hébert, Repr. F. Edward, 131, 235, 336
 Heins, Ed, 334 [7]
 Helms, Richard, 162, 245
 Henderson, Loy, 217
 Heroin
 Foreign policy report, 141 (p. 512)
 News conference remarks, 80 [8]
 State of the Union message on law enforcement and drug abuse prevention, 74, 79
 Trafficking, penalties, 253 (p. 781)
 Herringer, Frank C., 28
 Herter, Christian A., 31

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Highway Administration, Federal, 316
- Highway and mass transit bill, statement on signing, 232
- Highway Safety Act of 1966, 316
- Highway Safety Act of 1973, statement on signing, 232 n.
- Highway Traffic Safety Administration, National, 316
- Highway Trust Fund, 44, 68, 73, 128 (p. 314), 232, 253 (p. 777)
- Highways
 - Interstate Highway System, 21 (p. 47)
 - Speed limit reduction, 323, 324, 339
 - State of the Union message on community development, 68, 73
- Hijacking and terrorism, 21 (p. 48), 141 (pp. 510, 511)
- Hill, John A., 357 n.
- Hill-Burton program, 20, 61 (p. 138)
- Hiss, Alger, 80 [2]
- Historic buildings and areas, preservation, 44
- Hitt, Patricia Reilly, 72 ftn.
- Holdridge, John H., 80 [1]
- Hollings, Sen. Ernest F., 23 [5], 51
- Holton, Gov. A. Linwood, 160
- Hoover, J. Edgar, 80 [2, 4], 162
- Hope, Bob, 165
- Hopkins, Richard J., 78 n.
- Horner, Garnett D., 236 [14], 334 [1]
- Hosmer, Repr. Craig, 332
- Hospitals, Federal aid, 20, 61 (p. 138)
- Houphouet-Boigny, Félix, 286, 288
- Housing
 - Budget message, 21 (pp. 46, 47)
 - Finance, 228
 - Messages to Congress, 253 (p. 778), 264
 - State of the Union message on community development, 68, 73
- Housing Administration, Federal. *See* Federal Housing Administration
- Housing and Urban Development, Department of
 - See also specific constituent agencies*
 - Assistant Secretary, 73 n.
 - Disaster relief activities, 13, 144
 - Message to Congress on housing, 264
 - Secretary (James T. Lynn), 3, 28, 68, 73 n., 228, 264, 375, 377 n.
- Housing and Urban Development, Department of—Continued
 - State of the Union message on community development, 68, 73
 - Under Secretary, 144 n.
- Howard, W. Richard, 221
- Hruska, Sen. Roman L., 23 [9]
- Hudnut, Repr. William H., 3d, 295 n.
- Hudson River Basin Compact Act, report, 321
- Hughes, Howard, 312 [11]
- Hulett, Stanley W., 342 n.
- Human resources
 - Budget, 21 (pp. 42-44), 52, 53, 58, 61 (p. 147), 98
 - State of the Union message, 58, 61
- Human Resources, Department of, proposed, 3
- Humanities, National Endowment for the, 92, 253 (p. 782)
- Humanities, National Foundation on the Arts and the, 61 (p. 147), 304
- Hungary, foreign policy report, 141 (p. 415)
- Hunt, E. Howard, 162, 234, 334 [3]
- Hussein I, King, 31, 141 (p. 446)
- Hyde, Floyd H., 73 n., 144 n.
- Hydroelectric plants, 128 (p. 303)
- ICBMs (intercontinental ballistic missile systems), 141 (pp. 482, 493-495, 497)
- Iceland, President Kristján Eldjárn, meeting with the President, 169
- Illinois
 - Disaster assistance, 130
 - Visit, 175
- Immigration and Naturalization Service, 96
- Imports
 - See also* Trade
 - Adjustment assistance, 112, 118, 283
 - Agricultural products, 137, 231
 - Barriers, letter to Speaker of House and President of Senate, 99
 - Economic Report, 22
 - Legislative goals, message to Congress, 253 (pp. 765, 766)
 - Milk, dried skim, 207
 - News conference remarks, 80 [9]
 - Oil, 127 n., 128 (pp. 311, 312)
 - Trade reform legislation, 112, 283

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Impoundment of funds, 23 [12]
- Inaugural address, 8
- Income
 - Maintenance programs, 21 (pp. 42, 43), 61 (p. 141), 91, 200, 231
 - State of the Union message on the economy, 52, 53
- Independence Day, statement, 196
- India
 - Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 356, 454, 456-459)
 - POW return agreement with Pakistan, 238
 - Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, 141 (pp. 454, 458)
 - U.S. Ambassador to, 141 (p. 458)
 - U.S. assistance, 80 [13]
- Indian Affairs, Bureau of, 61 (p. 144)
- Indian Tribal Government Grant Program, 179
- Indian Trust Counsel Authority, 61 (p. 144)
- Indians, American
 - Legislative goals, message to Congress, 253 (p. 776)
 - Menominee Restoration Act, statement on signing, 369
 - State of the Union message on human resources, 58, 61 (p. 144)
- Indochina
 - See also* Cambodia; Laos; Vietnam conflict
 - Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 355, 389, 392, 396)
 - Joint statements
 - Republic of Vietnam-United States, 106
 - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics-United States, 185
 - Peace efforts, Congressional role, 156
 - U.S. reconstruction plans, 23 [1, 4], 63 [3], 135
- Indonesia, foreign policy report, 141 (p. 427)
- Industry
 - Energy conservation and development, 128 (pp. 305, 310, 316), 190, 287
 - Pollution control, 43, 44
- Inflation, policies to combat. *See* Economic stabilization program; Economy, national
- Information Agency, United States, 223, 310
- Ingersoll, Robert S., 225
- Ink, Dwight A., 161
- Insulation standards, 128 (p. 314)
- Insurance
 - Fire safety equipment, 375
 - Flood, 73, 253 (p. 779), 377
 - Health, 21 (p. 44), 58, 61 (p. 137), 253 (pp. 775, 776), 376
 - Mortgage, 264
 - Unemployment, 118, 253 (p. 774)
- Insurance Administration, Federal, 377 n.
- Insurance Trust Fund, Disability, 91
- Intelligence Evaluation Committee, 162
- INTELSAT (International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium), 141 (p. 509)
- Inter-American Development Bank, 141 (pp. 436, 439, 440, 444, 476), 317
- Inter-American Economic and Social Council, 141 (p. 437)
- Intercontinental ballistic missile systems (ICBMs), 141 (pp. 482, 493-495, 497)
- Interest and dividends, 6
- Interest and Dividends, Committee on, 264
- Interest rates, 228, 264
- Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization, 44, 141 (pp. 504, 515), 145, 247, 277
- Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission, 277
- Intergovernmental Personnel Act, 146
- Intergovernmental Personnel Policy, Advisory Council on, 300
- Intergovernmental Relations, Advisory Commission on, 248
- Interior, Department of the
 - See also specific constituent agencies*
 - Assistant Secretary, 128 (p. 317)
 - Deputy Assistant Secretary, 342 n.
 - Deputy Under Secretary, 333 n.
 - Energy matters, 128 (pp. 306-309, 313-315, 317, 318), 190, 253 (p. 771), 277
 - Environmental matters, 44
 - Hudson River Basin Compact Act, report, 321

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Interior, Department of the—Continued
 - Indian affairs, 61 (p. 144)
 - Secretary (Rogers C. B. Morton), 44 n., 93, 190, 191, 250, 287, 332, 333 n., 342 n., 358, 369
 - Under Secretary, 28, 330 ftn.
- Internal Revenue Code, review, 253 (p. 767)
- Internal Revenue Service
 - Drug abuse prevention, 79, 96
 - Economic stabilization program, pricing procedures, 137, 174
 - President's taxes, 354, 355
- International Atomic Energy Agency, 141 (p. 504), 247
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 141 (pp. 438, 439, 455, 475), 251, 253 (p. 765)
- International Broadcasting, Presidential Study Commission on, 143
- International Civil Aviation Organization, 141 (p. 503), 247
- International Coffee Agreement, 212
- International Commission of Control and Supervision (Vietnam), 12 n., 80 [3], 106, 141 (p. 390), 327, 329
- International Committee of the Red Cross, 141 (p. 502)
- International Conference on Vietnam, 141 (pp. 390, 392, 394)
- International cooperation
 - Energy resources, 128 (p. 317)
 - Environment, 44, 60
 - Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 350, 351, 353, 357, 506–516)
 - Health, 14, 185
 - Narcotics and dangerous drugs, 79, 96
 - Oceans, 185, 277
 - Space, 82
- International Decade of Ocean Exploration, 277
- International Development, Agency for
 - Foreign policy report, 141 (p. 475)
 - Pakistan floods, 239
 - Vietnam, Republic of, 103
 - West African drought, 180
- International Development Association, 317
- International economic policy
 - See also* Trade; *specific country or area*
 - Budget message, 21 (p. 41)
- International economic policy—Con.
 - Developing nations, 317
 - Dollar devaluation, 41, 52, 63 [13]
 - Economic Report, 22
 - Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 356, 467–477)
 - Joint statements
 - Federal Republic of Germany–United States, 138
 - Japan–United States, 225
 - State of the Union message on the economy, 52, 53
- International Economic Policy, Council on, 89 n., 112 n., 253 (p. 767), 366
- International Economic Report of the President, 89
- International Educational and Cultural Exchange program, annual report, 299
- International Field Year of the Great Lakes, 277
- International Monetary Fund, 141 (pp. 444, 468, 470), 225, 251, 253 (p. 765)
- International monetary system, reform, 253 (p. 765), 302, 317
- International Narcotics Control, Cabinet Committee on, 79, 96, 141 (p. 511), 341
- International Narcotics Control Assistance Program, 141 (p. 475)
- International Narcotics Control Board, 247
- International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea, 1972, Convention on the, 326
- International transit of goods, customs convention on, 213
- International Union of Official Travel Organizations, 256
- International Whaling Commission, 141 (p. 515), 277
- INTERPOL (International Criminal Police Organization), 141 (p. 511)
- Interstate Commerce Commission, 320
- Interstate Highway System, 73
- Investment, private foreign, 112, 141 (pp. 440, 462)
- Investment Corporation, Overseas Private, 141 (p. 462), 351

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Iowa, floods, 130

Iran

Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 451, 452, 488)

Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, meetings with the President, 141 (p. 452), 215-217

Iraq, foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 450, 451)

Ismail, Hafiz, 141 (p. 446)

Israel

See also Middle East

Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 446, 447-450)

Prime Minister Golda Meir, meetings with the President, 62, 141 (p. 446)

U.S. assistance, 303

U.S. relations, 246 [16]

Italy

Extradition treaty with U.S., 187

Foreign policy report, 141 (p. 412)

Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, meetings with the President, 124, 126, 141 (p. 406)

U.S. Ambassador to, 124

Ivory Coast, President Félix Houphouët-Boigny, meetings with the President, 286, 288

Jackie Gleason Inverrary Classic, 48

Jackson, Sen. Henry M., 246 [17], 323, 332

Jacox, Dr. Marilyn E., 72 n.

Jaffe, Dr. Jerome H., 255 ftn.

James, John W., III, 210

Japan

Ambassador to U.S., 225

Comments, 135

Declaration of principles, proposed, 281 [12]

Foreign policy report, 139, 141 (pp. 349, 352, 356, 416-426, 472, 474)

Former Prime Minister Eisaku Sato, 141 (pp. 417, 419, 423)

Joint statement with U.S., 225

Medical science program with U.S., 14

President's travel plans, 281 [8]

Japan—Continued

Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka

Meetings with the President, 141 (pp. 422, 424, 472), 222, 224, 225

Mention, 141 (pp. 417, 418, 421), 281 [8]

Relations with Europe, 138

Trade with U.S., 141 (p. 425), 225, 302

Trip by Secretary of State Kissinger, 281 [1]

U.S. Ambassador to, 225

U.S. relations, 45

Japan Foundation, 225

Japan-U.S. Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs, 141 (p. 425), 225

Jarriel, Tom, 236 [4], 246 [11], 281 [7]

Jarring, Gunnar, 141 (pp. 447, 449)

Javits, Sen. Jacob K., 23 [10]

Jaworski, Leon, 319 n., 334 [5]

Jefferson Lecture in the Humanities, 92

Jenkins, Alfred le S., 80 [1]

Jewish High Holy Days, message, 258

Job Security Assistance Act, proposed, 118, 253 (p. 774)

Jobs for Veterans program, 38 n., 57, 90

Jóhannesson, Olafur, 169 ftn.

John C. Stennis Naval Technical Training Center, dedication, 131

Johnson, Lyndon B.

Death, 9-11

Mention, 42, 64, 80 [13], 121, 334 [8]

Johnson, Mrs. Lyndon B., 42, 373 n.

Johnson, William A., 128 n., 357 n.

Johnson Memorial Grove, Lyndon Baines, 373

Johnson Space Center, Lyndon B., 50

Joint Chiefs of Staff, 38 n., 45 n., 270

Joint statements

Germany, Federal Republic of, 138

Japan, 225

Pakistan, 266

Romania, 349-351, 353

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 185

Vietnam, Republic of, 106

Jones, John W., 77

Jordan

See also Middle East

Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 447-449)

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Jordan—Continued

- King Hussein I, meetings with the President, 31, 141 (p. 446)
- Judicial system. *See* Courts, United States
- Justice, Department of
 - See also specific constituent agencies*
 - Acting Attorney General (Robert H. Bork), 309, 312 [3], 319
 - Assistant Attorneys General, 79 n., 125, 162, 272, 275 n., 281 [7], 328, 366
 - Attorney General
 - Kleindienst, Richard G., 23 [9], 125, 133, 134, 162
 - Richardson, Elliot L., 133, 134, 147, 162, 167, 236 [10], 272, 281 [6, 7], 305, 308, 309, 312 [4, 5]
 - Saxbe, William B., 319, 334 [14]
 - Deputy Attorneys General, 28, 308 n., 309, 312 [4]
 - Equal opportunity programs, 21 (p. 44), 61 (p. 143)
 - Messages to Congress
 - Patent reform, 275
 - Reorganization Plan 2 of 1973, 96
 - Trade reform, 112
 - State of the Union message on law enforcement and drug abuse prevention, 74, 79
 - Watergate, 125, 233, 234, 308, 309

- Kalmbach, Herbert W., 80 [6], 312 [11]
- Kansas City, Mo., 198
- Kantrowitz, I. H., 93
- Karle, Dr. Isabella L., 72 n.
- Kauper, Thomas E., 275 n.
- Kays, Pfc. Kenneth M., 296
- Kehrli, Bruce, 221
- Kelley, Clarence M., 198
- Kellogg, G. Sgt. Allan J., Jr., 296
- Kentucky, floods, 130
- Kerwin, Comdr. Joseph P., 172 n., 176, 182
- Key Biscayne, Fla., 246 [8]
- Kidney disease, 91
- Kimball, Spencer W., 371
- Kirillin, V. A., 84
- Kirk, Norman E., 276
- Kissinger, Henry A. (Secretary of State and Assistant to the President), 3, 12, 19, 23 [1, 2], 35, 37, 63 [2], 80 [2], 106, 136, 139, 141 (pp. 360,

Kissinger, Henry A.—Continued

- 362, 383, 388, 392, 398, 423, 425), 141 n., 169 n., 185, 225, 235, 236 [1], 236 n., 246 [7], 268, 281 [1, 5, 8], 285, 290 n., 295 n., 298, 301, 312 [1], 330, 334 [3], 351
- Klein, Herbert G., 170
- Kleindienst, Richard G. (Attorney General), 23 [9], 125, 133, 134, 162, 233, 234, 236 [6, 9, 20], 246 [12], 328, 334 [3]
- Kline, Hugh E., 81 [10 ftn.]
- Knap, Ted, 121
- Knapp, Helene, 19
- Knauer, Virginia H., 287
- Kolberg, William H., 372 n.
- Korea, Republic of, foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 427, 429, 488)
- Korniyenko, G. M., 185
- Kreisky, Bruno, 281 [9]
- Krogh, Egil, Jr., 28, 162, 334 [7]
- Kuwait, Foreign Minister Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, meeting with the President, 301 n.
- Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development, 141 (p. 452)
- Kuykendall, Repr. Dan, 337
- Labor
 - See also* Employment and unemployment
 - Disputes, unemployment insurance, 118
 - Economic stabilization program, 137
 - Occupational safety and health, annual report, 367
 - Support for Administration's defense policy, 47, 49, 122
- Labor, Department of
 - Assistant Secretary, 372 n.
 - Messages to Congress
 - Job security assistance, 118
 - Pension reform, 115
 - Trade reform, 112
 - Occupational safety and health, 367
 - Secretary (Peter J. Brennan), 28, 122, 246 [15], 253 (p. 774), 340, 366, 372 n.
- Labor Day message, 243
- Labor-Management Advisory Committee, 207

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Lady Bird Johnson Park, 373
- Laird, Melvin R., 76, 232 n., 235, 246 [5, 17], 249, 279 n., 297 ftn., 332, 338 n., 363, 372 n.
- Land, Federal. *See* Federal land and property
- Land Management, Bureau of, 260
- Land use, 21 (p. 45), 43, 44, 253 (pp. 771, 772), 260, 277
- Land Use Policy Act, National, proposed, 44, 277
- Land and Water Conservation Fund, 44
- Landgrebe, Repr. Earl F., 91, 209
- Landrum, Repr. Phil M., 336
- Laos
 - See also* Indochina; Vietnam conflict
 - Foreign policy report, 139, 141 (pp. 356, 398-400, 512)
 - News conference remarks, 63 [2]
 - Peace efforts, Congressional role, 156 n.
 - Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma, 141 (p. 399)
 - U.S. Ambassador to, 202 n.
 - U.S. assistance, 270
- Laser fusion, 128 (p. 315)
- Latin America
 - See also specific country*
 - Foreign policy report, 139, 141 (pp. 357, 432-445)
 - Organization of American States, remarks to chiefs of delegations to General Assembly, 120
- Latter-day Saints, Church of Jesus Christ of, 371
- Lauderhill, Fla., 48
- Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 21 (p. 48), 79, 96
- Law enforcement and crime
 - Budget message, 20, 21 (pp. 40, 48)
 - Legislative goals, message to Congress, 252, 253 (pp. 780-782)
 - News conference remarks, 80 [8]
 - Organized crime, 21 (p. 48)
 - Revenue sharing, 21 (pp. 40, 48), 79
 - State of the Union message, 74, 79
 - Statistics, 97
 - Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime Conference, remarks, 255
- Law of the Sea Conference, 141 (pp. 443, 506, 508), 247, 277
- Lawrence, David, 40, 121
- Laxness, Háldor, 169
- Lebanon, foreign policy report, 141 (p. 448)
- Le Duc Tho, 12, 141 (pp. 383, 388), 298
- Lee, Harold B., 371
- Lee, Tyna A., 358 n.
- Lee Kuan Yew, 114
- Legacy of Parks program, 44, 186
- Legal services, 61 (pp. 142, 143)
- Legal Services Corporation, proposed, 149, 253 (p. 776)
- Legislation, proposed
 - See also* Congress, communications to; *specific subject*
 - Message to Congress, 253
 - Radio address, 252
- Legislation, remarks or statements on approval
 - Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1973, statement, 231
 - Airport Development Acceleration Act of 1973, statement, 179
 - Alaskan pipeline bill, remarks and statement, 332, 333
 - American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, establishment, remarks, 356
 - Amtrak Improvement Act of 1973, statement, 320
 - Clemente, Roberto, commemorative medals, remarks, 152
 - Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973, statement, 372
 - District of Columbia Self-Government and Governmental Reorganization Act, statement, 370
 - Domestic Volunteer Service Act of 1973, statement, 279
 - Economic Development Administration, funding, statement, 179
 - Economic Stabilization Act of 1970, extension, statement, 137
 - Emergency Daylight Saving Time Energy Conservation Act of 1973, statement, 359
 - Endangered Species Act of 1973, statement, 374
 - Flood Disaster Protection Act of 1973, statement, 377

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Legislation, remarks or statements on approval—Continued
 - Health Maintenance Organization Act of 1973, statement, 376
 - Health Programs Extension Act of 1973, statement, 179
 - Highway and mass transit bill, statement, 232
 - Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center, statement, 50
 - Lyndon Baines Johnson Memorial Grove, establishment, statement, 373
 - Menominee Restoration Act, statement, 369
 - National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Amendments of 1973, statement, 304
 - Nursing homes, Federal mortgage insurance for fire safety equipment, statement, 375
 - Older Americans Comprehensive Service Amendments of 1973, statement, 142
 - Rehabilitation Act of 1973, statement, 274
 - Rural electrification and telephone program, statement, 151
 - Social security benefits and income maintenance programs, statement, 200
 - Stockpile disposal bills, statement, 378
 - Supplemental and continuing appropriations bills, statements, 132, 195
 - United Nations Environment Program Participation Act of 1973, statement, 360
 - Veterans disability and death pension bill, statement, 352
 - Veterans Health Care Expansion Act of 1973, statement, 227
- Leonardo da Vinci Airport, Fuimicino, Italy, 362
- Letters, messages, telegrams
 - See also* Congress, communications to, Memorandums to Federal officials and agencies, Resignations and retirements, *and* Veto messages and memorandums of disapproval
- Letters, messages, telegrams—Continued
 - Atlantic Treaty Association, message, 254
 - Energy conservation, letter to Governors, 192
 - Jewish High Holy Days, message, 258
 - Labor Day message, 243
 - Lee, Harold B., death, letter to Spencer W. Kimball, 371
 - Memorial Day message, 168
 - National Film Day, message, 306
 - Newspaper Carrier Day, 1973, message, 293
 - Organization of African Unity, message to King Hassan II of Morocco, 166
 - Presidential tapes and documents, letter to Chief Judge John J. Sirica, 221
 - St. Patrick's Day message, 81
 - Secret Service agents, testimony before Congressional committees, letter to Treasury Secretary Shultz, 206
 - Skylab 1, messages to
 - Conrad, Capt. Charles, Jr., 172
 - Crew following splashdown, 182
 - Skylab 2, message to crew following splashdown, 273
 - United States Information Agency, message on 20th anniversary, 223
 - Vietnam, Republic of, "Land to the Tiller" program, exchange of letters with President Thieu, 103
 - Watergate Special Prosecutor, letter directing discharge, 309
 - West African drought, letter to Secretary General Kurt Waldheim of the United Nations, 180
- Lewine, Frances L., 80 [13], 236 [2]
- Lewis, Hobart, 26
- Liberia
 - Ambassador to U.S., 343
 - President William R. Tolbert, Jr., meeting with the President, 171
- Libya
 - Foreign policy report, 141 (p. 462)
 - U.S. relations, 246 [7]
- Liddy, G. Gordon, 63 [15 fn.], 162, 234
- Life Safety Code, 375
- Light, Murray, 334 [16]
- Lincoln, George A., 13

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Liquid metal fast breeder reactor, 21 (p. 45), 128 (pp. 310, 315)
- Lisagor, Peter 63 [3], 236 [7], 312 [6]
- Littrell, Sfc. Gary L., 296
- Loans
 - Minority business, 21 (p. 44)
 - Rural areas, 21 (p. 47), 23 [5], 73, 108, 113 n., 151, 231
- Local governments. *See* State and local governments
- Lodge, Henry Cabot, 141 (p. 505)
- Lon Nol, 141 (p. 401)
- Long, Sen. Russell B., 35, 41 n., 235, 325
- Longworth, Alice Roosevelt, 35
- Louisiana
 - Disaster assistance, 130
 - Visit, 235
- Lousma, Maj. Jack R., 273 n.
- Love, John A., 190, 246 [4], 250, 253 (p. 768), 287 n., 291, 323, 338, 339, 347
- Luce, Clare Boothe, 126
- Lumber industry, 207
- Lung disease, 61 (p. 137)
- Luns, Joseph M.A.H., 141 (p. 406)
- Lutz, Theodore C., 73 n.
- Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center, 50
- Lyndon Baines Johnson Memorial Grove, establishment, 373
- Lynn, James T. (Secretary of Housing and Urban Development), 3, 28, 68, 73 n., 228, 264, 375, 377 n.

- MacGregor, Clark, 63 [8], 236 [6]
- MacMurray, Fred, 48
- Macomber, William B., Jr., 63 [10]
- Macon, Ga., 336
- Macovescu, George, 351
- Magruder, Jeb Stuart, 236 [6]
- Mahoney, David J., 26
- Malaysia, foreign policy report, 141 (p. 427)
- Malek, Frederic V., 28, 378 n.
- Management and Budget, Office of
 - Associate Director, 339 n.
 - Deputy Director, 28, 378 n.
 - Director, 3, 13 n., 28, 91 n., 108 n., 186, 242, 249 n., 278, 282, 366
 - District of Columbia budget proposals, 104
- Management and Budget, Office of—Continued
 - Energy and Science Division, 128 (p. 318)
 - Federal employees, reduction, 207
 - Federal Executive Boards, annual report, 30
 - Senate confirmation of Director and Deputy Director, veto of bill requiring, 159
 - Timber Task Force, 271
 - Transfer of certain functions to General Services Administration, 161
 - Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970, implementation, 36
- Mandatory Oil Import Program, 128 (pp. 311, 312)
- Mănescu, Manea, 351
- Manned Spacecraft Center, Houston, Tex., 50
- Manpower
 - Budget message, 21 (pp. 40, 43)
 - Legislative goals, message to Congress, 38, 253 (p. 774)
 - Revenue sharing, 21 (pp. 40, 43), 58, 61 (p. 139), 83, 372
 - State of the Union message on human resources, 61 (p. 139)
- Manpower Development and Training Act Institutional Training programs, 61 (p. 139)
- Manpower Report of the President, 83
- Mansfield, Sen. Mike (Majority Leader of the Senate), 229, 270, 290 n.
- Mao Tse-tung, 7, 141 (pp. 360, 363), 330, 336
- Marijuana, 74, 79, 80 [8]
- Marine mammals, protection, 141 (p. 515)
- Marine Mammals Act of 1972, 277
- Marine Pollution by Dumping of Wastes and Other Matter, Convention on the Prevention of, 141 (p. 515), 277
- Maritime Commission, Federal, Chairman, 325, 340, 366
- Maritime Consultative Organization, Intergovernmental, 44, 141 (pp. 504, 515), 145, 247, 277

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Maritime cooperation with U.S.S.R., 141
 (pp. 371, 372), 185
 Marriott, J. Willard, 371 n.
 Martin, Graham, 106
 Maryland, water resources, 93
 Mass transit, 21 (p. 47), 73, 232
 May, Stephen, 68 n.
 Mayors, United States Conference of, 68 n.
 Mayport Naval Air Station, Fla., 46
 McClellan, Sen. John L., 253 (p. 781), 325
 McClendon, Sarah, 23 [5], 63 [7], 80 [13]
 McClennan, W. Howard, 201 n.
 McCord, James W., Jr., 63 [15 fn.]
 McCormick, William T., Jr., 291 n.
 McGovern, Sen. George S., 334 [20]
 McKnight, Lt. Col. George C., 98
 McLucas, John L. (Secretary of the Air Force), 296
 Meany, George, 47, 49
 Meat prices, 98, 137, 207
 Medal of Freedom, Presidential. *See* Presidential Medal of Freedom
 Medal of Honor, Congressional, 296
 Medal of Science, National, 289
 Medicaid, 21 (p. 44), 61 (p. 137), 142, 200
 Medical Association, National, 141 (p. 363)
 Medical care. *See* Health and medical care
 Medical services bill, emergency, veto, 257
 Medicare, 21 (p. 44), 61 (p. 137), 91, 142
 Meetings with foreign leaders
 Ethiopia, Emperor Haile Selassie I, 153
 France, President Georges Pompidou, 169
 Germany, Federal Republic of, Chancellor Willy Brandt, 136, 138
 Iceland, President Kristján Eldjárn, 169
 Iran, Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, 215-217
 Israel, Prime Minister Golda Meir, 62
 Italy, Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, 124, 126
 Meetings with foreign leaders—Con.
 Ivory Coast, President Félix Houphouët-Boigny, 286, 228
 Japan, Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka, 222, 224, 225
 Jordan, King Hussein I, 31
 Liberia, President William R. Tolbert, Jr., 171
 New Zealand, Prime Minister Norman E. Kirk, 276
 Pakistan, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, 261, 262, 266
 Romania, President Nicolae Ceaușescu, 346, 348-351, 353
 Singapore, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, 114
 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev, 177, 178, 181, 183-185
 United Kingdom, Prime Minister Edward Heath, 25, 27
 Vietnam, Republic of, President Nguyen Van Thieu, 102, 105, 106
 Meir, Golda, 62, 141 (p. 446)
 Memorandums to Federal officials and agencies
 See also Letters, messages, telegrams and Appendix C
 Combined Federal Campaign, 230
 Energy conservation by the Federal Government, 191
 Executive privilege, 76 n.
 Federal Executive Boards, annual report, 30
 President's Interagency Committee on Export Expansion, establishment, 366
 Red Cross Month, 67
 Memorial Day message, 168
 Memphis, Tenn., 337
 Menominee Restoration Act, statement on signing, 369
 Mercer University, Walter F. George School of Law, 336
 Merchant marine, U.S., 340
 Meteorological Organization, World, 141 (p. 504), 277
 Metric system, 253 (p. 783)

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Mexico
 Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 438, 442, 516)
 President Luis Echeverría Alvarez, 141 (pp. 442, 516)
- Michel, Repr. Robert H., 147
- Middle East
See also specific country
 Arab-Israeli conflict
 Cooperation between U.S. and U.S.S.R., 185, 285 n., 312 [1, 5, 8, 10, 14]
 Meeting with Arab Foreign Ministers, 301
 Palestinian situation, 141 (pp. 446-449), 185
 U.S. policy, 246 [7, 16], 285, 289, 292, 296, 303, 330
 Arab terrorist attack, Leonardo da Vinci International Airport, Italy, 362
 Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 356, 445-453)
 Oil resources, 246 [4, 7, 16], 250, 312 [9], 323, 324
- Migrant workers, 118
- Mike Curb Congregation, 121
- Military. *See* Armed Forces, United States
- Milk support price, 334 [20]
- Miller, Edward, 334 [12]
- Millican, Charles N., 173
- Mills, Repr. Wilbur D., 35, 41 n., 246 [10], 249, 355
- Mined Area Protection Act, proposed, 260
- Mines and mining, 43, 44, 128 (pp. 308, 309), 260
- Minimum wage bill, 246 [15], 253 (p. 775), 248, 265
- Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration, Administrator, Senate confirmation requirement, 333
- Minority business enterprise, loans, 21 (p. 44)
- Minority groups. *See* Desegregation; Equal opportunity; *specific minority group*
- Minuteman III, 141 (pp. 483, 497)
- MIRVs (multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles), 141 (pp. 478, 495, 497), 243 [3]
- Missiles. *See* Arms and weapons; *specific missile system*
- Missing in action
 Armed Forces Day, remarks, 160
 Foreign policy report, 141 (p. 391)
 Vietnam conflict peace agreement, 12
- Missing in Southeast Asia, National League of Families of American Prisoners and, 19
- Mississippi
 Disaster assistance, 130
 Visit, 130, 131
- Missouri
 Disaster assistance, 130
 Visit, 198
 Wilderness areas, proposed, 342
- Mitchell, John N., 80 [12], 234, 236 [6, 7, 14], 328, 334 [3, 17]
- Mitchell, Martha, 63 [9]
- Model Cities program, 253 (p. 777)
- Molisani, Howard, 126 ftn.
- Mollenhoff, Clark R., 23 [10, 12], 63 [8, 9, 16], 80 [9], 236 [17], 281 [5, 7], 312 [17]
- Molybdenum stockpiles, disposal, 378
- Moncrief, Maj. Gen. William H., Jr., 24
- Monetary Fund, International, 141 (pp. 444, 468, 470), 225, 251, 253 (p. 765)
- Monetary system, international, 302, 317
- Moore, George Curtis, 63 [10], 65, 71
- Moorer, Adm. Thomas H., 38 n., 345
- Moorhead, Repr. William S., 152
- Morocco
 Foreign Minister Ahmed Taibi Benhima, meeting with the President, 301 n.
 King Hassan II, 166
- Morris, Earle E., Jr., 51
- Mortgages, housing, 264
- Morton, Rogers C. B. (Secretary of the Interior), 44 n., 93, 190, 191, 250, 287, 332, 333 n., 342 n., 358, 369
- Mossadeq, Mohammad, 246 [7]
- Motion picture industry, 101

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Motor vehicles, emissions standards, 250
- Moynihan, Daniel P., 141 (p. 458)
- Multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles (MIRVs), 141 (pp. 478, 495, 497), 243 [3]
- Mutual and balanced force reductions, 45, 98, 110, 122, 138, 141 (pp. 367, 375, 410, 413, 498-500), 163, 185, 253 (p. 784), 270
- Mutual savings banks, 228
- Narcotic Drugs, Single Convention on (1961), 141 (p. 512), 247
- Narcotics Control, Cabinet Committee on International, 79, 96, 141 (p. 511), 341
- Narcotics Control Assistance Program, International, 141 (p. 475)
- Narcotics and dangerous drugs
See also specific drug or narcotic
 Budget, 20, 21 (p. 44)
 Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 442, 511, 512)
 News conference remarks, 80 [8]
 Reorganization Plan 2 of 1973, 96
 Ricord case, meeting with Customs officials, 78
 State of the Union messages, 61 (p. 137), 74, 79
- Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, Bureau of, 74, 79, 96
- Narcotics Intelligence, Office of National, 96
- National Academy of Sciences, 128 (p. 307)
- National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education, 204
- National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Administrator, 371 n.
- National Aeronautics and Space Council, abolishment, 13
- National Alliance of Businessmen, 85, 90
- National Association of Realtors, 330
- National Bureau of Standards, 128 (p. 314)
- National Capital Housing Authority, 370
- National Capital Planning Commission, 370
- National Commission on Consumer Finance, report, 2
- National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control, report, 201
- National Commission on Reform of the Federal Criminal Laws, 79
- National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, 141 (p. 363)
- National Council on the Arts, annual report, 15
- National Council of National Reconciliation and Accord (Vietnam), 141 (pp. 389, 395)
- National Council for U.S.-China Trade, 141 (p. 362)
- National defense and security
See also Arms and weapons; Strategic arms limitation
 Budget, 20, 21 (pp. 33, 41, 63 [3], 98, 100, 122, 246 [3], 253 (p. 764), 270
 Comments, 131, 160, 173, 235
 Energy policy, 128 (pp. 303, 312)
 Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 350, 353, 357, 477-490)
 Information leaks, 163, 334 [7]
 Legislative goals
 Message to Congress, 253 (pp. 783-785)
 Radio address, 252
 News conference remarks, 246 [3, 17]
 Prisoners of war, reception remarks, 163
 Stockpiles, 13, 80 [5], 123, 137, 253 (p. 767), 378
 Watergate, 162, 233, 234, 236 [9], 334 [4]
- National Endowment for the Arts, 15, 253 (p. 782), 259
- National Endowment for the Humanities, 92, 253 (p. 782)
- National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, 44
- National Environmental Protection Act, 324
- National Film Day, message, 306
- National flood insurance program, 73, 377
- National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, 61 (p. 147), 304
- National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Amendments of 1973, 304
- National Governors' Conference, 36

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, annual report, 316
- National Housing Act, amendments, proposed, 375
- National Institute of Education, 61 (p. 139), 253 (p. 773)
- National Institutes of Health, 267
- National Land Use Policy Act, proposed, 44, 253 (p. 772), 277
- National League of Cities, 68 n.
- National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia, 19
- National Legislative Conference, State legislators, remarks, 100
- National Medal of Science, 289
- National Medical Association, 141 (p. 363)
- National Moment of Prayer and Thanksgiving, 18
- National Narcotics Intelligence, Office of, abolishment, 96
- National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, 190
- National Park Service, 342 n.
- National Prayer Breakfast, 24
- National Republican Congressional Committee, 147 n.
- National Rifle Association, 23 [9]
- National Science Foundation, 13, 75, 128 (p. 308), 291
- National Security Agency, 162
- National Security Council, defense budget, 270
- National Sickle Cell Anemia Control Act, 267
- National Tourism Administration, proposed, 189
- National Tourism Resources Review Commission, report, 189
- National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966, 316
- National Wilderness Preservation System, 342
- NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- Natural Resource Land Management Act, proposed, 260
- Natural resources. *See* Environment; *specific resource*
- Natural Resources, Department of, proposed, 3, 128 (p. 317), 324
- Natural Resources, Department of Energy and, proposed, 253 (p. 770)
- Naval petroleum reserves, 250, 323, 324
- Navy, Department of the, Secretary (John W. Warner), 45 n., 296, 345
- Navy, United States, 345
- Nebraska, wilderness areas, proposed, 342
- Neighborhood Youth Corps, 61 (p. 139)
- Nelsen Commission. *See* District of Columbia, Commission on the Organization of the Government of the
- Nepal, foreign policy report, 141 (p. 458)
- Nevada State Society of Washington, D.C., 325
- New Jersey, Hudson River Basin Compact Act, 321
- New Mexico, wilderness areas, proposed, 342
- New Orleans, La., 235
- New York, Hudson River Basin Compact Act, 321
- New Zealand, Prime Minister Norman E. Kirk, meeting with the President, 276
- Newell, S. Sgt. Stanley A., 175 ftn.
- News conferences
- January 31, 23
- March 2, 63
- March 15, 80
- August 22, 236
- September 5, 246
- October 3, 281
- October 26, 312
- News media
- Associated Press Managing Editors Association, question-and-answer session, 334 [11, 13]
- Criticism of Administration's policies, 235
- Shield law for reporters, 334 [14]
- Vice President Agnew, charges against, 236 [10], 281 [7]
- Watergate coverage, 134, 162, 233, 236 [11, 18], 246 [13], 312 [7, 15]
- White House Correspondents Association, annual dinner, 121
- Newspaper Carrier Day, 1973, 293

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Newspaper Editors, American Society of, 141 (p. 363)
- Nguyen Phu Duc, 106
- Nguyen Van Thieu, 12, 23 [1, 6], 63 [1], 102, 103, 105, 106, 141 (pp. 384, 385, 394)
- Nigeria, foreign policy report, 141 (p. 462)
- Nimeiri, Jaafar M., 71 n.
- Nixon, Donald, 334 [12]
- Nixon, Mrs. Richard, 77, 136, 141 (p. 466), 171, 280, 286, 288, 325, 343
- Nixon Doctrine, 106, 135, 139, 141 (pp. 354, 357, 428, 429, 478, 486, 487)
- Nobel Peace Prize, 1973, 298
- Noel, Cleo A., Jr., 63 [10 fn.], 65, 71
- Noise pollution, 43, 44
- Norfolk Naval Base, Va., 160
- Norodom Sihanouk, 235
- North American Air Defense Command, 312 [8]
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- Atlantic Treaty Association, message, 254
- Declaration of principles, proposed, 281 [12]
- Environmental activities, 44
- Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 356, 402-416, 486, 498, 499, 515)
- Joint statement (U.S.-Federal Republic of Germany), 138
- Secretary General Joseph M.A.H. Luns, 141 (p. 406)
- U.S. Ambassador, 28
- U.S. troops, 270
- Nuclear energy, 128 (pp. 303, 304, 309, 310, 315, 316), 141 (p. 514), 250, 253 (pp. 768, 770), 289, 323, 324, 330, 334 [18]
- Nuclear Energy Commission, proposed, 190, 253 (p. 770)
- Nuclear test ban treaty, 141 (p. 501)
- Nuclear war, agreement with U.S.S.R. on the prevention of, 184, 185
- Nunnery, Robert P., 78 n.
- Nursing homes, fire safety equipment, 375
- Nutrition, 58, 61 (pp. 140, 141), 85
- Oates, James F., Jr., 57
- Oath of Office, Presidential, 8
- O'Callaghan, Gov. Mike, 325
- Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970, implementation, report, 367
- Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission, 367
- Ocean Exploration, International Decade of, 277
- Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, National, 190
- Oceanographic Commission, Intergovernmental, 277
- Oceans
- Cooperation with U.S.S.R., 185
- Federal ocean program, annual report, 277
- Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 442, 491, 506-508)
- International conventions, 145, 326, 327
- Pollution, 44, 60, 277
- O'Donnell, Patrick, 63 [9]
- Office. *See other part of title*
- Ohira, Masayoshi, 141 (p. 425), 225, 281 [1]
- Oil
- See also Energy*
- Emergency windfall profits tax, 364, 365
- Home heating oil, 43, 44, 323, 324, 339
- Mandatory price controls, 137
- Messages to Congress
- Energy policy, 128 (pp. 303, 304, 306, 307, 311, 312)
- Legislative goals, 253 (pp. 768, 769)
- Middle East resources, 246 [4, 7, 16], 250, 323, 324, 330, 339
- Outer Continental Shelf, leasing, 127, 128, 277
- Pollution, 128, 141 (p. 516)
- Voluntary allocation program, 190
- Oil Import Appeals Board, 128 (p. 312)
- Oil Import Program, Mandatory, 128 (pp. 311, 312)
- Oil Policy Committee, 128 (pp. 312, 318)
- Okinawa, reversion to Japan, 141 (p. 419)
- Older Americans Comprehensive Service Amendments of 1973, statement on signing, 142

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Older persons
 - See also specific related benefits and programs*
 - Budget message, 21 (pp. 42, 43)
 - Nursing homes, 375
 - Property tax, relief, 253 (p. 767)
 - State of the Union message on human resources, 58, 61 (p. 141)
- O'Neill, Repr. Thomas P., Jr. (Majority Leader of the House of Representatives), 246 [2, 17], 253 n.
- Operation Mainstream, 61 (p. 139)
- Opium stockpiles, disposal, 378
- Oregon, wilderness areas, proposed, 342
- Organization. *See other part of title*
- Orlando, Fla., 173
- Ortoli, François-Xavier, 281 [8, 12]
- Outreach, 255
- Overseas Private Investment Corporation, 141 (p. 462), 351
- Pahlavi, Mohammad Reza, 141 (p. 452), 215-217
- Pakistan
 - Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 356, 453-455, 459)
 - Joint statement with U.S., 266
 - POW return agreement with India, 238
 - Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
 - Meetings with the President, 261, 262, 266
 - Mention, 141 (pp. 454, 455), 239
 - U.S. assistance, 80 [13], 239
 - Palestinian situation, 141 (pp. 446-449), 185
 - Panama Canal, operation, 141 (p. 443)
 - Pardee, Jack, 117
 - Park Service, National, 342 n.
 - Parks. *See Recreation*
 - Passman, Repr. Otto E., 235
 - Pastore, Sen. John O., 126
 - Patent Modernization and Reform Act of 1973, proposed, 275
 - Patent Office, Acting Commissioner, 275 n.
 - Patents, 88, 112, 275
 - Patolichev, N. S., 141 (p. 372), 185
 - Pay Board, 6
 - Peace Corps, 141 (p. 462), 279
 - Peal, Samuel Edward, 343
 - Peel, Maj. Robert D., 160
 - Pekin, Ill., 175
 - Pensions, 115, 253 (p. 775)
 - Pentagon Papers, The, 162, 236 [9], 334 [7]
 - Percy, Sen. Charles H., 23 [10], 281 [6]
 - Perdue, William R., Jr., 335, 336
 - Perk, Ralph, 90
 - Personnel Policy, Advisory Council on Intergovernmental, 300
 - Pesticides, 43, 44
 - Petersen, Henry E., 79 n., 125, 162, 233, 234, 236 [4, 9, 20], 246 [12], 272, 281 [7], 328, 334 [3-5, 20]
 - Peterson, Peter G., 141 (p. 372), 334 [20]
 - Petroleum. *See Energy; Gas; Oil*
 - Pham Kim Ngoc, 106
 - Pham Van Dong, 141 (p. 392)
 - Philippines, 33, 141 (pp. 427, 429)
 - Phonograms, convention for the protection of producers, 116
 - Pickering, Dr. William H., 276 fn.
 - Pine Bluff Arsenal, Ark., 141 (p. 500)
 - Planned Parenthood Federation, 141 (p. 513)
 - Plate, Adm. Douglas C., 160
 - Podgorny, N. V., 336
 - Poe, Edgar, 121
 - Poland, foreign policy report, 141 (p. 415)
 - Pollution. *See Environment; specific subject*
 - Pompidou, Georges, 141 (pp. 405, 406), 169, 281 [12]
 - Poorman, Paul, 334 [5]
 - Population Activities, United Nations Fund for, 141 (p. 513)
 - Population Conference, World, 141 (p. 513), 247
 - Population control, 141 (pp. 350, 512, 513), 247
 - Porter, William J., 28
 - Ports, deepwater, 127, 128 (pp. 311, 313), 250, 253 (pp. 768, 769), 277, 324
 - Poseidon missile system, 141 (pp. 483, 497)
 - Povich, Shirley, 334 [12 fn.]
 - Power Commission, Federal, 128 (pp. 305, 309, 316), 324

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Powerplant siting, 44, 128 (pp. 310, 311), 253 (p. 770), 260, 324
- Prayer Breakfast, National, 24
- Predator control, 44
- Presidency, Office of the, 197, 233, 234, 236 [17], 312 [4], 334 [15]
- Presidential Citizens Medal
- Clemente, Roberto, 152
- Rogers, Mrs. William P., 297
- Presidential Medal of Freedom
- Ford, John, 101
- Rogers, William P., 297
- Presidential oath of Office, 8, 236 [12]
- Presidential Study Commission on International Broadcasting, 143
- Presidential tapes and documents. *See under* Watergate
- Presidential term of office, possibility of 6-year term, 154, 155
- President's Advisory Panel on Timber and the Environment, report, 271
- President's Commission for the Observance of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, 141 (p. 505)
- President's Committee on the National Medal of Science, 289 n.
- President's Export Council, 292 n., 366 n.
- President's foreign travel, news conference remarks, 23 [6], 80 [7], 281 [8]
- President's health, 209, 210
- President's Interagency Committee on Export Expansion, 292 n., 366
- President's properties and finances, 246 [8], 281 [4], 334 [8, 11], 354, 355
- President's retirement plans, 334 [19]
- President's staff. *See* White House Staff
- President's travel, domestic. *See specific State*
- Press. *See* News media
- Price Commission, 6
- Prices, rising. *See* Economic stabilization program; *specific commodity*
- Prison system, reform, 79
- Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia, National League of Families of American, 19
- Prisoners of war
- See also* Veterans
- Comments, 51, 122
- Foreign policy report, 141 (p. 391)
- Prisoners of war—Continued
- Job opportunities, 38 n.
- Returnees, 23 [2], 37, 38, 42
- State Department reception, 163
- Vietnam conflict peace agreement, 12, 63 [5]
- White House dinner, 164, 165
- Pritchard, Allen E., Jr., 68 n.
- Proclamations
- Johnson, Lyndon B., death, 11
- List. *See* Appendix C
- National Moment of Prayer and Thanksgiving, 18
- Oil imports, 127 n., 128 (pp. 311, 312)
- Prisoners of war, display of flag on return, 42 n.
- Red Cross Month, 67 n.
- Professional Standards Review Organizations, 21 (p. 44)
- Profits, 207
- Profits tax, emergency windfall, proposed, 364, 365
- Project Independence, 323, 330, 332, 334 [18], 339, 340, 358, 359
- Property Council, Federal, 186
- Property Review Board, abolishment, 186
- Property taxes, 53, 61 (p. 141), 253 (p. 767)
- Pruitt-Igoe housing project, 264
- Public lands, energy resources, 128 (pp. 306, 307)
- Public Service Careers program, 61 (p. 139)
- Public utilities, 207
- Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, amendment, 179
- Pungan, Vasile, 351
- Quarles, John R., Jr., 287 n.
- Quie, Repr. Albert H., 24
- Quinn, John C., 334 [1, 2, 9, 20]
- Quita Sueño, 5
- Rabin, Yitzhak, 62
- Radio addresses. *See under* Addresses and remarks
- Radio Free Europe, 143
- Radio Liberty, 143
- Rahman, Sheikh Mujibur, 141 (pp. 454, 456)

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Rail Passenger Service Act of 1970, 73
- Railroads, 253 (pp. 778, 779), 320
- Rather, Dan, 236 [9], 246 [11], 312 [5]
- Ray, Dixy Lee, 185 fn., 291 n.
- Ray, Gov. Robert D., 90
- Reagan, Gov. Ronald, 297
- Realtors, National Association of, 330
- Rebozo, C. G., 246 [8], 312 [11, 13]
- Recreation, 44, 85, 186
- Red Cross, American National, 67
- Red Cross, International Committee of the, 141 (p. 502)
- Re-Election of the President, Committee for the, 80 [12], 134, 234, 236 [6 fn.]
- Regional commissions, 179
- Regional medical programs, 61 (p. 138)
- Regulatory agencies, 333
- Rehabilitation, vocational, veto of bill, 91, 107
- Rehabilitation Act of 1973, statement on signing, 274
- Reid, Mrs. James, 235
- Relocation assistance, 161
- Rent Advisory Board, 6, 63 [14]
- Reorganization, Presidential authority, 253 (p. 783)
- Reorganization plans
 - Drug Enforcement Administration (No. 2 of 1973), 96
 - Executive Office of the President (No. 1 of 1973), 13
- Reports to Congress. *See* Congress, communications to; Appendix D
- Reports to the President
 - Boy Scouts' annual report, 54
 - Energy conservation, Citizens' Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality, 287
 - Federal Executive Boards, annual report, 30
 - Jobs for Veterans program, 57
 - National Commission on Consumer Finance, 2
 - National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control, 201
 - National Tourism Resources Review Commission, 189
 - President's Advisory Panel on Timber and the Environment, 271
 - Reports to the President—Continued
 - Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, 143
 - Republican Congressional Committee, National, 147 n.
 - Republican Governors Conference, 337 n.
 - Republican Party, fundraising dinner, 147
 - Research and development. *See* Science and technology; *specific subject*
 - Research and Development Administration, Energy, proposed, 347
 - Resignations and retirements
 - Counsellor to the President for Domestic Affairs, 363
 - Justice Department, Attorney General Kleindienst, Richard G., 133, 134
 - Richardson, Elliot L., 308
 - State Department, Secretary, 236 [1], 237
 - Vice President, 290
 - White House Staff
 - Assistant to the President (H. R. Haldeman), 133, 134
 - Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs (John D. Ehrlichman), 133, 134
 - Counsel to the President (John W. Dean III), 133, 134
 - Director of Communications for the Executive Branch, 170
- Responsive Governments Acts, proposed, 73
- Retired Senior Volunteers Program, 142
- Retirement Benefits Tax Act, proposed, 115, 253 (p. 775)
- Revenue Act of 1971, 21 (p. 38)
- Revenue sharing
 - Budget message, 21 (pp. 33, 39, 40, 41, 43, 46)
 - Civil rights requirements, 73
 - General, 21 (pp. 39, 40, 43, 46)
 - National Legislative Conference, remarks, 100
 - State of the Union message on community development, 68, 73
- Revercomb, George H., 34 n.
- Reykjavik, Iceland, 169
- Rhodesia, 141 (pp. 466, 505)

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Richardson, Elliot L., 28, 45 n., 131, 133,
134, 147, 162, 167, 233, 236 [10], 272,
281 [6, 7], 305, 308, 309, 312 [4, 5]
- Rickover, Adm. Hyman G., 345
- Rifle Association, National, 23 [9]
- Risher, Eugene V., 80 [1], 281 [7]
- Risner, Col. Robinson, 37 n., 98 ftm.
- Rivers, Mendel, 51
- Rivers, wild and scenic, 44
- Rizzo, Frank L., 126
- Robins Air Force Base, Ga., 335
- Roche, John P., 143
- Rockefeller, Gov. Nelson A., 297
- Rockefeller, Winthrop, 56
- Rogers, William P. (Secretary of State),
71, 106, 114, 120, 126, 136, 138,
139, 141 (pp. 363, 389, 415, 425, 443,
447, 451, 466), 171, 181, 183, 185,
225, 235, 236 [1], 237, 297
- Rogers, Mrs. William P., 297
- Romania
Ambassador to U.S., 348 n.
Foreign policy report, 141 (p. 415)
Joint statements with U.S., 349-351,
353
President Nicolae Ceaușescu, meetings
with the President, 141 (p. 415),
346, 348-351, 353
- Romero Barcelo, Carlos, 68 n.
- Roncador, 5
- Rosenfeld, Harry, 334 [12]
- Ruckelshaus, William D., 44 n., 308 n.,
309, 312 [4]
- Rumsfeld, Donald, 6, 28
- Rural areas
Budget message, 21 (p. 47)
Housing, 264
Loans, 21 (p. 47), 23 [5], 73, 108, 113 n.,
151
Revenue sharing, 264
State of the Union message on com-
munity development, 73
- Rural Development Act of 1972, 21 (p.
47), 73, 108, 179, 231
- Rural Electrification Administration, 23
[5]
- Rural electrification and telephone pro-
gram, statement on signing, 151
- Rural environmental assistance program,
231
- Rural Telephone Bank, 21 (p. 47)
- Rural water and sewer grant program bill,
veto message, 108, 113
- Rush, Kenneth, 28, 141 (p. 458)
- Rutledge, Capt. Howard E., 165
- Sabah, Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir, 301 n.
- Sadler, Darlene, 19
- Safe Drinking Water Act, proposed, 253
(p. 772)
- SAFEGUARD antiballistic missile sys-
tem, 141 (p. 479)
- Safety
Message to Congress on energy policy,
128 (pp. 308, 310, 313)
Nursing homes, fire equipment, 375
Occupational, 367
- Safety of Life at Sea convention, amend-
ments, 145
- St. John's River Basin, U.S.-Canadian
Joint Committee on Water Quality
for the, 141 (p. 515)
- St. Laurent, Louis S., 218
- St. Patrick's Day message, 81
- SALT. *See* Strategic arms limitation
- Sampson, Arthur F., 161
- San Clemente, Calif.
Meetings with
General Secretary Brezhnev, Union
of Soviet Socialist Republics,
183-185
President Thieu, Republic of Viet-
nam, 63 [1], 102, 105, 106
News conference, 236
President's property, 246 [8], 281 [4],
354, 355
- Sanders, Doug, 48 n.
- Santa Barbara Energy Reserve, 253
(p. 771)
- Sanz de Santamaria, Dr. Carlos, 120, 141
(p. 436)
- Saqqaf, 'Umar al-, 301
- Satellites, 82, 141 (p. 509), 205
- Sato, Eisaku, 141 (pp. 417, 419, 423)
- Saudi Arabia
Foreign Minister 'Umar al-Saqqaf,
meeting with the President, 301
Foreign policy report, 141 (p. 452)
U.S. relations, 246 [7]
- Savings and loan associations, 228
- Sawhill, John C., 339 n., 347 n., 357 n.

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Sawyer, J. D., 330
Saxbe, William B. (Attorney General), 319, 334 [14]
Saylor, Repr. John P., 313
Scali, John A., 28, 126, 180
Scheel, Walter, 138
Schlesinger, James R.
 Director, Central Intelligence Agency, 28
 Secretary of Defense, 227, 270
Schools
 See also Colleges and universities; Education
 Busing, 58, 61 (p. 135), 253 (p. 773)
 Federally impacted districts, 20, 461
 Nonpublic, tax credit for tuition, 21 (p. 43), 53, 61 (p. 139)
Schweiker, Sen. Richard S., 152
Science, National Medal of, 289
Science Foundation, National, 13, 75, 128 (p. 308), 291
Science and technology
 Comments, 289
 Energy policy, message to Congress, 128 (pp. 303, 304, 309, 310, 314, 315, 316)
 Reorganization Plan 1 of 1973, 13
Science and Technology, Office of, abolishment and transfer of functions, 13
Sciences, National Academy of, 128 (p. 307)
Scientific and Technical Cooperation, U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Commission on, 13, 84, 141 (p. 371)
Scott, Sen. Hugh (Senate Minority Leader), 63 [6], 152, 270, 290 n., 294 n.
Scott, Sen. William Lloyd, 160
Scowcroft, Brig. Gen. Brent, 37 ftn.
Seabeds. *See* Oceans
Seafarers International Union, 340
Seamans, Robert C., Jr. (Secretary of the Air Force), 23 [10, 11], 45 n.
Seaton, Fred A., 271
Second Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1973, 188, 195
Secret Service, United States
 Agents, testimony before Congressional committees, 206
 First Family, protection, 236 [19]
Securities and Exchange Commission, Chairman, 66
Sediment control, 44
Seeley, Albert W., 78 n.
Segretti, Donald H., 80 [6]
Seitz, Frederick, 289
Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities
 Campaign reform, 154
 Chairman, 63 [15], 80 [6, 10], 125, 197, 211, 220, 305, 312 [4], 334 [4, 7]
 Presidential testimony, tapes, and documents
 Letters to
 Chairman, 197, 211, 220
 Chief Judge, U.S. District Court, District of Columbia, 221
 News conference remarks, 236 [5, 6], 312 [4], 334 [3, 5]
 Statements, 305, 328, 361
 Secret Service agents, testimony, 206
Watergate
 Address to Nation, 233
 Statement, 234
Serrana, 5
Sheldon, Courtney R., 23 [3], 63 [2]
Shenyang Acrobatic Troupe, 7
Ships and shipping
 Cooperation with U.S.S.R. in prevention of incidents at sea, 141 (p. 371)
 Deepwater ports, 127, 250, 277, 324
 International Convention on Load Lines, 1966, amendments, 87
Shoquist, Joe, 334 [18]
Shultz, George P. (Secretary of the Treasury), 3, 6 n., 41, 59 n., 63 [12], 98 ftn., 112 n., 115 n., 118 n., 122, 128 n., 137 n., 141 (p. 458), 174 n., 185, 206, 207 n., 228 n., 236 [1], 249, 251 n., 297 ftn., 317, 351, 365
Sickle cell anemia, 267
Silicon carbide stockpiles, disposal, 378
Simon, William E., 28, 128 n., 228 n., 347, 357, 365
Sinatra, Frank, 126
Singapore
 Foreign policy report, 141 (p. 427)
 Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, meeting with the President, 114

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Sirhan, Sirhan, 63 [10]
- Sirica, John J., 63 [15 ftn.], 134, 162, 221, 236 [5, 17], 240, 305, 312 [2, 4, 12], 328, 334 [3]
- Skylab, 82, 141 (p. 509)
- Skylab 1, 172, 176, 182
- Skylab 2, 273
- Skylab 3, 331
- SLBMs, (submarine-launched ballistic missile systems), 141 (pp. 493-495)
- Small Business Administration, 21 (pp. 44, 47), 61 (p. 143)
- Small business and disaster relief bill, veto, 269
- Smith, Chester H., 325
- Smith, Maj. Philip E., 23 [13]
- Smithsonian Agreement, 112, 141 (p. 468)
- Smyser, Richard, 334 [10]
- Sneed, Joseph T., 28
- Social security
 - Benefits, increase, 142, 200
 - Budget message, 21 (pp. 42, 43)
 - Pension reform, message to Congress, 115
 - State of the Union message on human resources, 58, 61 (p. 141)
- Social Security Administration, 21 (pp. 42, 43)
- Society for a More Beautiful National Capital, 373
- Solar energy, 128 (pp. 315, 316), 141 (p. 514)
- Solomon, Ezra, 22 n., 53 n.
- SOS Desert Ball, 343
- South Carolina General Assembly, 51
- Southeast Asian Nations, Association of, 141 (p. 431)
- Souvanna Phouma, 63 [2], 141 (p. 399)
- Soviet Union. *See* Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
- Space Conference, European, 141 (p. 509)
- Space liability convention (1972), 141 (p. 509)
- Space Objects, Convention on International Liability for Damage Caused by, 247
- Space program
 - Annual report, 82
 - Cooperation with U.S.S.R., 82, 181 n., 185
 - Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 350, 370, 371, 508, 509)
 - Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center, statement on signing bill, 50
 - Skylab program, 172, 176, 182, 273, 331
 - United Nations activities, 247
- Space shuttle, 82, 141 (p. 509)
- Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention, 79, 255
- Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, 251 n., 292 ftn., 366
- Sri Lanka, foreign policy report, 141 (p. 458)
- Standards, National Bureau of, 128 (p. 314)
- Stans, Maurice H., 80 [12], 312 [11]
- State, Department of
 - Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Senate disapproval of nomination, 202
 - Deputy Secretary, 28, 141 (p. 458)
 - Deputy Under Secretary, 63 [10 ftn.]
 - Energy resources, international cooperation, 128 (p. 317), 190
 - Foreign policy report, 140
 - Foreign Service officers, 71
 - Prisoners of war, reception, 163
- Secretary
 - Kissinger, Henry A., 268, 281 [1, 5, 8], 285, 290 n., 295 n., 298, 301, 312 [1], 330, 351
 - Rogers, William P., 71, 106, 114, 120, 126, 136, 138, 139, 141 (pp. 363, 389, 415, 425, 443, 447, 451, 466), 171, 181, 183, 185, 225, 235, 236 [1], 237
- Trade reform legislation, message to Congress, 112
- State Governments, Council of, 36, 100 n.
- State and Local Government Cooperation, Committee on, 6
- State and local governments
 - Air quality standards and energy conservation, 253 (p. 768)

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- State and local governments—Continued
 Disaster relief activities, 144, 253 (p. 779)
 Drinking water, regulations, 253 (p. 772)
 Education, 253 (p. 773)
 Energy crisis, 128 (pp. 309, 313, 316), 192, 323, 324, 357 n.
 Environmental activities, 43, 44
 Land use, 253 (pp. 771, 772), 260
 Manpower programs, 83, 253 (p. 774), 372
 Medical care, 226
 Mining, reclamation standards, 253 (p. 769)
 Motor vehicle emissions standards, 250
 National Legislative Conference, State legislators, remarks, 100
 Occupational safety and health, 367
 Older persons, 142
 Rural grants and loans, 231
 State of the Union messages, 61 (pp. 136, 138, 141), 68, 73, 74, 79
 Transportation, 232
 Unemployment insurance, 118, 253 (p. 774)
 Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970, implementation, 36
 State of the Union messages. *See under* Congress, communications to
 Statements by the President
See also Legislation, remarks or statements on approval; White House statements
 ACTION, swearing in of Director, 148
 American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, proposing establishment, 26
 Appointments and nominations. *See* Appointments and nominations
 Arab terrorist attack at Leonardo da Vinci Airport, Fuimicino, Italy, 362
 Attorney General, resignation of Richard Kleindienst and nomination of Elliot Richardson, 133
 Statements by the President—Continued
 Budget, fiscal 1973, results, 219
 Deaths
 Armstrong, Hamilton Fish, 129
 Ben-Gurion, David, 344
 Buck, Pearl S., 69
 Chandler, Norman, 307
 Clemente, Roberto, 1
 Copley, James S., 284
 Ford, John, 244
 Johnson, Lyndon B., 9
 Lawrence, David, 40
 Rickenbacker, Eddie, 214
 Rockefeller, Winthrop, 56
 St. Laurent, Louis S., 218
 Saylor, Repr. John P., 313
 White, Dr. Paul Dudley, 318
 Drug abuse programs, 341
 Economic stabilization program, Phase IV, 207
 Emergency windfall profits tax, proposed, 364
 Energy, 190, 287, 291, 368
 Executive branch reorganization, 3
 Executive privilege, 76
 FBI Director, withdrawal of nomination of L. Patrick Gray III, 109
 FBI's Uniform Crime Reports, 97
 Federal civilian and military pay increases, Senate action, 278
 Federal Property Council, establishment, 186
 Flooded areas, inspection flight, 130
 General Services Administration, delegation of additional functions, 161
 Independence Day, 196
 Legal Services Corporation, proposed, 149
 National Commission on Consumer Finance, report, 2
 National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control, report, 201
 National Endowment for the Arts, 259
 National Tourism Resources Review Commission, report, 189
 Nobel Peace Prize, 1973, congratulating Henry A. Kissinger on award, 298

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Statements by the President—Continued
 Pakistan floods, U.S. relief assistance, 239
 Presidential Study Commission on International Radio Broadcasting, report, 143
 Presidential tapes and documents, procedures for providing information, 305, 328
 President's Advisory Panel on Timber and the Environment, report, 271
 President's finances and property, 354
 Prisoners of war, first returnees, 38, 42
 Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, report, 143
 Rural water and sewer grant program bill, House action on veto, 113
 Skylab 3, 331
 Sudan, slaying of U.S. diplomats, 65
 Trade negotiation and monetary system meetings, U.S. participation, 251
 Trade reform bill, action by House Ways and Means Committee, 283
 Vice President Agnew, investigation of charges against, 272
 Vietnam veteran, 90
 Vocational rehabilitation bill, Senate action sustaining veto, 107
 "Walk a Mile for Your Health Day," 193
 Watergate, 162, 234, 361
 White House Staff, resignation of certain members, 133
 Youth, summer job and recreation opportunities, 85
 Stein, Herbert, 22 n., 123 n., 137 n., 186, 249
 Stennis, Sen. John C., 23 [8], 24, 32, 74, 270, 305, 312 [4], 328, 336
 Stennis Naval Technical Training Center, John C., 131
 Stever, H. Guyford, 13, 84, 289, 291
 Stockholm Conference. *See* United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (1972)
 Stockpile disposal bills, 253 (p. 767), 378
 Stockpiles, strategic, 80 [5], 123, 137, 253 (p. 767)
 Strachen, Gordon, 221
 Strategic Air Command, 312 [8]
 Strategic arms limitation
 "Basic Principles of Negotiations on the Further Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms," mention, 181, 185
 Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 367-370, 373, 375, 492-498)
 Talks, comments, 122, 163, 270
 United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, report, 110
 Strip mining, 21 (p. 45), 250
 Submarine-launched ballistic missile systems (SLBMs), 141 (pp. 493-495)
 Sudan
 Foreign policy report, 141 (p. 451)
 Kidnap and slaying of U.S. diplomats, 63 [10], 65, 71
 Sulfur oxide emissions, 44
 Sullivan, George, 68 n.
 Supplemental security income program, 91, 200, 231
 Supreme Court of the United States
 Chief Justice (Warren E. Burger), 8 n., 28, 167, 268
 Decisions on
 Death penalty, 74, 79
 Presidential power over appointed executive officers, 159
 Wiretapping, 233
 Presidential tapes and documents, 236 [17], 246 [11], 305, 334 [15]
 Surface mining, 253 (p. 769)
 Sutherland, Earl W., Jr., 289
 Swearing-in ceremonies
 ACTION, Director, 148
 Cabinet and sub-cabinet, 28
 Central Intelligence Agency, Director, 245
 Cost of Living Council, Director, 34
 District of Columbia, Mayor, 55
 Federal Bureau of Investigation, Director, 198
 Health, Education, and Welfare Department, Secretary, 39
 Justice Department, Attorney General, 167
 Securities and Exchange Commission, Chairman, 66
 State Department, Secretary, 268

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Symington, Sen. Stuart, 23 [12], 325
- Syria
See also Middle East
 Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 447, 448, 450)
- Tabor, John K., 275 n.
- Taft, Robert A., 336
- Talmadge, Sen. Herman E., 336
- Tamm, Edward Allen, 55 n.
- Tanaka, Kakuei, 141 (pp. 417, 418, 421, 422, 424, 472), 222, 224, 225, 281 [8]
- Tariff Commission, United States, 112
- Tax Reform Act of 1969, 21 (p. 10)
- Taxation
See also specific tax
 Anti-inflation measures, 246 [10]
 Budget, fiscal 1974
 Message to Congress, 21 (pp. 32, 33, 34, 37)
 Radio address, 20
 Business, foreign profits, 112
 Convention with U.S.S.R., 185, 263
 Energy resources development, investment credit, 128 (p. 311)
 Housing mortgage investments, tax credit on interest, 228, 264
 Legislative goals, message to Congress, 253 (pp. 766, 767)
 Nonpublic school attendance, credit for tuition, 21 (p. 43), 53, 61 (p. 139)
 Retirement benefits, 115
 State of the Union message on the economy, 52, 53
- Taylor, K. R., 93
- Technology. *See* Science and technology
- Tegtmeyer, Rene D., 275 n.
- Television addresses. *See under* Addresses and remarks
- Templer, Sir Gerald W. R., 77
- Tennessee
 Floods, 130
 Visit, 337
- terHorst, J. F., 246 [17], 312 [13]
- Terrorism, Cabinet Committee to Combat, 141 (p. 511)
- Terrorism and hijackings, 65, 71, 141 (pp. 448, 510, 511), 247, 362
- Texas
 Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center, 50
 Wilderness areas, proposed, 342
- Thacker, 1st Lt. Brian M., 296
- Thailand, foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 427, 512)
- Thawley, Thomas M., 123 n.
- Theis, J. William, 23 [4], 63 [5], 80 [2, 3], 236 [16], 246 [10], 281 [8], 312 [10]
- Thermonuclear fusion, 128 (p. 315)
- Thieu, Nguyen Van. *See* Nguyen Van Thieu
- Tho, Le Duc. *See* Le Duc Tho
- Thomas, Charles S., 189
- Thomas, Helen, 23 [1], 236 [21], 246 [6], 338
- Thompson, Llewellyn E., Jr., 77
- Thorsness, Lt. Col. Leo K., 296
- Thurmond, Sen. Strom, 51
- Tilghman, Warren P., 358 n.
- Timber and the Environment, President's Advisory Panel on, 271
- Timmons, William E., 3, 63 [8], 186
- Tipton, Howard D., 201 n.
- Tkach, Maj. Gen. Walter R., 32, 210 ftn.
- Tolbert, William R., Jr., 171
- Tourism Administration, National, proposed, 189
- Tourism Organization, World, 256
- Tourism Resources Review Commission, National, 189
- Townsend, Marjorie R., 72 n.
- Toxic substances, 44, 253 (p. 772)
- Trade
See also Imports; International economic policy; Exports
 Balance of payments, 112, 128 (pp. 307, 309), 141 (pp. 404, 407, 408, 428, 436, 468), 189, 253 (p. 766), 277, 315
 Conference on Export Expansion, remarks, 292
 Dollar devaluation, remarks, 41
 Economic advisers meeting, remarks, 249
 Foreign policy report, 139, 141 (pp. 471-477)
 Legislation, 253 (pp. 765, 766)

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Trade—Continued
 Messages to Congress, 111, 112, 252, 253 (pp. 765, 766), 301
 Negotiations, 253 (p. 765)
 State of the Union message on the economy, 52, 53
 Statements, 251, 283
Trade Act, Export, proposed amendment, 112
Trade Agreements program, annual report, 4, 302
Trade Commission, Federal, 333
Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora, Convention on International, 119, 277
Trade Expansion Act Advisory Committee, Chairman, 292 ftn.
Trade Expansion Act of 1962, 4
Trade Negotiations, Special Representative for, 251 n., 292 ftn., 366
Trade Reform Act of 1973, proposed, 112, 141 (p. 474), 252, 253 (pp. 765, 766), 283, 302
Train, Russell E., 44 n., 186, 250 ftn., 260 n., 357 n.
Tran Kim Phuong, 106
Tran Van Lam, 106
Transportation
 See also Air travel; Highways; Railroads
 Budget message, 21 (p. 47)
 Cooperation with U.S.S.R., 185
 Energy crisis, 323, 324
 Mass transit, 44, 68, 73, 128 (p. 314), 232, 253 (p. 777)
 Pollution, 141 (p. 515)
 State of the Union messages, 44, 68, 73
Transportation, Department of
 See also specific constituent agencies
 Airport "head taxes", study, 179
 Deputy Under Secretary, 73 n.
 Executive branch reorganization, 73
 Gas pipeline safety functions, 190
 Military Incentive Awards program, 16
 Secretary (Claude S. Brinegar), 28, 190, 232 n., 320, 366
 Under Secretary, 28
Transportation Improvement Act of 1973, proposed, 253 (p. 779)
Trapeznikov, V. A., 84
Travel Organizations, International Union of Official, 256
Treasury, Department of the
 See also specific constituent agencies
 Deputy Secretary, 13, 28, 128 (p. 318), 128 n., 228 n., 366
 Emergency windfall profits tax, proposed, 364
 Messages to Congress
 Pension reform, 115
 Reorganization plans, 13, 96
 Trade reform, 112
 Secretary (George P. Shultz), 3, 6 n., 41, 59 n., 63 [12], 98 ftn., 112 n., 115 n., 118 n., 122, 128 n., 137 n., 141 (p. 458), 174 n., 185, 206, 207 n., 228 n., 236 [1], 249, 251 n., 297 ftn., 317, 351, 365
Treaties and other international agreements
 See also Appendix A
 Canada, Great Lakes safety agreement with U.S., transmittal to Senate, 150
 Colombia, treaty with U.S. concerning Quita Sueño, Roncador, and Serana, transmittal to Senate, 5
 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, transmittal to Senate, 95
 Convention for the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea, message to Senate transmitting protocol, 327
 Convention on the International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea, 1972, transmittal to Senate, 326
 Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora, 119, 277, 374
 Convention on the Prevention of Marine Pollution by Dumping of Wastes and Other Matter, 277
 Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea, 1960, message to Senate transmitting amendments, 145
 Customs Convention on Containers, 1972, transmittal to Senate, 329

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Treaties and other international agreements—Continued
- Customs Convention on the International Transit of Goods, transmittal to Senate, 213
- Ethiopia, treaty with U.S. on amity and economic relations, message to Senate transmitting notes, 17
- Extradition treaties
- Denmark, 314
- Italy, 187
- Uruguay, 157
- International Coffee Agreement 1968 as Extended, transmittal to Senate, 212
- International Convention on Load Lines, 1966, message to Senate transmitting amendments, 87
- International Convention for Safe Containers, transmittal to Senate, 329
- International expositions, protocol amending 1928 convention, transmittal to Senate, 208
- Phonograms, convention for the protection of producers, transmittal to Senate, 116
- Romania, bilateral agreements with U.S., 351, 353
- Strasbourg Agreement Concerning the International Patent Classification, transmittal to Senate, 88
- USSR. *See* Strategic arms limitation and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
- United Nations Charter amendment, transmittal to Senate, 158
- World Tourism Organization, message to Senate transmitting statutes, 256
- Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime Conference, 255
- Trent, Darrell M., 130, 144 n.
- Trident submarine, 141 (p. 483), 253 (p. 784)
- Tropical Storm Agnes, 73
- Trudeau, Pierre Elliott, 141 (pp. 405, 516)
- Truman, Harry S, 23 [12], 80 [2], 98, 121, 197, 236 [5, 17]
- Tsukanov, G. E., 185
- Tsurumi, Kiyohiko, 225
- Tukey, John Wilder, 289
- Tunney, Sen. John V., 63 [16]
- Turkey
- Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 488, 512)
- U.S. Ambassador to, 255
- Tuttle, Richard, 334 [3]
- Uganda, foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 464, 465)
- Ullman, Repr. Al, 249
- Ungaro, Joe, 334 [8]
- Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970, annual report, 36
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
- Agreements on cooperation with U.S. *See specific subject*
- Ambassador to U.S., 84 n., 181, 183, 185
- Convention on taxation, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics-United States, transmittal to Senate, 263
- Exchange programs with U.S., 299
- Foreign Minister A. A. Gromyko, 141 (p. 369), 181, 183, 185
- Foreign policy report, 139, 141 (pp. 348, 350, 352, 365-376, 411, 412, 450, 477-479, 481, 484, 488, 490-492, 513)
- General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev
- Meetings with the President, 177, 178, 181, 183-185
- Mention, 86, 141 (p. 373), 160, 171, 174, 285 n., 312 [1, 5, 10, 14], 336
- Jewish emigration, 112, 281 [9]
- Joint commissions with U.S. *See specific subject*
- Joint communique with U.S., 185
- Strategic arms limitation. *See* Strategic arms limitation
- Trade with U.S., 112, 185, 283, 302
- Trip by Secretary of State Kissinger, 312 [1]
- U.S. Ambassador to, 281 [5]
- Women's Gymnastic Team, U.S. visit, 86

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- United Kingdom
 - Foreign Secretary, 27 n.
 - Prime Minister Edward Heath
 - Meetings with the President, 25, 27, 141 (p. 406)
 - Mention, 23 [6], 45, 141 (p. 418), 171, 281 [12]
- United Nations
 - See also specific constituent agencies*
 - Economic and Social Council, Charter amendment to increase membership, 158
 - Environmental activities, 44, 247, 277, 360
 - Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 439, 446, 448, 449, 501-506, 509, 511)
 - Joint statement (U.S.-Japan), 225
 - Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, 141 (p. 511), 180
 - U.S. participation, report, 247
 - U.S. Representative, 28, 126, 180
 - West African drought, assistance, 180
- United Nations, Food and Agriculture Organization of the, 141 (p. 504), 180, 247
- United Nations, President's Commission for the Observance of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the, 141 (p. 505)
- United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 141 (p. 505)
- United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (1972), 141 (pp. 514, 515)
- United Nations Development Program, 141 (pp. 439, 476, 504, 505), 247
- United Nations Disaster Relief Program, 247
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 141 (p. 504), 247
- United Nations Environment Fund, 141 (pp. 504, 515)
- United Nations Environment Program Participation Act of 1973, statement on signing, 360
- United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control, 141 (p. 512), 247
- United Nations Fund for Population Activities, 141 (p. 513)
- United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. *See* Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, United States
 - United States Civil Service Commission, 21 (p. 44), 61 (p. 143), 146, 242, 278, 282
- United States Conference of Mayors, 68 n.
- United States District Court jurisdiction in civil suits brought by Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, bill conferring, 361
- United States Information Agency, 223, 310
- United States-Japan Cooperative Medical Science Program, annual report, 14
- United States Tariff Commission, 112
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 141 (p. 502)
- University of California at San Francisco, 171
- University Year for ACTION, 279
- Uranium, 128 (pp. 304, 310), 190, 225
- Urban areas
 - Budget message, 20, 21 (pp. 40, 46, 47)
 - Renewal programs, 253 (p. 777)
 - Revenue sharing, 21 (pp. 40, 46), 73
 - State of the Union messages, 44, 68, 73
- Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964, 232
- Urban Mass Transportation Administration, Administrator, 28
- Uruguay, extradition treaty with U.S., 157
- Valeriani, Richard, 246 [13]
- Van Brocklin, Norm, 336
- Vandenberg, Arthur H., 141 (p. 505)
- Vandergrift, "Sunny Jim", 160
- Venezuela, foreign policy report, 141 (p. 438)
- Veterans
 - Appropriations, 132
 - Budget message, 21 (pp. 43, 44)
 - Jobs for Veterans program, 38 n., 57, 90
 - Legislative goals, message to Congress, 253 (p. 776)

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Veterans—Continued
 - State of the Union messages, 53, 58, 61 (p. 145)
 - Vietnam, statement, 90
- Veterans Administration
 - Administrator of Veterans Affairs, 227
 - Hospitals, 61 (p. 145)
 - Mortgage loans, 228, 264
 - Vietnam veteran, statement, 90
- Veterans disability and death pension bill, statement on signing, 352
- Veterans of Foreign Wars, 235
- Veterans Health Care Expansion Act of 1973, statement on signing, 227
- Veto messages and memorandum of disapproval
 - Emergency medical services bill, veto message to Senate, 226
 - Minimum wage bill, veto message to House, 248
 - Rural water and sewer grant program bill, veto message to House, 108
 - Second supplemental appropriation bill, veto message to House, 188
 - Senate confirmation of Director and Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget, veto message to Senate, 159
 - Small business and disaster relief bill, veto message to Senate, 269
 - United States Information Agency authorization bill, veto message to Senate, 310
 - Vocational rehabilitation bill, veto message to Senate, 91
 - War Powers Resolution, veto message to House, 311
- Vice President
 - Agnew, Spiro T.
 - Charges against, 236 [10], 246 [6], 272, 281 [2, 3, 7]
 - Indictment and resignation, possibility, 236 [16]
 - Ford, Gerald R. *See* Ford, Gerald R.
- Vietnam, Democratic Republic of
 - Foreign policy report, 141 (p. 392)
 - Le Duc Tho, 12, 141 (pp. 383, 388), 298
 - Prime Minister Pham Van Dong, 141 (p. 392)
- Vietnam, Democratic Republic of—Con.
 - Trip by Henry A. Kissinger, 23 [1], 37
 - U.S. reconstruction plans, 23 [1, 4], 63 [3], 135
 - Xuan Thuy, 141 (p. 383)
- Vietnam, International Conference on, 141 (pp. 390, 392, 394)
- Vietnam, Republic of
 - See also* Vietnam conflict
 - Ambassador to U.S., 103 n., 106
 - Foreign policy report, 141 (pp. 393, 488)
 - Joint statement with U.S., 106
 - “Land to the Tiller” program, 103
 - President Nguyen Van Thieu
 - Exchange of letters, 103
 - Meetings with the President, 102, 105, 106, 141 (p. 394)
 - Mention, 12, 23 [1, 6], 63 [1], 141 (pp. 384, 385)
 - U.S. Ambassador to, 103, 106
 - U.S. assistance, 23 [4], 270
- Vietnam conflict
 - See also* Indochina
 - Amnesty for draft evaders and deserters, 23 [3], 63 [6], 98
 - Foreign policy report, 139, 141 (pp. 349, 353, 355, 376–396)
 - Missing in action. *See* Missing in action
 - National Moment of Prayer and Thanksgiving, 18
 - Peace agreement
 - Address to Nation, 12
 - Comments, 24, 45, 51
 - Implementation, 45 n., 63 [5]
 - Joint statement (U.S.-Federal Republic of Germany), 138
 - Violations, 63 [11], 80 [3], 98, 139, 160
 - Prisoners of war. *See* Prisoners of war
 - Veterans. *See* Veterans
- Vinson, Carl, 332, 335, 336
- Virginia
 - Visit, 160
 - Water resources, 93
- VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America), 279
- Vocational Rehabilitation Act, proposed amendments, 253 (p. 774)
- Vocational rehabilitation bill, veto, 91, 107

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Volpe, John A., 124
Volunteer programs, 61 (p. 146), 148, 279
Von Kleinsmid, Rufus, 136
Von Staden, Madam, 136
- Wadsworth, James W., Jr., 336
Waldheim, Kurt, 141 (p. 511), 180
"Walk a Mile for Your Health Day," 193
Walker, Gov. Daniel, 175
Waller, Gov. William L., 131
Walter F. George School of Law, Mercer University, 336
Walters, Lt. Gen. Vernon A., 162, 234, 236 [3]
War powers resolution, veto, 311, 322
Warner, John W. (Secretary of the Navy), 45 n., 296, 345
Warnock, William, 81 n.
Warren, Gerald L., 202 n., 229 n., 236 [17], 281 [1], 305 n.
Warsaw Pact, 122, 141 (pp. 411, 412, 414, 498), 163, 253 (p. 784), 270
Washington, D.C. *See* District of Columbia
Washington, Walter E., 55
Waste treatment and disposal, 21 (p. 45), 44, 108
Water Conservation Fund, Land and, 44
Water pollution, 43, 44, 141 (p. 515), 253 (p. 772)
Water Resources Council, 190
Watergate
 Addresses to Nation, 134, 233
 Associated Press Managing Editors Association, question-and-answer session, 334 [2-6, 10, 15, 17]
 Letters to
 Chairman, Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, 197, 211, 220
 Chief Judge, U.S. District Court, District of Columbia, 221
 News conference remarks, 63 [15], 80 [6, 10-12], 236 [2-9, 11-15, 17, 18, 20], 246 [11, 12, 14, 18], 281 [10], 312 [2-6, 12, 14, 16, 17]
Watergate—Continued
 Presidential tapes and documents, 233, 234, 236 [2, 4, 5], 240, 241, 246 [11, 14, 18], 281 [10], 305, 312 [2, 5, 12, 17], 328, 334 [3, 15]
 President's resignation, possibility, 323
 Remarks to press, 125
 Republican fundraising dinner, remarks, 147
 Resignations
 Attorney General and certain members of the White House Staff, 133
 Attorney General and Deputy Attorney General, 308, 308 n.
 Secret Service agents, testimony before Congressional committees, 206
 Special Prosecutor, discharge, 309
 Statements, 162, 234, 305, 328
 U.S. District Court jurisdiction in civil actions brought by Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, law establishing, 361
 White House statements on court order requiring production of Presidential tapes and documents, 240, 241
 Withdrawal of nomination of FBI Director, 109
Watergate Special Prosecution Force
 Abolishment, 308 n.
 Special Prosecutor, 147, 162, 211, 221, 233, 236 [5], 281 [10], 305, 308, 309, 312 [3-6], 319 n., 328, 334 [3-5], 361
Weather modification, environmental effects, 44
Weather Program, World, 205
Weinberger, Caspar W. (Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare), 3, 39, 61 (p. 148 n.), 63 [8], 200, 230, 274 n., 325, 376 n.
Weitz, Comdr. Paul J., 172 n., 176, 182
Welfare
 Aid to Families with Dependent Children, 61 (p. 140)
 Budget message, 21 (p. 43)

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Welfare—Continued

- Family assistance program, 63 [8]
- Legislative goals, message to Congress, 253 (p. 774)
- State of the Union message on human resources, 58, 61 (p. 140)

West, Gov. John C., 51

West African drought, 180, 343

Western Hemisphere. *See specific area or country*

Western White House. *See* San Clemente, Calif.

Wetlands, protection, 44

Whaling Commission, International, 141 (p. 515), 277

Whitaker, John C., 28, 330

Whitcomb, Richard T., 289

White, Dr. Paul Dudley, 318

White House Correspondents Association, 121

White House Staff

Assistant to the President (H. R. Halde-
man), 3, 133, 134, 162, 221, 234,
236 [4, 6, 13-15], 328, 334 [6, 9]

Assistant to the President (Henry A.
Kissinger), 3, 12, 19, 23 [1, 2], 35,
37, 63, [2], 80 [2], 106, 136, 139,
141 (pp. 360, 362, 383, 388, 392,
398, 423, 425), 141 n., 169 n., 185,
225, 235

Assistant to the President for Domestic
Affairs (John D. Ehrlichman), 3,
41 n., 80 [2, 4], 125, 133, 134, 162,
233, 234, 236 [4, 6, 9, 13-15, 20],
246 [12], 334 [6, 7, 9]

Assistants to the President, 3, 23 [10],
63 [8], 89 n., 186, 198, 295 n., 312
[2 ftm.]

Counsel, 240, 241

Counsel to the President

Dean, John W., III, 3, 23 [10], 63
[15, 16], 76 n., 80 [2, 4, 11], 109,
133, 134

Garment, Leonard, 133, 155 n., 162
n., 186, 221 n.

White House Staff—Continued

Counsellors to the President, 1 n., 3, 28,
61 (pp. 136, 137), 68, 72 ftm., 73,
128 (p. 317), 186, 232 n., 246 [5,
17], 249 n., 262 n., 279 n., 281 [2],
297 ftm., 338 n., 363, 372 n.

Military Assistant to the President,
37 ftm.

Physician to the President, 210 ftm.

Press Secretary, 23 ftm., 23 [11 ftm.], 42
n., 63 [5 ftm.], 80 [6], 121, 134, 156
n., 185 n., 236 [7], 285 n., 308 n.,
355 n.

Remarks on return from Bethesda
Naval Hospital, 210

Science Adviser to the President, 3, 13,
289, 291

Special Assistant to the President, 194,
287

Special Consultants to the President,
125, 128 (p. 318), 128 n., 133,
155 n., 162 n., 190, 250 n.

Special Counsel to the President,
162 n., 211, 281 [10], 334 [3]

Special Investigations Unit, 162, 234

Watergate involvement, 63 [16], 80 [10],
125, 134, 233, 234, 236 [6, 20]

White House statements

Assistant Secretary of State, Senate dis-
approval of nomination, 202

India-Pakistan agreement on POW's,
238

Indochina, Congressional role in peace
efforts, 156

Presidential tapes and documents, 240,
241

Veto

Emergency medical services bill,
House support, 257

Minimum wage bill, House support,
265

War powers resolution, House over-
ride, 322

Whitehurst, Repr. G. William, 160

Whitman, Marina von Neumann, 22 n.

Whittier, Calif., remarks to senior citi-
zens during White House tour, 280

Index

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

- Wholesale price index, 249
Wilderness areas, 44, 342
Willard, Dr. Beatrice E., 260 n.
Williams, Maurice J., 180, 239
Willoughby, Ann, 343
Wilson, Repr. Bob, 147
Wilson, Jerry V., 70
Wilson, Pete, 68 n.
Wilson, Robert Rathbun, 289
Windfall profits tax, emergency, proposed, 364, 365
Wiretapping, 162, 233, 236 [12, 19]
Woman's Award, Federal, 72
Women
 Employment, 53, 72
 Equal rights amendment, proposed, 61 (p. 143)
Women, Advisory Commission on the Economic Role of, 53
Woods, Rose Mary, 210 ftn.
World Bank. *See* International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
World Health Organization, 141 (p. 463), 247
World heritage protection convention, 95
World Heritage Trust, 44, 141 (p. 514)
World Meteorological Organization, 141 (p. 504), 277
World Peace Through Law Center, 286 ftn.
World Population Conference, 141 (p. 513), 247
World Tourism Organization, statutes, 256
World Weather Program, 205
Wright, Charles Alan, 211 n., 221 n., 236 [5], 240 n., 281 [10 ftn.], 308 n., 312 [2 ftn.]
Xuan Thuy, 141 (p. 383)
Yasukawa, Takeshi, 225
Yemen, 141 (pp. 450, 451)
Yoshida, Shigeru, 224 ftn.
Young, David, 162
Youth
 Employment, 53, 85, 248
 Recreation programs, 85
 "Youthgrants in the Humanities", 92
Youth Conservation Corps, 85
Yu, Dr. Paul N., 64
Yugoslavia, foreign policy report, 141 (p. 415)
Zahedi, Gen. Fazlollah, 217
Zamyatin, L. M., 185
Zausner, Eric R., 357 n.
Ziegler, Ronald L., 23 ftn., 23 [11 ftn.], 42 n., 63 [5 ftn.], 80 [6], 121, 134, 156 n., 185 n., 236 [7], 285 n., 308 n., 355 n.
Zinc stockpiles, disposal, 378
Zumwalt, Adm. Elmo R., Jr., 345

DATE DUE[illegible]

GOVT.GS 4.113:973/c.2
United States. President.
(1969-1974 : Nixon).
Public papers.

GOVT.GS 4.113:973/c.2
United States. President.
(1969-1974 : Nixon).
Public papers.

